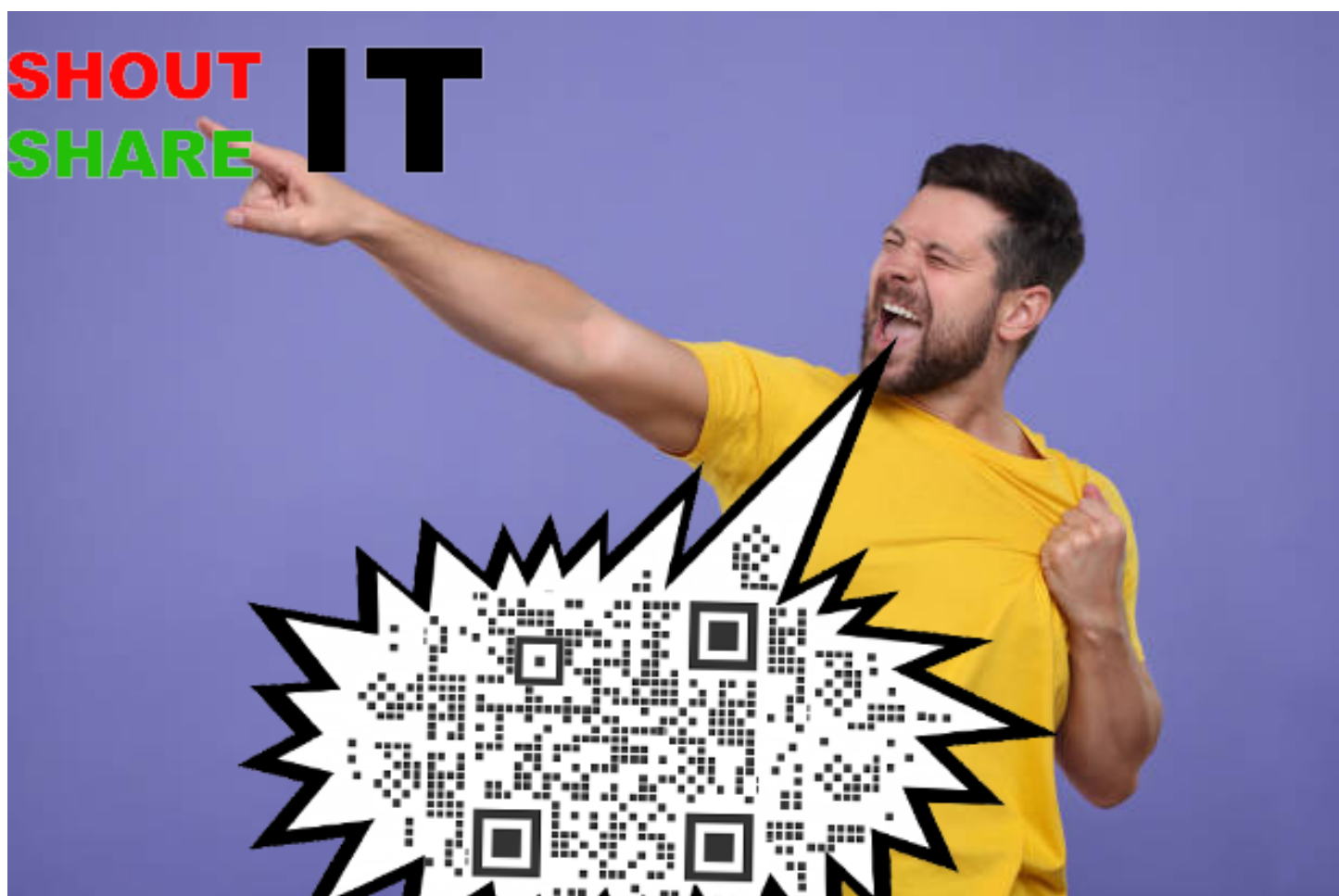




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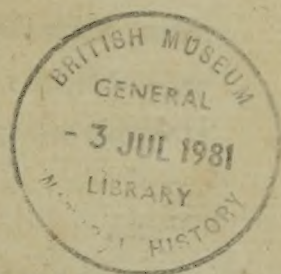








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THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
OR A VIEW OF THE  
HISTORY,  
POLITICS,  
AND  
LITERATURE,  
For the YEAR 1803.



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L O N D O N :

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*By J. SEELEY, of Buckingham, and J. WRIGHT, of St. John's Square.*

1805.





## P R E F A C E.

IN offering to the public the present volume of a work of such long established reputation as the Annual Register—and the former volumes of which have already assumed a place of no inconsiderable rank among the historical documents of our country—we cannot but feel an anxiety proportioned to the subjects of which we have had to treat.

Already, in the close of our preceding volume, we had anticipated the renewal of the war, that great event which forms the leading feature of the period, whose transactions are here related; and which will, in its influence, too probably pervade all the political relations of the country during a long course of succeeding years.

At a time, when the public press appeared almost exclusively devoted, to the object of prolonging the  
delusive

delusive expectation of permanent tranquillity, we ventured to offer it as our opinion, that a Peace negotiated in a tone of submission, and concluded on terms of manifest inferiority, with an ambitious and overbearing neighbour, was not likely to be of long continuance. Our opinion was grounded on the experience of all history, and on the very first axioms of political wisdom. We claim from it no merit of extraordinary foresight, but the higher merit, because it is more rare, of delivering, in opposition to the general wishes and prevailing prejudices of our country, a sincere and honest opinion, upon a point of the highest importance to the public welfare. The same spirit will, we trust, be found to obtain, throughout every part of the present publication; and will not cease to animate it, so long as the endeavours of those to whom its conduct is entrusted, shall continue to prove acceptable to the public.

In speaking of the transactions of the year, of which this volume treats, the task has indeed been less difficult, because no difference can be entertained by any candid and dispassionate man with respect to the character and principles of the public enemy; whose aggression constitutes, as we have already stated, the prominent feature of our present narrative: nor can any subject of the British empire, or any friend to the principles of liberty and justice, whatever be his country, avoid partaking in that satisfaction



tisfaction which we have expressed in the general display of zeal, courage, and public spirit, which has, on the present occasion, reflected so much honour on the inhabitants of these islands, and so well distinguished them from the nations of the continent.

All that could be wished for, and more than could be required, by any government, from the people whose affairs it administers, has, on the present occasion, not only been given with cheerfulness, but pressed upon our rulers with earnestness and zeal. The voluntary offers of service of every description, have anticipated their requests, and have even outrun their wishes. With them remain the task—and with them it still remains—a pleasing task if well understood, a glorious one if well executed—the task of directing this spirit in its proper channel; of applying it to its proper objects; and of rendering it ultimately available to the success of the sacred cause, of national honour and national independence.

By this theme, the nearest to the heart of every Briton, we have been, in some degree, led away from the immediate object of this address; which is, to express our gratitude for the countenance we have received, and to bespeak its continuance by a pledge of that sincerity of intention, and uprightness of principle, by which alone we can hope to merit it; and of that manly freedom of opinion and discussion which  
become

become British writers treating of the interests of their country, and addressing themselves to British readers:

We trust, also, that, in the other departments of this work, our desire to deserve the public patronage will be found to have excited us to such endeavours, as are not wholly unworthy of it. The value of our literary extracts, must, of necessity, depend in some degree on the character and merit of the several publications, to which the year may have given birth: yet, few indeed are the works which may not, by judicious selection, afford materials both for the entertainment and instruction of the readers of a miscellany such as this: and whatever discredit the confession may reflect upon our own labours, we do not hesitate to declare, that, far from experiencing any deficiency in this respect, we believe and hope, that the state of literature, both in its useful and its ornamental branches, is daily improving in every part of this United Kingdom.

THE

THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
For the YEAR 1803.

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
EUROPE.

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CHAP. I.

*Preliminary Observations.—Meeting of Parliament.—Election of a Speaker.—Mr. Abbot proposed.—Chosen without opposition.—King's Speech.—Address moved by Lord Arden.—Seconded by Lord Nelson.—Speeches of the Marquis of Abercorn—Lord Carlisle—the Duke of Norfolk—Lords Grenville—Pelham—Carysfort—and Hobart.—Address carried nem. diss.—Moved the same day in the Lower House by Mr. Trench.—Seconded by Mr. Curzon.—Speeches of Mr. Cartwright—Sir John Wrottesley—Mr. Pytches—Fox—Canning—Lord Hawkesbury—Mr. Windham—Addington—T. Grenville—Lord Castlereagh—and Mr. Whitbread.—Address carried unanimously.*

THE parliament, which assembled in the winter of the year 1802, was the first which had been summoned since the union between Great Britain and Ireland. By the provisions of the act of union, Ireland returned to the imperial parliament thirty-two peers (including four spiritual lords), and one hundred commoners. The addition

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of so many members, was a circumstance which must eventually produce a most powerful influence on the state of parties in Great Britain. It was on this ground, principally, that Mr. Fox opposed the legislative union with Ireland from the beginning; he apprehended, that from the manner in which the Irish representatives were returned, they

would



would be constantly found in the ranks of whoever was the minister of the day, and would give him a preponderating influence over every constitutional opposition that could be made in parliament; and, in this point of view, he thought the union between the two countries injured most materially the constitution of Great Britain. Whether those fears were well or ill founded, the history of the times we live in will best evince; if however it should prove, that the representatives of Ireland were equally independent of ministerial influence with those of Great Britain; in that case it must be allowed, that such was the alarming aspect of affairs at the opening of the first imperial parliament, that all the united talents of the empire appeared necessary, not only to secure its honour, but its very existence. If the Irish representation was so constituted, as to call the best talents of their country to assist in the grand council of the empire at this momentous crisis; in such case the union would doubtless have been of immense advantage to both countries, and to the interests of the empire at large; this however is a question that rather belongs to the page of history than to the temporary nature of a periodical work.

On Tuesday the 16th of November the parliament was called together. The lord chancellor, in the mode usual on similar occasions, communicated to the house of lords that his majesty had appointed commissioners to open the business of the sessions. The lords commissioners who attended, were the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, and the duke of

Portland. The commons attended to hear the commission read, and retired to choose their speaker. The peers, who were present, then took the oaths, and the commons proceeded to the election. The members, who attended in the house of commons, being sworn by the clerk,

Sir W. Scott rose, and addressed the house in a speech of uncommon neatness. He pointed out the great importance of a proper choice in the person who was to be their speaker: the various talents which should be combined in the person who was to fill that high office, the principles which he ought to have of loyalty and attachment to the sovereign, and a profound veneration for the constitution. After describing, with great eloquence, the rare assemblage of talents and virtues which were necessary to fill such a situation, he concluded by moving "that Mr. Abbot be again elected to the discharge of the office of speaker of this house."

The hon. Henry Lascelles seconded the motion. He observed, that if this assemblage of virtues and talents were at all times necessary in the person who was to fill the situation of speaker of that house, they were more peculiarly necessary at a time when not only the fate of this kingdom, but of Europe, might be involved in the future deliberations of parliament. He concluded by warmly seconding the motion of sir W. Scott.

Mr. Abbot then rose, and in a very handsome manner expressed his high sense of the honour that was intended to be conferred upon him. Although he declared that he felt strongly his own inability to discharge

discharge the important duties of the office, yet he put himself at the disposal of the house, and was satisfied to act as they should direct.

Mr. Abbot was then introduced into the chair, as speaker, and returning thanks for the honour that had been conferred upon him, hoped that the house would judge of his gratitude more by his future conduct, than by any words he could find to express himself.

Lord Castlereagh congratulated the speaker on his re-election, in an appropriate speech.—The house then adjourned.

On the 17th of November the house of commons attended at the bar of the house of lords, with their newly-elected speaker; who, after informing the lords commissioners of the choice of the commons having fallen upon him, expressed a hope (according to the usual form), that his majesty might allow the commons to go to a new election, in order that they might find a person worthier of that high office than himself.

The lord chancellor then expressed his majesty's entire approbation of the choice of the house of commons.

The speaker, after returning thanks, claimed, as usual, the freedom of speech and other privileges of the house of commons.

At half past two, on the 23d, his majesty came down to the house of peers. The commons being ordered to attend, he addressed his parliament in the following manner:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"It is highly gratifying to me to resort to your advice and assistance, after the opportunity which has been recently afforded of collecting the sense of my people.

"The internal prosperity of the country has realized our most sanguine hopes; we have experienced the bounty of divine providence in the produce of an abundant harvest.

"The state of the manufactures, commerce, and revenue of my United Kingdom, is flourishing beyond example; and the loyalty and attachment which are manifested to my person and government, afford the strongest indications of the just sense that is entertained of the numerous blessings enjoyed under the protection of our happy constitution.

"In my intercourse with foreign powers, I have been actuated by a sincere disposition for the maintenance of peace. It is nevertheless impossible for me to lose sight of that established and wise system of policy, by which the interests of other states are connected with our own; and I cannot be therefore indifferent to any material change in their relative condition or strength. My conduct will be invariably regulated by a due consideration of the actual situation of Europe, and by a watchful solicitude for the permanent welfare of our people.

"You will, I am persuaded, agree with me in thinking that it is incumbent on us to adopt those means of security which are best calculated to afford the prospect of preserving to my subjects the blessings of peace."

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I have ordered the estimates of the ensuing year to be laid before you, and I rely on your zeal and liberality in providing for the various branches of the public service, which it is a great satisfaction to me to think may be fully accomplished, without any considerable

addition to the burdens of my people."

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I contemplate, with the utmost satisfaction, the great and increasing benefits produced by that important measure which has united the interests and consolidated the resources of Great Britain and Ireland. The improvement and extension of these advantages will be objects of your unremitting care and attention. The trade and commerce of my subjects, so essential to the support of public credit, and of our maritime strength, will, I am persuaded, receive from you every possible encouragement; and you will readily lend your assistance in affording to mercantile transactions, in every part of my United Kingdom, all the facility and accommodation that may be consistent with the security of the public revenue.

"To uphold the honour of the country, to encourage its industry, to improve its resources, and to maintain the true principles of the constitution in church and state, are the great and leading duties which you are called upon to discharge. In the performance of them, you may be assured of my uniform and cordial support; it being my most earnest wish to cultivate a perfect harmony between me and my parliament, and to promote to the utmost, the welfare of my faithful subjects, whose interests and happiness I shall ever consider as inseparable from my own."

The same day the address was moved in the house of lords by lord Arden, and in the commons by Mr. Trench (of Galway.)

Lord Arden, after stating that

the prosperity of our commerce and manufactures, the abundance of the necessaries of life, and the universal spirit of loyalty and attachment to the king and constitution which now prevailed, justified completely what had fallen from his majesty in his most gracious speech, took particular notice of that part of it which referred to the situation of Europe. The order of dominion could not be there indefinitely changed, without endangering the security of this country. Although in the conclusion of the last war we had reluctantly abandoned allies, who had neither the power or the will to make a stand for their own political existence: yet there were limits beyond which this plan of conduct could not be extended. He therefore thought the house must approve of the resolution of his majesty, to keep the vigilance of the government awake to the changes in the arrangement of continental power; and that they would not refuse such supplies, as the necessary vigor of such preparation must require. His lordship concluded by moving the address, which as usual, was an echo of the speech from the throne.

The hero of the Nile (lord Nelson) seconded the address, and declared his approbation of a plan of government, which promised to maintain the antient dignity of the country, without hastily throwing away the blessings of peace. War had not exhausted our resources; our national industry had not been slackened, nor had it been frustrated of its rewards. The condition of unexampled prosperity which the country enjoys, immediately after the late war, is such as would  
render



render us inexcusable were we to sacrifice its honor. He had himself seen much of the miseries of war: he had himself seen horrors of human distress which had made an indelible impression on his heart; He was therefore, in his inmost soul, a man of peace: yet could he not consent, for any peace however fortunate, to sacrifice one jot of England's honor. Our honor was the most valuable of our interests; it was what had always procured us the respect and regard of the nations on the continent. The nation had been satisfied with the sincere spirit of peace, in which the British government negotiated the late treaty; and if now a restless and unjust ambition in those with whom we desired a sincere amity has given a new alarm; the country doubtless would rather press the government to assert its honor, than shrink from the supplies which a vigorous state of preparation would require.

The marquis of Abercorn wished to impress the house with the necessity of attending, with more than ordinary vigilance, to the awful and critical situation of the country. Upon the wisdom, policy, and resolution of Parliament for a few months, the very existence of this country appeared to him to depend. After adverting to the extraordinary aggrandizement of our ambitious and inveterate natural enemy, he declared he was ready to give his support to any ministers, who would manfully adopt that system which the exigency of the times required; but he should never give his countenance to any half measures, palliatives, or concessions. His Lordship then paid the highest

compliment to the vigorous mind and unrivalled talents of Mr. Pitt, and expressed his opinion to be in favour of peace, which however he thought was most likely to be preserved, by being prepared with such means of defence as would enable us to repel insult and aggression. He concluded by hoping, that the unanimity of the house would convince Europe, of the unanimous determination of the nation, to support and maintain their weight and importance in the scale of nations.

The earl of Carlisle congratulated the house and the country on the tone of the address, which he hoped would have the happy effect of inspiring public confidence, which was so peculiarly necessary in the present state of the country: he never had approved of the terms of the peace, and considered the present administration as weak in its original formation, and he had not expected them to gain any fresh energy in their progress. Ministers had hitherto appeared to view with indifference the aggrandizement of France: it was an indifference which, at the same time that it depressed the spirit of this country, inflated the pride and confidence of the French government so much, that they set no bounds to their ambition. On whatever grounds his majesty's ministers had changed their opinions, he was glad to find that they were changed; and he could not help expressing his most cordial approbation of the present address.

The duke of Norfolk also cordially approved of the tone and terms of the address: it was such as became the dignity of the house, and would doubtless have its due weight

weight with the country at large. If he supposed however, that the language of the address arose merely from a hope of the co-operation of continental powers against France, he should disapprove of it. He looked to the innate strength, courage and public spirit of the country, as the foundation of its security; and on that foundation alone, he trusted that we should rise superior to every difficulty which presented itself. With this qualification then which he had prescribed to himself, the address met his hearty concurrence.

Lord Grenville agreed that the present was a very serious aspect of affairs. The new parliament had been assembled at a very awful period, in which the public, doubtful of the principles and policy of the present ministers, were anxious to learn whether we were to have peace or war. The interests and happiness of Europe were nearly destroyed by the inordinate ambition of the French government, which was extending its power and influence to the total subversion of the liberties of mankind. It was therefore better to meet the perils of war with manly fortitude, than to see with silent indifference the subjugation of Europe. The speech from the throne met in several of its passages with his cordial concurrence: he thought many of its propositions were a direct censure on men in power, for their want of capacity and vigilance in the direction of public affairs. He would ask, was any attention paid to the machinations of France between the signature of the preliminary and that of the definitive treaty? Did not France during that interval

send a large fleet to the West Indies without informing us of it? Did she not take possession of Louisiana? We saw Europe also prostrate at her feet, its territories plundered, and its liberties destroyed. Had we then boldly stood forward in defence of her liberty, France must have receded from her desperate measures, discontinued her depredations, and Europe would have been saved from the tyranny of the French republic.

After the signature of the definitive treaty, France pursued the same line of conduct: The ink was scarcely dry with which it was signed, the wax scarcely cold with which it was sealed; when France, in violation of the treaty of Amiens, began to add territory to territory to the republic. Piedmont was the first which fell under its griping ambition. Had Great Britain, in concert with Russia, remonstrated at the time, France would not have dared to annex it to her empire. France, with her usual cunning, first pretended to occupy Piedmont merely as a military position, but afterwards she thought fit to annex it to her states. She made a treaty with the king of Sardinia when he was a prisoner in his own capital; but even then his Sardinian majesty had fortitude and fidelity enough to refuse to act hostilely against Great Britain, or to exclude the English from his sea-ports; yet this was the man whom we afterwards so fully abandoned to the mercy of the French government. When we signed the definitive treaty we by no means acknowledged this right in France, nor had we abandoned our own right of interference for the liberties and interests of Europe.

The

The definitive treaty was signed in March, and ratified in June. In the month of August, France took upon herself to regulate and remodel the several states of Europe. So early as the month of August, she set about new modelling the German empire. Our ministers viewed this scene too with the greatest indifference. The interests of another old and faithful ally, the prince of Orange, were also sacrificed at the peace of Amiens. It was understood however, and the noble marquis (Cornwallis) who had concluded that peace, had risen in his place and asked with an honest warmth, "Could any man suppose that a full indemnity was not intended for the prince of Orange?" And yet his rights have been sacrificed. If any fears or alarm can now be entertained of the incapacity of this country to combat France, they were owing to the censurable and criminal conduct of the king's servants, who had dismantled the fleet and disbanded the army, before they had any certain demonstrations of sincere and permanent peace on the part of France. "Another part of his majesty's speech has my sincere approbation; I mean that part which recommends an augmentation of our forces. This was certainly not very pacific, but it shews that ministers at length see the necessity of vigor and watchfulness when opposed to an able and an active government." On the retrospect of affairs he could not help expressing astonishment at the absurd conduct of ministers. "We have now obtained peace, and yet, instead of the boasted reductions and savings which we were taught to

expect, we were now to have a considerable augmentation. In the late encroachments on Switzerland, they did not think it proper to interfere, but now they find out that it is necessary to be watchful of the conduct of France. In order to expect any real good, we must have a total change of men and measures. In the madness of ministers for a hollow peace, they sent out orders to abandon all our conquests. It was reported, however, at present, that orders had been sent out to retain such of our conquests as had not been already ceded: he feared those orders would not arrive at the Cape of Good Hope early enough to answer the end proposed; but the country has still the happiness of possessing Malta, whose commanding interest in the Mediterranean is too great to be abandoned by a wise and vigorous government. From all those considerations, he could not but state that he had no confidence in the present administration. Instead of watching the operations of France with an eager solicitude, they had been aiding her against this country. Their policy was something similar to that of our ancestors, who gave bribes to the Saxons and Danes, to desist from the invasion of the country. Those bribes they applied to the purchase of ships and ammunition, and subjugated the country. In this manner we had surrendered Martinique, &c. as a *bonus* not to violate the peace. Let Malta be added to this bribe, and the price will be complete. We shall then perhaps experience a similar attack on the part of France. The war was now coming to our own doors, and no man could be absurd enough



to suppose that France will be more favourable to Great Britain, than to Piedmont, Switzerland, &c. We had no claim to her partiality." His Lordship concluded, by expressing his opinion that Great Britain might still be able to rouse the powers of Europe, if its councils were under the direction of a leader of courage and capacity, of the man (Mr. Pitt) to whom Europe looked up for the preservation of its dearest rights and liberties.

Lord Pelham hoped that neither the house nor the country would believe that there was any thing in the speech which applied to the augmentation of our forces, as if war was inevitable. It was a measure of prudence rather than necessity, and dictated by the present appearance of affairs on the continent of Europe. As to our want of confidence in France, it may be readily perceived that after such a long and dreadful war, a spirit of jealousy must long continue. This was of itself a sufficient ground for the watchfulness now recommended.

Lord Carysfort expressed his regret that both the speech from the throne, and that from the noble secretary, admitted that we were not prepared at present to enter into a contest with France. The treaty of Amiens had certainly been violated, but while France was in possession of the isle of Elba, and the principal strong places of the Mediterranean, he could not conceive that she would make the possession of Malta a very important object.

Lord Hobart vindicated the conduct of administration from the charge of incompetency, advanced by lord Grenville; he thought it ne-

cessary to recal to the recollection of the house, that they had not courted the situations they now held. He regretted, as much as any man, the resignation of the noble lord and his colleagues in office, but that change was not produced by the measures of his majesty's present servants. He thought that when the noble lord spoke of the perilous situation of the country at the present moment, he had forgotten the state in which he left it, when he resigned; and if he and his friends then chose to abandon their posts, when the country was in real danger, he did not think that on that account the house should be told that the interests of Europe had been sacrificed. His majesty's ministers concluded a peace, when the objects of the war were no longer attainable. The noble lord so well knew the difficulties of office, that he thought in criminating the present administration for incapacity, he was at the same time criminating himself for relinquishing his situation.

The question was then put upon the address, and carried *nemine dissente*.

In the house of commons, on the same day, a similar address was moved.

The hon. Mr. Trench (member for Galway) rose, to propose an address of thanks to his majesty. He observed; that in a new parliament, which had been the first called since the legislative union with Ireland, it was necessary to consider both the important consequences of that event; as also of the change from a state of war to that of peace. After touching on the prosperous situation of our trade  
and

and manufactures, and the termination of the disturbances which had agitated Ireland, he cordially agreed in his majesty's gracious wishes to preserve the peace, while, at the same time, he was convinced that the house must be impressed with the necessity of keeping a vigilant eye upon the continent, and being always in a state of preparation; for his part, he did not think, at the present time, that it was advisable for us to interfere much in the affairs of the continent, without the concert of other powers. He concluded by expressing his confidence that his majesty's ministers would conduct themselves in relation to continental affairs, with firmness and moderation; and that if peace be not tenable on those grounds, they will have the hearty concurrence and united strength of the whole empire for their support, should war be the necessary alternative. He then moved an humble address to his majesty, in the language of the speech.

The hon. Mr. Curzon seconded the address, which was moved. He could not but view, with the greatest satisfaction, the internal situation of the country, both in respect to its trade, manufactures, and domestic tranquillity, as also to its abundant harvest. With reference to its foreign relations, the importance of preserving peace, if it could be done with honour, was sufficiently obvious. The acquisitions of France upon the continent, and her extended line of maritime frontier, directly opposite our eastern coasts, required a much stronger defensive system, on our part, than was ever before deemed necessary. He concluded by declaring, that he per-

fectly coincided in the sentiments expressed by the honourable mover.

Mr. Cartwright agreed with the honourable mover, in thinking the maintenance of peace desirable; and that the best means of preserving to the country its blessings were; to shew ourselves prepared for the extremity of war; considering the present conduct of France, the rooted enmity of its ruler to this country, the pains he has taken to irritate the feelings of the nation, and to degrade its character abroad. Although he was fully sensible of the calamities of war, and the sacrifices which its renewal would call for, still it was necessary that vigorous defensive preparations should be made for the security of the state. He could not help expressing his surprize at ministers having so suddenly disarmed the country, and reduced all our establishments. This was a course diametrically opposite to the practice of former ministers, who proportioned their reductions to those adopted by the enemy. We dismantled our ships and discharged our men, with the same activity that the French have increased theirs. However advisable this might be, merely on the ground of economy, it was somewhat unaccountable on the ground of policy. After lamenting the fate of Switzerland, which however he conceived that we had no power to remedy, he concluded by expressing his concern that those great talents which had so long withstood the tide of French principles, and upheld the dignity and honour of this country, were not now more actively employed in its defence.

Sir John Wrottesley, notwithstanding the respect he felt for the gentlemen

gentlemen at the head of administration, could not subscribe to all the statements of our prosperity in the speech. At least he was sure they were not borne out by the situation of the district in which he happened to reside. He should however be happy to find the assertions of ministers verified, although they were not agreeable to his own individual experience. He feared ministers had been equally mistaken in the views of France, when they permitted themselves to be lulled into a fatal security by the professions of that government. We had now seen all the powers of the continent reduced to a state of subjection; we had seen the virtuous and unoffending Swiss nation prostrated before the feet of France, without even a remonstrance on the part of this country—and perhaps many of the bravest Swiss patriots would soon share the fate and dungeon of Toussaint. He joined the hon. member who spoke last, in regretting the secession of those great talents, which conducted the affairs of this country through the vicissitudes of the late war; and hoped they would again come forward in the defence of the country, should war now become necessary.

Mr. Pytches opposed not only this address, but the whole spirit of addresses presented on similar occasions, which he conceived were nothing but servile echoes of ministerial sentiments into which the house had been cajoled year after year, under pretence of paying a customary compliment to his majesty. The present address was so heterogeneous in its composition, and embraced so many different objects, that it appeared to him a sort of political *salmagundi*.

He disapproved of the practice of speeches from the throne, which, with the addresses that followed, he considered a piece of bad machinery and of servile adulation, which every good monarch should execrate and forbid. As to the particular parts of this speech he should for the present decline to observe upon them, as they were topics which must be discussed in the course of the session.

Mr. Fox said, he should not have risen so early in the debate, if it had not been for some expressions which had fallen from other gentlemen, which had made it necessary for him to explain the grounds on which he gave his cordial assent to the address. There was however one expression in his majesty's speech, respecting the blessings which were to be derived from a legislative union with Ireland, which he never could approve of, although since that event had taken place he must wish every success and advantage might attend it. There was another material part of the address to which he had no objection, but would conceive highly objectionable if he understood it in the sense in which it had been explained by the honourable mover, who supposed his majesty had recommended generally the extending our military establishments; whereas the speech made mention of no particular establishment, but only of such establishment as might be most calculated to give security to the country. When the question should come before the consideration of the house, those who thought large military establishments the most likely to obtain this object, would state their reasons: those,



those, on the contrary, who thought that small establishments were best calculated both for the continuance of peace, and for the renewal of war if it should be necessary, would have also an opportunity of delivering their sentiments. The words in his majesty's speech are general, as they ought to be; and the question is left entirely open to future consideration, and the extent of the establishment will be such as the house may from the circumstances of the country think right. One of the gentlemen who had preceded him seemed to consider the tone of the address too warlike, considering the great power of France upon the Continent. Another, on the contrary, who seemed for the same reason to consider it too pacific, spoke of the declining state of our manufactures, and thought that on that account, we should be induced to re-commence the war: he hoped however that it would never be considered a ground for going to war, because our manufactures were not in as prosperous a state as we could wish. Those who disapproved of the peace altogether, might be consistent, if they now wished to break it: but those who joined in the general approbation it met with, both from the parliament and the country, could hardly now, with consistency, view the definitive treaty in a light very different from what they did when it was first made. It was obvious, that if we renewed the war with France, the most natural way of carrying it on with success, would be again to take possession of those places which we had ceded. Now to give up places, merely to take them again, would place both the makers and

approvers of the peace, in a very ridiculous point of view. However ardently he wished to see peace preserved throughout Europe, yet he would by no means say, that we were not justified in going to war on a mere point of honour; but before he could assent to this country provoking a war on the ground of its injured honour, he must have the case made out, and proved to his satisfaction. He would allow, that the preservation of national honour, as well as the principles of self defence, often made wars unavoidable; if however, at the present moment, no such strong case could be made out, he thought that there could not be a time, in which circumstances were less favourable to beginning a war. He wished to know whether France was for ever to be considered our rival? Whether we were to be always, even when apparently at peace, in such a state of rivalry as bordered upon hostility? This country appeared to him, never to have a fairer chance of superiority, than at the epoch of the present peace. As to the French navy, the most timid had ceased to dread it. The general objects of the French government were, it appeared to him, to revive commerce, and improve its commercial and manufacturing system, by imitating the means which have raised this country. If so, ought such rivalry to give us any alarm? We had gotten the start of them, and would doubtless be able long to keep the lead. Every step that France takes in this course, will be an advantage to the manufactures and commerce of this country. In a contest of this kind with France, we had every prospect of being successful. The case must therefore

therefore be made out very strongly to him, before he could consent to engage in a military war, in preference to a commercial one: he thought that the house could not so far have forgotten the event of the last ten years war, as to wish a renewal of it: that was a war too carried on with the co-operation of several German princes, and which in its commencement afforded some hope of success, but yet that war might be described,

*“ Spe lata, eventu tristia.”*

He must for ever repeat, that the only reasons which could justify us in wishing to change a state of peace for war, would be either our self-preservation, or what is equally dear to us, the preservation of our honor. Had France either injured the one or the other? One gentleman has said, that since the signing of the definitive treaty, France has not appeared to entertain sentiments conformable to our interests or wishes. Did any man suppose that when we had made peace with the first consul of France, he was immediately to become our friend, and that he would have a great consideration for our interests? Those who made the peace expressed a very different sentiment, and allowed that “Europe was in a very unsatisfactory state.” No man more regretted than himself the aggrandizement of France, nor wished more sincerely that it had been prevented; but at the same time he considered this aggrandizement as one of the greatest aggravations of the conduct of the late ministers. But if we were content to make peace when we acknowledged Europe to be in an unsatisfactory situation, we certainly would not be justified in going to

war, merely because it continued in the same situation. Knowing the fact, seeing it, and stating it, we were content to make peace; and if we are to feel our national honor much hurt by any infringement of the peace, we must on the other hand be as cautious not to give offence, as we are resolute not to receive any. Leaving this “unsatisfactory state of Europe” out of the question, he would ask what insults had France offered to this country, or what infractions she had committed of the treaty of Amiens? He really thought, that if we were so little influenced by considerations of justice and policy, as to be resolved upon the recommencement of war, we should find it difficult to get a pretext for it. As to the disposition of the people of this country, without pretending to be a better judge than other gentlemen, yet it was his opinion that there never was a time when the cry for war was less the sense of the people of England, than at the present moment. A supposed cry of the people of England was set up, which in fact only proceeded from a coalition of newspapers, who probably wished for war, as the means of selling more of their papers. Mankind had been sacrificed to the interest of princes and parties, but dreadful indeed would be the state of a country, if nations were to be driven into war, merely to serve the private interests of publishers of newspapers. This would be one of the most base and ignoble causes for which two countries ever went to war. There was another description of persons who gained by war; namely, those who by money bargains, stock-jobbing, loans, contracts, and other means which war affords, accumu-  
late

late large fortunes in a few years of war. He would rather from his soul that the blood of his fellow creatures should flow to gratify the ambition of an Alexander, than that certain persons should infamously make it the source to enrich their coffers. We had terminated the war in which we had been so long engaged, happily; we had preserved our antient dominions, and had acquired others; in other respects we had not been so fortunate, as Europe was still left in an unsatisfactory state. He sincerely hoped however, that administration still approved of the peace they had made. (A cry of hear, hear.) Some supposed that ministers only made peace because their administration was young, and they wished to secure it: he for his part should impute to them no such unworthy motives, and was convinced that they then acted with sincerity. The power of France was certainly greater than he or any Englishman could wish it, but that was no ground for going to war. Although we might not be pleased with the provisions of the treaty of Luneville, yet at the time it was concluded we were not in a situation to interfere at all in settling the affairs of Germany. It would be monstrous then, if after having positively refused to have any thing to do with the treaty of Luneville, we were now to quarrel about the execution of the details of that treaty between France and the emperor of Germany. He concluded by hoping that the sense of the nation might be to retain the advantages of the peace they had made.

Mr. Canning said, there was one point which must be pretty universally approved of, namely, the system of preparation which ministers

thought it necessary to adopt. He had generally approved of the peace which had been made, but if every thing was conciliation on our side, and we shewed a disposition to bear every insult from the French government, in such case the conduct of government was blameable. If either ministers had instigated the unfortunate Swiss to a hopeless resistance, or if they only made a weak and ill-judged remonstrance in their favour, in such case their conduct was very blameable. How they had acted in those respects could be collected from no other source but public report. He certainly at the present time approved of the measure of recruiting our exhausted army, and dismantled fleet. It was when Piedmont was incorporated with France that our army was disbanded, and the allotments of Germany were perhaps the effect of our dismantling our navy. He could not but totally disagree with Mr. Fox, who attributed all the calamities of the war to the late administration; and he was prepared to maintain that the situation of the country was not so calamitous as it was represented, at the time when his majesty's late ministers retired from office. It was that administration who had planned the armament which the quarrel with the northern nations made necessary; and it was that administration who prepared and sent forth the Egyptian expedition, which contributed so materially to the peace. He did not mean to blame the conduct of the present ministers; but they began with this advantage, that they could claim all the merit of the success of their expeditions; whereas if they had failed, it was the late administration



ministration which must have borne the blame. He was an advocate for such a state of preparation as would always leave us at liberty to put forward such a degree of strength and energy, as would now, and at all times, be sufficient to check all the hostile designs of the French government.

Lord Hawkesbury observed, that although the address appeared to be unanimously approved of, yet the grounds upon which different gentlemen supported it were very different. He could not agree entirely with what had fallen from either the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fox), or the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning) who had just sat down. He himself had said on the conclusion of peace, that it was right to close the accounts of war; but that still they must look forward with a watchful jealousy to prevent any future encroachments on the part of France. The right hon. gentleman (Mr. Canning) who was not present at the discussion of the preliminary and definitive treaties, had certainly misconceived the grounds on which they had been defended by his majesty's ministers. His supposition that ministers had relinquished the system, upon which they concluded that treaty, was founded upon a misconception. The principle that was avowed and acted upon at the late treaty, was what would govern his majesty's ministers now, and for the future. It was this, that as far as respected merely the interests of this country, the peace was made on honourable terms; inasmuch as the integrity of the British dominions was preserved: but as to the continent, it was allowed to be unsatisfactory; which was regretted in terms still stronger than had been

used to-night. The principle of concluding this peace then was this, that it was better to take the chance of peace than the chance of war, for objects merely continental, unless we had the support of the continental powers. This was the principle upon which his majesty's ministers had acted, on which they now act, and on which they would always be ready to act in future, and to justify themselves. The right hon. gentleman had misunderstood him, when he supposed that he had ever wished that this country should abstract itself from the politics of the rest of Europe. It was impossible that a country connected as this was by commerce, with the interests of all other nations, should ever feel indifferent to what befel these other nations: we could not separate the politics of this country, from the politics of Europe. Among nations, as well as individuals, those who are great and powerful, have interests to attend to, beyond the mere preservation of their existence. The protection of those who are weaker, is not only a duty, but it is among the most important of their interests. The extent however to which this principle was to be carried, depended on the existing circumstances, and was regulated in a great measure, by expediency. This had been always attended to in the consideration of the line of conduct, which this country should pursue. When Poland was blotted out of the map of the world as an independant nation; it was expediency alone, which prevented our interference. There was no British sovereign, who ever felt a stronger desire to limit the power of France upon the continent, than William the

the third, and yet he did not think it adviseable for this country to engage in a war singly against France, merely for continental objects. Although we should be always prepared to act according to circumstances, yet we could not pretend to controul existing circumstances. He must declare it to be his most decided opinion, that if (under the present circumstances of the country and of Europe) peace could be maintained with honour to ourselves, it would be better than a renewal of the contest. His right hon. friend had also misunderstood him, when he supposed that he had held forth desponding language, at the conclusion of the peace. He was sure that if war became necessary, the spirit of the people of this country would be always found equal to the contest. As to Switzerland, he must say most positively, that the resistance of that country was by no means instigated by the British government; and that no encouragement had been held out to them by this country. Some honourable gentlemen, in their compliments to Mr. Pitt, appeared to consider that the present administration wanted the firmness necessary to their situation. No man was more disposed to bestow praise on the conduct of that gentleman than himself; but events had happened in the latter part of his administration, which shewed that it was not in the power of the greatest talents to command success. The right honourable gentleman had described the state of the country, as most prosperous when he retired from office. He seemed to have forgotten, that there was at that time a com-

bination of almost the whole of Europe against us. He had forgotten the dismay and anxiety which pervaded the public mind before the battle of Copenhagen, and the success of the Egyptian expedition. Some gentlemen seemed to think our navy had been dismantled, and our military force imprudently disbanded; but, in truth, there never was before, a peace in which our naval establishment had been so strong, and that of France so weak. The right hon. gentleman had said that he did not so much regard the conditions of the peace, as the *animus* in which it was made. As to the *animus* of France, if we were to wait till it was completely friendly to this country, we must be at war for ever. The policy of ministers was now, and ever had been, to resist any unjust demands from any foreign power; and if a stand must be made, to make it in the first instance. It was their wish to preserve peace as long as they could, consistently with the policy and the general circumstances of Europe. The altered situation of Europe must certainly be a subject of regret to every lover of this country; but it must be acknowledged, that we had it not alway in our power to redress whatever we might feel to be our grievance. He concluded, by trusting that the conduct of his majesty's ministers would always be found consistent with the principles they professed, and would give general satisfaction to the country.

Mr Windham particularly directed his argument against the observations of Mr. Fox, who had formerly praised the French revolution, and who now considered France, merely on the footing of a commercial rival.

When

When every messenger who arrived from the continent, brought the account of some nation conquered, or state subverted by the ambition of France; he was astonished, that the hon. gentleman could still consider France, as only a commercial rival. Since the peace, Piedmont had been annexed to France, and Switzerland enslaved. He considered this country approaching to its dissolution, and going the way of all flesh. The Continent of Europe formerly contained near twenty independent nations, now it has but four or five; and if France, within so short a space of time, has been enabled to subdue so many nations, it seemed a simple question of arithmetick, what time she would require to subdue the rest. It must be also recollected, that her means have been encreased in the same proportion, as the means of defence in other nations has been diminished. The balance of power on the continent, is completely gone, and France can bring against us, the full force of her superior population. When he considered what she had already done, and the situation in which we stand, he could not help exclaiming with Macbeth,

“ Can such things be,  
And overcome us like a summer's cloud,  
Without our special wonder? You make  
me strange,  
Even to the disposition that I owe,  
When now I think you can behold such  
sights,  
And keep the nat'ral ruby of your cheek,  
When mine is blanch'd with fear!”

The first effect of the peace, was a great saving of expence, as if our wealth would encrease faster than the power of France; but this prospect of gain began to fail us, for we were obliged to keep such high

peace establishments, as nearly equalled the expence of those of the war. In point of gain however, the statesman would not always weigh money against the sword, and commerce against continental politics; but France could, when she attains this imperial power to which she aspires, cut up at pleasure, all the sources of our commerce, and of our gains. If France is suffered to continue her career, if she is permitted to extend this system of aggrandizement and encroachment unopposed, if we are to look on with apathy and cowardly indifference, what can we expect, but that when she has accomplished her designs upon the continent, that she will immediately fall upon us? He therefore thought, that we should now retain those things which were still in our possession, as arms for our own defence and protection: he thought the time was come, when no administration could save the country, without the most cordial co-operation from the country itself. Arguments could be found for every description of people; for the generous, the patriotic, the high-minded; and the liberal: he would appeal to the jacobins too, not as lovers of social order, or of monarchy, but as men of spirit, as lovers of what they call liberty, and men of hot and proud blood: he would ask them, would they be content that this country should be crushed beneath the yoke of France? To the inert, inactive, and selfish, he would put the question, what security was there that in the present course of things, they would be allowed much longer either to enjoy their fortunes, or their ease? If the country should be once subdued by France,

every



every thing that is dear to every man in it, would be for ever lost. We were now in a state, that we could not stand still, and therefore with us, as well as the enemy, the motto should be "*aut Cæsar, aut nullus.*" He did not wish wantonly to spread alarm, but if an enlightened rational fear was first felt, it might be soon followed up by a proper manly spirit: it is necessary the country should be made sensible of its danger, before it could be saved. He hoped the present ministers were not the *Augustuli* under whom the British empire was to fall: he spoke from a deep sense of the calamities of our situation, from seeing that the power of France was growing round us, that this country was labouring under a complication of disorders both chronic and acute, and that unless great sacrifices and exertions were made, it must inevitably be ruined. He concluded by declaring, that the dying words of Lord Chatham, "that he would pawn the shirt off his back before he would consent to submission," expressed completely his feelings upon the present occasion.

Mr. Fox, in explanation, said, he had been completely misrepresented by the right hon. gentleman; he never said that France was not most formidable; he regretted it as much as any man, but he always imputed it to the measures of that right hon. gentleman and his colleagues, that France had grown so powerful. He thought that they were gravely responsible to the country for the aggrandizement of France.

Mr. Windham, in a few words, declared it was not his intention to misrepresent the hon. gentleman, and he must submit it to the house,

whether he had misrepresented him or not?

The chancellor of the exchequer (Mr. Addington) could not hear it stated, that we were running rapidly the race of ruin, and hurrying to destruction, without making some observations on those expressions. He could not allow himself to suppose, that sentiments so disheartening and so unworthy of the situation of the country, were held by many men. He would not rise to apologize for the peace his majesty's ministers had made; on the contrary, he could not think, without the most heartfelt satisfaction, on the share he himself had in bringing about that peace. As to the influence of France upon the continent, it was nothing new; except in Holland and Portugal, the influence of France upon the continent was always greater than ours. There was no period of our history in which the government of this country ever thought it advisable to go to war with France singly, for continental objects. He was surprized to hear the government accused of reducing all our establishments. The fact was, that the army is now double what it was in the year 1784, the year after the peace. There had been no reduction, except in the cavalry and in the disembodiment of the militia, a measure which necessarily took place, at the conclusion of every war. Our naval establishment in 1786, was 115 ships of war, now it is 207; in 1792, we had 18,000 seamen employed, now we have 46,000. In the discussion upon the peace, it was insisted that our commerce and manufactures must suffer considerably; whereas, on the contrary, our foreign export trade had increased

from twenty-three millions, the highest which it had ever reached in any preceding year, to twenty-seven millions and a half, to which it arrived this year. He thought the right hon. gentleman would find it difficult to prove to the house that a state of war was the best for our internal security. He believed, in his conscience, that the disposition of the nation was the same as that of his majesty's ministers; that they anxiously wished for peace, but were not afraid of war. There could be no wish in any body to lay the country at the feet of France; but he saw a wish in some people to inflame the two countries to hostility, without any definite object. He felt that war, without any definite object, was the greatest of all evils; but still he should prefer it, at any time, to the sacrifice of our honor; he should be ready, on any future occasion, to enter minutely into the principles of the government, both at the conclusion of the peace, and to the present moment.

Mr. Thomas Grenville said, that after the turn which the debate had taken, his tacit support of the address might be construed into an assent of propositions, which he could by no means allow. His sentiments, on the present address, coincided exactly with those of his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham). The details which the chancellor of the Exchequer had given of the revenue of the country, were no answers to the arguments that had been adduced. He could not allow that the makers and approvers of the peace were equally pledged to maintain it. The approvers of it had only acted on the assurances that they had received, of the beneficial

consequences which were to result from it. Those assurances, however, had now completely failed; and therefore those who had merely approved of it, were no longer bound to support it. The fact was, that the peace had never been thoroughly discussed, as to the tone and temper in which it was made. The tone of it had been taken on the mere word of ministers, and it was now found that they had either been completely deceived themselves, or had deceived others. The treaty, in truth, was no sooner signed, than the disposition of the French government was found to be very different from what ministers had affected to believe it. And that disposition was every day evinced more plainly. No sooner had the treaty been signed, in May last, than we heard of Piedmont being annexed to France; in August we heard of the plan agreed upon by France and Russia, for the destruction of the German empire. And yet, by the treaty of Westphalia, this country guaranteed the German empire; but now we were to be told, in the language of *The Moniteur*, "that we had the treaty of Amiens, and nothing but the treaty of Amiens." In September, the unhappy fate of Switzerland arrested our attention; and in October the duchy of Parma is irrevocably united to France. These are the first indications of the friendly disposition of the first consul. The very words of the address shew, that the sentiments of administration are changed. It was on that account, and because a high military establishment was recommended, that he gave his hearty concurrence to the address.

Lord Castlereagh defended the  
conduct

conduct of his majesty's ministers, but freely confessed that the state of Europe was much more unsatisfactory now than it was at the time of the signing of the peace at Amiens. Great advantages, however, had been derived from that peace. "Had we continued the war on the reasoning of the right hon. gentleman and his friends, we should have lost our energy, and the country would not have been with us." Another advantage had been derived from the peace: the country sees that its resources are firmly fixed, and do not depend upon the circumstance of peace or war. His noble friend (lord Hawkesbury) had been misunderstood by those who supposed him to have stated that all continental alliance was at an end: he certainly had never meant to express the dispiriting idea, that no circumstances or time could revive the vigour and energy of the continent. The determination of his majesty's ministers was to place the peace establishment, on the most efficient and permanent footing; and should war become necessary, he felt no doubt but the spirit and resources of the nation would enable us to repel every danger with which we might be threatened.

Mr. Whitbread said, he should vote for the address, although he could not deny but that he was alarmed at what had fallen from his

majesty's ministers. Those who disapproved the peace, acted consistently in now wishing for war; but those who had made the peace, while France was in possession of Piedmont and Switzerland, and who had not then made the slightest stipulation, in regard either to Switzerland or Sardinia, would act inconsistently if they were to break the treaty on such grounds. However he admired the abilities and lively imagination of a right hon. gentleman (Mr. Windham), he could not agree with him in his reasoning, when he supposed France would increase much faster in power during peace than in time of war. The fact was otherwise: at the first effort at negotiation, France was content to cede Belgium; at the second she refused to give it up; at the third her pretensions were still higher; the fourth attempt was, when Bonaparte sent overtures of peace, which, in an evil hour, were rejected; and during the war France had enormously increased in power. She had not made an equal progress in peace. He hoped peace was not likely to be soon broken, and he lamented that language tending to inspire such a belief should have been so inconsiderately used.

After some explanations between the chancellor of the exchequer and Mr. Whitbread, the address was carried unanimously.



## CHAP. II.

*Report of the Address brought up.—Debate on the Second Reading.—Speeches of Mr. Wilberforce—Elliot—Sir Francis Burdett—Mr. Johnstone—Earl Temple—Gen. Maitland—Secretary at War—Mr. Fox—Archdall—Chancellor of the Exchequer.—Report agreed to.—Address presented.—Gracious Answer of the King.—Observations.*

ON the 24th of November, the report of the address having been brought up by Mr. Trench, and the question being put on the second reading,

Mr. Wilberforce rose to deliver his sentiments. The address seemed to him to hold out that language which was proper for the house to maintain. He thought the country had been hitherto rather too forward in entering into war and continental connexions, in which it had often engaged itself to an extent, that it certainly had not foreseen, and which had wasted much of our blood and treasure, without producing any adequate advantage: but he never did say that continental connections were at all times, and under all circumstances, to be avoided. It was certainly desirable to prevent France extending her power by land as well as by sea; but then, in attending to this principle, we must consider expediency, as well as the speculations of statesmen. How had the speculations of the wisest been turned into foolishness? The profoundest politicians had overlooked what men of the plainest and meanest capacities had foreseen. He could not but

remember the splendid and eloquent speech of his noble friend, (Lord Hawkesbury) which, though replete with knowledge, and displaying the profoundest political combinations, only shewed the weakness of political speculation, and how one disastrous event could overturn the foundation of the best reasonings. The quantity of treasure vainly expended in the last war, would better have been employed in the improvement, than in the destruction of mankind. At the conclusion of the treaty of Utrecht, a single accident changed the whole complexion of political affairs, and produced a peace for thirty years. If he had said to his constituents "that the people of this country were too honest for continental connexions," what he meant by the expression was, that we were always faithful to our engagements, whereas we were as generally forsaken by our allies. The principle of the continental powers seemed to be, to pay no attention to political engagements, longer than it suited their convenience. Every court in Europe had at different times belonged to the late confederacy against France, and yet they had all found means to

get out of it, and leave this country alone. The court of Vienna, as well as the rest, quitted us in the year 1797, without giving us any intimation of what they were meditating, and without shewing more fidelity than the others. In the affair of the German indemnities, no regard was paid to any engagements with us. He then proceeded to observe the probable effects of a new confederacy:—Austria or Russia might be bought off by France giving to them a part of Turkey. He recalled to the recollection of the house the partition of Poland, and if Turkey had not yet shared the same fate, it was because that hitherto it was not the interest of France that it should. In reply to Mr. Windham, he asked what were we now to expect by war? (A cry of hear, hear, from Mr. Fox.) In the last war we had taken every thing which was takeable, and were content to give them up; we should not gain much by taking them over again. In a free country there was a consideration more important than revenue, than resources, than armies or navies; and that was, that the government should possess the hearts of the people, (hear, hear,) If government were to hurry the people into a war, without a most substantial cause; instead of their affections they would merit their execration. He concluded by expressing his opinion, that if we carefully improved our resources, and cultivated the affections of the people at large, we had nothing to fear from the unwieldy power of France; and that the best way of producing the dissolution of that mighty power was to leave it to itself.

Gen. Gascoyne supported the address, and hoped that the language and spirit shewn in this debate would shew the feelings of the country, and deter the first consul from the prosecution of his designs.

Mr. Elliot declared he was so unused to speak in that house, that nothing but his strong feeling of the situation of the country could overcome his personal embarrassment. He thought it was necessary that the house and the country should thoroughly be acquainted with the dangers which threaten, in order that all precautions which human prudence could suggest, might be taken to avert the evil, and that we might meet it with becoming firmness. Experience had shewn us that France in time of peace could conquer, as well as in war.—States had fallen, and even the Germanic empire had been overturned in time of acknowledged and profound peace. A new revolution had taken place in Europe, by the dissolution of that august body, which was full of political and moral evil. When we saw property, titles, and honours overthrown; when we saw corporations, both spiritual and civil, destroyed; sovereign princes transferred from one dominion to another; and subjects separated from their legitimate rulers; could we witness these scenes without feeling that all the opinions, habits, principles, and prejudices, which constitute the foundation of civil government and social order, were shaken to their basis? This was all done by France, in confederation with Russia and Prussia, without any communication with our court, or with Austria, the acknowledged head of the empire.

The records of tyranny had furnished no instance of a more foul, flagrant, and unprovoked aggression on the rights and liberties of a brave, innocent, and injured people, than the conduct of France towards Switzerland exhibited.—Switzerland was principally important to Europe, as being the barrier to Germany; but we suffered Germany to be partitioned, and then we feebly interposed for Switzerland. The power of France increased with accumulated rapidity, but her principles remained the same, as did her system of fraud, violence, and insult. Had we forgot that while our ambassador was at Amiens, she had siezed the most flourishing portions of Italy? Did they remember how they had been imposed upon with respect to the limits of Portuguese Guiana? How we had been deceived about the isle of Elba, and the trick which had been practised on the Turkish minister at Paris? The peace was allowed to be only an experiment, and yet ministers acted as if the experiment had succeeded: they reduced our armies and our fleets, without waiting to see whether France was pacific in her dispositions or not. He then alluded to the conduct of the French Government in the instance of Napper Tandy, and in countenancing a new English paper in Paris, (the *Argus*) directly levelled against the British government. As to the prosperity of our commerce, notwithstanding the prohibitions of France, although it was true we might carry on a considerable contraband trade, yet that must be done in neutral vessels, which would hurt considerably our shipping interest. In this com-

mercial rivalry, much had been said of British capital and credit, and perhaps not enough of French power and energy. The same causes which had rendered France so formidable in war, would have the same influence when directed to the enterprizes of commerce. If gentlemen relied on our surplus, four millions; he could say, France had four hundred thousand bayonets. "The armed robber is at the door, and if not well resisted, the richer we are, the better for the robber." He concluded a long and very able speech, by expressing his opinion, that if we were now obliged again to go to war, it would not be for our honor, or for any of those interests which form a legitimate cause of war; but it would be for the existence of the empire itself, and he hoped that from the spirit of the people, we might look forward to a favourable result.

Sir Francis Burdett allowed that France now presented a spectacle which England could not look on without dismay, but he thought it extraordinary that a right hon. gentleman yesterday should have pointed out, with an air of triumph, those dangers into which he himself had conducted us, in conjunction with his colleagues in office. It is an extraordinary course he recommends for avoiding those dangers, to put ourselves again under the guidance of those men who brought us before into danger, and to pursue the same measures which have produced this effect. The power of France is formidable, but it is owing to the war, and the mode it was conducted, that she has been placed in that situation. When the combined despots of Europe



Europe pressed upon her on every side, no alternative remained but victory or unconditional submission, and therefore she was obliged to make exertions beyond what human power would have been supposed capable of. He only objected to two expressions in the address. One appeared as if we were watching for another opportunity to interfere in the affairs of the continent, which would, in his opinion, be most unwise, if we really intended it, and idle vapouring, if we did not intend it. He also objected to that which had been stated respecting what ministers called the union with Ireland, but which he rather thought should be called subjugation; the only effect that resulted immediately from it was, the reinforcing the ministerial phalanx, which was before too strong. As to what an hon. gentleman had said about jacobins, the word jacobin had been so universally employed, that he really was at a loss to understand the meaning of it, or to know who was a jacobin. Another hon. gentleman had seemed to think that the safety of the state depended on the return of another right hon. gentleman into office. For his part, he thought that gentleman's character was described in the passage: "*Satis eloquentiæ, sapientiæ parum.*" A little less eloquence, and a little more wisdom, would have spared the state many misfortunes.

Mr. Johnstone, in supporting the address, approved of the conduct of ministers, whom he was very sorry to see deserted by their former friends, while they were opposed by such formidable abilities. It was most evident that endeavours

were making to remove them from office. He concluded by recommending moderation and patience, rather than precipitancy and rashness; and quoted an opinion of Machiavel, "that there are evils which are more easily removed by time than violence."

Earl Temple severely animadverted on that part of the hon. baronet's speech, in which the present power of France was ascribed to a combination of despots. While those despots acted with this country, they were the objects of the hon. baronet's spleen and invective, but now that the despotism of Europe is united in one hand, and directed against this country, it was no longer the subject of his invectives. He must most flatly deny the imputation, that "he and his friends would prefer war at any rate, before peace upon any terms." They only wished to open the eyes of the people, to shew them how their dignity suffered; how their interests were impaired, and how impossible it was to look for safety in war, or security in peace, under an administration like the present. Instead of being able to secure us from the impending storm, they would serve as conductors (though blunt ones) to draw down the lightnings which were to consume us. He considered the address as a mawkish mixture of pretended firmness and conciliation. As far as it thanks heaven for the abundant harvest, it should have his cordial concurrence."

General Maitland said, there never was a time when our military establishments were on so high a footing as at present. He was not afraid of our commerce being

destroyed by the tyrannical power of Bonaparte. On the contrary, he thought commerce could only flourish in a free country, and the effects of the tyrannical government of France would be only to crush it in that country. He could not approve of a renewal of the war, being convinced that France would do as it had done before, and make some neighbouring state pay for all the losses she might sustain in a contest with this country.

The secretary of war (Mr. Yorke) expressed astonishment that any gentleman should say we had no army, and had laid aside our navy; when, in fact, we had a greater efficient force than we ever possessed in peace, or even for many years of the last war. The diminution is only of the militia and of several corps who were enlisted only to serve during the war. Our army was not only respectable in numbers, but its discipline and organization were such as would enable it to be rapidly increased, to a point that would make it not very desirable to any foreign force to meddle with it. He was very glad to hear a noble lord (lord Temple) avow in a manly way, that the object of his friends was to obtain a change of the administration, and that they thought they would make better ministers than the present. If they should succeed, if their administration was not a mawkish one, it would probably not be without a considerable share of insolence. The present ministers came into power without cabal or intrigue; it must be acknowledged that they had given peace to the country, and that it had suffered no calamity at their hands.

Mr. Fox had heard, with lively satisfaction, the warm eloquence of the youthful lord, he had heard with pleasure the avowal of the object, and conclusion of his arguments; and now found that all the imagery which had adorned the speeches of the noble lord and his friends, went only to a change of ministry, by substituting a part of the late administration for the present. That being the case, if those gentlemen were restored to office, the only consequence he expected from it would be, that we should get rid of all their warlike speeches. As to the gentlemen who now are ministers, if they have drawn a gloomy picture of the country, for the purpose of arming beyond what was necessary, he considered such lavish and wanton profusion of the resources of the country, as great a crime as ministers could well be guilty of, and such as would justify their removal; but it would be too much to join the noble lord, who merely found fault with the administration as a mawkish one, and wished for another. Although he had hitherto supported the present ministers from their conduct, he was by no means disposed to approve of the manner in which they came into office. The late ministers assigned a certain principle as the cause of their removal. If the present ministers came in upon a contrary principle, and to prevent the extension of their rights to a great portion of his majesty's subjects, he could by no means approve of their manner of coming into office. As to the supposition of a right hon. gentleman (Mr. Windham), on a former night, of a man rising from the dead, and inquiring

Inquiring about the fate of the different nations of Europe, and finding that all but England had fallen under the power of France; to this supposition he would answer by a question, Would not this man have also asked who were the ministers of England, when all those changes happened? If it be asked what were the measures which have rendered France so formidable? It may be answered, she was forced by our menaces and attacks to make extraordinary exertions; and although the spirit raised in France has, in a great measure, subsided; yet, the impulse being once given, she was enabled to continue in the same career. He was no advocate for France, but agreed with an hon. gentleman (Gen. Gascoigne), that there were many things which we now dislike, but which time would do more to cure than violence. He then considered what had been called aggressions on the part of France. As to the affair of the German indemnities, every body knew there was no other way of effecting them but by secularizations. As to Switzerland, it was in the absolute possession of France, both at the signing of the treaties of Luneville and Amiens; and as to Piedmont, the only change has been, that instead of the the 29th Military Department, it is now called Department of the Po, or some such name. England can never have a military force equal to France, but she might make up for that inferiority by a superior navy, and by a systematic economy, which would enable us to remedy that military deficiency. The treaty of Amiens recognized France as a mighty empire, and therefore the greatness which was

then acknowledged, cannot now be a ground of quarrel. After the experience of the last ten years, he did not hope much from connexions with German princes; and he did not think it generous always to be holding out to France that Austria was the power on whom we relied for curbing its ambition. If we had a right to be jealous of the military power of France, Frenchmen had also a right to be jealous of our great naval superiority. As to the language of the French newspapers, he did not think that was a ground of war, our own were perhaps equally irritating. Some gentlemen appeared to think it aggression on the part of France to cut a canal, or improve her harbours, and advise war, merely to prevent the rivalry of French commerce; for his part he had no such dread of the rivalry of French commerce, and considered peace at least as safe as war. As to our commerce being supposed to have somewhat declined since the war, if that was the case, and such an argument could be listened to, the argument would go for being eternally at war. Such were his reasons for supporting the address, and differing from the opinions of a right hon. gentleman (Mr. Windham.)

Mr. Archdall replied to the observations which had been made by Sir Francis Burdett, respecting the state of Ireland.

Mr. Windham eloquently supported the opinions he had maintained on a former night. He insisted that this country had gained by the war, as she had preserved her constitution and her independence, and at least restrained within the bounds of Europe, the daring



daring ambition of this second Alexander, who aimed at the conquest of the entire world. France had gained by the peace: like the spell of a magician, it immediately opened to her the obstructed passages to the West Indies, Africa, and Asia; to every region to which otherwise she could not have made her way. After a variety of argument in support of his former opinions, he concluded, by vindicating the fidelity of Austria in her engagements with this country.

The chancellor of the exchequer vindicated the conduct of administration from those charges of want of vigour and energy, which were so often brought against them. During the war, there was no want of vigour in conducting it with energy and success. There were some gentlemen who were in the habit of making exaggerated statements, and using language tending to war.—Others, on the contrary, seemed to be ready to make any sacrifices for the maintenance of peace. Ministers would not follow the advice of either, but adopt a middle course, which should be at the same time firm and moderate.

Sir James Pulteney supported the conduct of the ministers.

Lord Hawkesbury, Mr. Canning, and Mr. Bragge, each made a few observations.

The chancellor of the exchequer, in reply to a question of Mr. Elliot's, said, the saving in consequence of peace, might be 25 millions sterling annually.

The report was then agreed to, and the address was presented to his majesty by the whole house, on the following day; when his majesty returned a most gracious answer.

Having thus given at considerable length, the debates which took place in both houses of parliament on the king's speech, and the consequent address; our readers will thereby have been enabled, to form a more perfect opinion, of what the sense of the imperial representation was upon public affairs at this crisis, than from any statement we could possibly pretend to give. With the exception of Mr. Pitt, all those characters to whom the public were taught to look up in the moment of danger and peril, for counsel and direction, had elaborately given their opinions; and a singular and unusual coincidence to the tenor of the proposed address, appeared for a moment to assimilate and unite the jarring elements, of which it was well known those assemblies were composed. But in fact, it was far otherwise. Never did party round and collect itself more strongly, or determine with more decision on the conduct it meant to pursue, than at this moment; and even in the assent, given by those who notoriously differed from administration, to the address, were the grounds and motives of the most determined opposition laid bare, and exposed to public view. In the speech from the throne, government, all at once dropping that tone of confidence in the good dispositions of the present ruler of France towards this country, to the surprise and dismay of a people, who had too eagerly depended on the assurances of Mr. Addington and his colleagues, that we were in possession of, and might enjoy in undisturbed tranquility, the "blessings of peace;" had announced the necessity of warlike preparation, in

in a way not to be misunderstood, and which it was impossible (though no effort was spared for the purpose) to explain away or deny. In vain did the supporters of the minister assert, that this preparation was not meant to apply to any circumstances now actually existing; but rather to those, which might possibly exist hereafter: that, though not meant to disturb France in the controul and preponderance she had usurped over the rest of the powers of Europe, yet it might contribute materially to prevent her farther encroachments. This reasoning, or rather sophistry, met with no credit or approbation, save from those who are always to be found in the ranks of the minister of the hour; or from those who thought peace preferable, under any circumstances of national disgrace and dishonor, to a renewal of contest, doubtful and hazardous as it must prove in the event. To all others, it was evident that the ministers themselves had taken alarm; that they were roused from their supineness; and that they were anxious to tread back those steps, which a total want of political experience, or the love of place and power, had induced them to take, perhaps to the utter destruction of the country they had been called upon to govern. Yet was the magnanimity wanting, fairly to come forward with an avowal of their errors. In the face of circumstances the most notorious, they still persisted in defending their past conduct, and in maintaining the truth and consistency of their pacific predictions, at the very moment, when they called on the country for a war expence, and a war establishment!

Opposition to such apparent imbecility, began now however to appear in a quarter, the most alarming to the personal feelings of the minister, as well as to his prospects of continuance at the helm of public affairs. It was well known, that for his present power, as indeed for his very political existence, he was indebted to the recommendation and protection of Mr. Pitt. That great man had supported him on the abstract principles of the peace, as exhibited in the preliminary articles; nor did he desert him in carrying that measure through the more distressing details of the treaty of Amiens. In giving this support, he certainly carried his friendship to an extreme. Nor could any assistance, short of this powerful aid, have enabled Mr. Addington to urge measures, which revolted every principle of national feeling and national honor; and which the short period that had elapsed, from its consummation to the present meeting of parliament, had abundantly proved to be as hollow and fallacious, as it was disgraceful and dishonorable. But, however consistent it might be with the character of Mr. Addington and his colleagues in power, to defend those measures, which all experience and all policy had decided upon, as unwise and unsafe; yet from the late minister, a very different line of conduct was looked for, and not looked for in vain.—Was it possible for him, however he might have supported even the treaty of Amiens, such as it was, to behold with indifference, “ ere the ink was dry with which it was signed, or the wax cold with which it was sealed,”

sealed,"\* its abuse and its violation? Could he witness without emotion the promulgation of secret treaties, by which territory upon territory were added to the republic:—the annexation of Piedmont; the seizure of Parma; the possession of Louisiana; the hard measure which our faithful but unfortunate allies of Sardinia and Orange had experienced from the despot, whose universal empire that treaty had gone so far towards establishing; the new modelling the empire of Germany in a manner at once the most arbitrary and unjust, in defiance of the constitution of the empire itself, and of the treaty of Westphalia, by which Great Britain guaranteed that constitution; the cruel and unmerited encroachments on Switzerland; in short, the assumption of all power and authority on the continent: while with respect to the British empire, the conduct of France was not less conspicuously overbearing and hostile: the sailing to the West Indies of an immense armament, even before peace was concluded; the most direct attacks upon our commercial spirit of adventure, and commercial security; the contemptuous tone of the French official papers, which sneeringly told all Europe, that "England should have the treaty of Amiens, and nothing but the treaty of Amiens;"† the prodigious increase of her military and marine establishments, from the moment she had disgraced us in the eyes of all Europe, by formally limiting our political affairs to our immediate insular concerns, in all her public declarations, and by

her conduct immediately subsequent to the treaty; by the encouragement and protection the Irish jacobinical emigrants and proscripts experienced at Paris; and finally by the establishment of an English newspaper in her metropolis, under the auspices of the government itself, and the direction of those traitors, whose avowed object was to keep alive the spirit of rebellion and discontent, among that unhappy class of people, against their native (perhaps in many cases too lenient) government? It was not, we repeat, possible for the great and comprehensive mind of Mr. Pitt to see unmoved, the conduct of those whom he had placed in power, so utterly disproportioned to the magnitude of the approaching evil: he could not approve of their weakening the force of the country, in an exact ratio with the increasing strength of a power, whose every step indicated unabated fierceness and hostility: he could not approve, under the formidable acquisition of strength to France, which had accrued to her, either by negotiation or by violence, since the period of the cessation of hostilities, of the supineness of ministers, who looked on with apparent apathy at all that passed, without one exertion or solitary remonstrance, which might shew our sense of the conduct of our enemy, or might check his predatory ambition: under such circumstances he could not approve the surrender of those conquests, one by one, which had been the hard-earned meed of British valour and enterprize, and the fruit of his

\* Vide Lord Grenville's speech on the address. p. 6.

† Moniteur.



vigorous councils: he could not witness, without bitter pangs, the approach of that enervating languor, which had already stolen upon the councils, and over the spirit of the people; nor without a secret determination, to rouse the antient energies of his country, and rescue her from that sleep of death which had already palsied her extremities, and threatened to sieze upon her vitals. Yet was he unwilling all at once to drive back to obscurity those whom he, and he alone, had raised into notice.—Antient habits, personal friendship, and perhaps that desire of preserving consistency, which must ever have its due weight with every public man, deterred him from appearing in the foremost ranks of opposition on the present occasion; but his support was no longer to be found: he did not appear, as he was wont, the prop and bulwark of the administration; and both its friends and its enemies, in his absence saw the grounds of future irresistible opposition to its existence. Nor was this all—that person\* who was supposed to be, more than any other individual, interior with his councils and determinations, in the most marked manner disapproved of the conduct of ministers, since the conclusion of the peace, and coincided with them in the address, only as it approved that state of preparation which the speech from the throne announced as necessary, and which in itself conveyed the severest censure on the disarming system pursued since the treaty of Amiens. Many of those who were considered personally attached to the late mi-

nister, in both houses of parliament, avowed the same sentiments; nor from the period of the discussion we allude to, was there thenceforward any cordiality or effectual co-operation looked for, from any quarter, between the late and present ministers.

The defalcation from the side of government, of those who originally supported the peace, did not include great strength of numbers—But their leader was himself a host—They might be considered as the converts of circumstances.—Not so the steady band of politicians, who, generalising their ideas, and arguing from the immutable nature of things, had early applied political science to the existing circumstances, at the periods of the preliminary and definitive treaties; had exposed their insufficiency and predicted their instability; who now come forward in formidable array, to take credit for their prescience; to re-urge that charge of incapacity and imbecility, the effects of which, often predicted by them, now began to be severely felt by the country; again to call for a complete change of measures and of men, as the only means of preserving what yet remained to Great Britain of consequence and independence. They shook the walls of the senate with their convincing and luminous eloquence; and their opinions, now confirmed to the conviction even of their enemies, became the standard and measure of those of the public. All the clamour which had been industriously raised and propagated against the views of those who were designated by the appellation

\* Mr. Canning.

of "the new opposition,"\* suddenly subsided. The sun of truth had chased away the mists and fogs, which the malignant spirit of party and prejudice had raised to obscure their conduct; and their real character, talents, wisdom, and virtue, appeared in all that brilliancy and purity, which belonged to the aggregate of that rare assemblage of statesmen, of whom it was composed. To this last description of opposition† no great increase of number on the present occasion was discernible; but public opinion was with them, and a similarity of present views indicated an approximation towards Mr. Pitt and his friends; an union sufficiently powerful to overthrow any administration from whence they were excluded. In supporting the address, the "new opposition" only gave that part of it, which alluded to increase of force, their support, and this only as it was an earnest of more vigorous measures.

Having noticed two descriptions of persons sufficiently distinct to be so discriminated, there remains but one more to be arranged under its proper banners, namely, that of the "old opposition," of which Mr. Fox had been for so long a period, and still continued, the ostensible leader. This party, though "shorn of its beams," by the defection of Mr. Burke, and those who thought with him on the subject of the French revolution, was yet sufficiently formidable, by the talents of the individuals who composed it; by the great property of some of those who still steadily upheld its princi-

ples and its cause; and by the influence it possessed over a portion of the community at large; to have given great cause of disquiet to government, had it thought proper to martial itself in array against the minister, at the opening of the session. On the present occasion, however, personal animosity to Mr. Pitt and his friends, or a blind attachment to the pacific system, seems to have biassed men in opposition to those lights which must have derived to them from their superior talents and great political experience. They were apparently disposed to give a warm support to Mr. Addington; yet, in preserving their own consistency they qualified their approbation on the present ministers, with so many severe rebukes and disquisitions on the conduct of the last, of whom those now in power formed a part; that the latter could not accept those compliments of their present conduct, at the expence of that which had been the uniform tenor of their early political life. Nor was the approval of the address, by Mr. Fox and his friends, grounded on any other basis, save on that part of his majesty's speech, in which establishments were generally recommended, by which they supposed, such only were meant as were necessary for our security, and did not go to the extent of increasing our military establishments, which system they deprecated and disapproved of in the strongest degree. They persisted in their belief of the pacific "tone and temper" of the first consul; and assured the

\* Vide historical part of the last volume, 1802.

† Lords Grenville, Spencer, Buckingham, Fitzwilliam, Carlisle, &c. in the lords.—Messrs. Windham, Grenville, Elliot, Dr. Lawrence, &c. in the commons.

legislation,

legislation, "that a rivalry in commerce and in the arts of peace, were the sole objects of his ambition!" From support, thus qualified, the ministers could receive little pleasure and less advantage. It was evident that it arose from a belief that they were determined to persevere in pacific measures, at all events, and under all circumstances; and that should war (which was evidently in their contemplation, however they might endeavour to conceal it from the public, perhaps from themselves,) be the result of the present menacing posture of affairs, that all concurrence in opinion, and assistance from their now apparent well-wishers, must cease. In consequence of which the advocates of the present government, rejecting such assistance, had to combat at once the friends of Mr. Pitt—the new and the old opposition—a task totally beyond their powers in debate or political science, and the failure in which must expose them, as will always be the case in a popular government, to ultimate defeat and ruin. Under such disastrous auspices did the present administration commence their parliamentary campaign of this year; and such the view of the materials of which that parliament was composed. Warm and eager contention was looked to among the political circles. Nor was the state of the public mind more tranquil. Lulled into the most profound security, by the assurances of the ministers; the inhabitants of the British empire had seen, but prospectively, a continuation of the peace, for a term of sufficient duration, to ensure the reduction of the national debt, a decrease of taxes,

internal prosperity, and a vast increase of commercial and colonial advantages. In vain did the "warning voice" of the first statesmen of the age, announce the coming tempest. In vain did the ambitious turbulence of Bonaparte in every quarter of the globe, bespeak his inveterate hatred to us, and his unlimited ambition. In vain did the British press, that great lever of public opinion, (and which had to its immortal honor first taken the alarm at that despotic violence which threatened in its unchecked progress, the liberties of the world, and of course its own,) exert itself to open the eyes of a deluded people.—The specious and flattering prospects held out by administration, prevailed over the better judgments of a burthened and commercial nation; and it was not till the speech announced the necessity of military preparation, and the jealous view which it took of continental affairs, that the people could be brought to look their danger in the face.—But this thunder-clap soon aroused them—a determination to engage cheerfully in new wars, if such were necessary, quickly prevailed in the minds of all; but with this determination began to be conceived a deep and rooted contempt for the characters of those, who had blindly or wilfully deceived them, and an anxious desire to be delivered in the moment of approaching trial, from those hands which had, in comparatively easy periods, so feebly held the reigns of government; and that they should be committed to such as had experience, ability, and skill to guide them.—Before we close however  
ultimate



this statement, it is but justice to remark, that one inestimable good consequence seems to have resulted, even from the very weakness of administration. In proportion to our submission and acquiescence to the views of France; in proportion as we gave way to her ambition, and the accomplishment of her objects; in proportion as we bent under the impositions of an insatiable and insulting enemy; in that proportion the resentment and indignation of a generous and brave people

arose at the proofs of his unmerited hostility. One sentiment, one motive, seemed to pervade, without a single exception, the whole community; and the British nation were, to a man, determined to shew our insulting foe, should a contest be inevitable, that it had not lost its ancient strength or elasticity, but could spring back with tenfold force and energy, to the destruction of the power who had dared oppressively to humble it.

## CHAP. III.

*Resolutions of the Committee of Supply.—Debate on the first Resolution.—Speeches of Mr. T. Grenville—Addington—Sir S. Smith—Lord Hawkesbury—Mr. Canning—Attorney General—Dr. Lawrence.—Resolutions agreed to.—Lord Moira's Motion for Papers on the Assumption of the Dominion of the Carnatic, in the House of Lords, agreed to.—Proceedings on the Middlesex Petitions.—Military Estimate.—Debate—Secretary at War—Mr. Bankes—Earl Temple—General Maitland—Tarleton—Mr. Archdall—Whitbread—Sheridan—Canning—Wilberforce—Fox—Windham—Chancellor of the Exchequer.—Resolutions committed.—Debate resumed on the bringing up the Report of the Committee—Mr. T. Grenville—Lord Hawkesbury—Sir F. Burdett—Dr. Lawrence—Mr. Fox—Windham—Lord Castlereagh.—Resolutions carried unanimously.*

THE next debate of importance, which occurred previously to the Christmas recess, took place in the house of commons, on the 2d of December, when the resolutions of the committee of supply were brought up. The first resolution was, that fifty thousand seamen be employed for the service of the year 1803, including 12,000 marines.

On the resolution being put,

Mr. Grenville expressed his astonishment at the conduct of ministers, who proposed a vote of so many additional seamen, without stating the necessity for it;—he considered such an explanation would be due to parliament, before they agreed to the proposition of the minister. The speech, in fact, contained no sentiment or opinion, applicable either to the present times, or to any former period of our history; it was a mere collec-

tion of truisms. In former speeches, delivered at critical periods, there were some declarations of the opinions of ministers, with respect to the state of Europe; in the present there was not even the attempt made. Last year, the minister said he considered 30,000 seamen sufficient for our peace establishment; at present he demanded 50,000. Parliament ought to be informed of the reasons of this excess. If we were likely to continue in peace, parliament might think it too much; if we were likely to be soon at war, they might think it too little. He wished the house to consider the vast exertions that both France and Holland were making for the restoration of their navies; Spain and Portugal too, were so completely under the influence of France, that she would be enabled to direct their strength against this country, whenever she chose; and perhaps

shut us out for ever from the Mediterranean. Wherever we turned our eyes, we must see the progressive aggrandizement of France. He was decidedly of opinion that the sum which was demanded was too large for a peace establishment, and yet too small either for war, or to enable us to interfere, with weight, in the affairs of the continent.

The chancellor of the exchequer trusted that the house would not believe, that it was from any disrespect, that he did not think it necessary to preface the resolutions with any observation. The right hon. gentleman and his friends, had a very short time ago felt, that there were sufficient reasons for a larger establishment, and they then called for it; but now, when an increased establishment is proposed, he was asked what was the reason for this excess? If he and his friends believed the descriptions they had themselves given of the state of Europe, he should suppose no farther reasons could be necessary, to them at least, for an increased establishment. It seemed now to be agreed by every body, that a strong defensive force was necessary for this country, in the present situation of Europe. As to the increase of the Dutch navy, when it was considered how it had been reduced last war, it was no wonder that exertions were made to restore it: but if there was no supineness on our part, those exertions could not be to us injurious. In the beginning of the last war the fleets of the enemy were as follow:—France had 105 sail of the line, Spain 79, and Holland 27; but at the conclusion of the war, this force was so reduced, that France

had but 39, Spain 63, and Holland 16. The British navy now exceeds the navies of France, Spain, and Holland, by sixty sail of the line, and proportionally in frigates and sloops of war. Under those circumstances, he did not think this country need feel any serious alarm from the naval exertions of the powers which France could influence to join her. His majesty's ministers had no other wish than to be enabled to put forth, upon any emergency, a force sufficient to repel all danger from this country.

Sir Sidney Smith expressed considerable regret, at the great reductions which were suddenly made, both in the king's dock-yards, and in the navy in general. A prodigious number of men had been thus reduced to the utmost poverty and distress; and it might be apprehended that they would be obliged to seek employment from foreign states. Whatever reluctance they might feel to this, they might, by dire necessity, be compelled to it. On this ground he wished the number of seamen to be employed were considerably greater than it is; for he knew, from his own experience, that what was called an ordinary seaman, could hardly find employment at present, either in the king's or in the merchants' service. He had himself been present at some of the changes which had taken place in France; they resembled more the changes of scenery at a theatre, than any thing else. Every thing was done for stage effect, and whether it was the death of Cæsar; the fall of Byzantium; or the march of Alexander, it seemed to Frenchmen almost equally indifferent. If the invasion of Britain was to be produced,



produced, it might have stage effect enough to draw 400,000 volunteers to join in the procession. Under those circumstances, he wished that this country should always be in a situation to call together speedily a strong naval force, to frustrate any attempts on the part of the enemy.

Mr. Sturges supported the resolution, from his idea of the necessity of a large establishment; but expressed surprize that ministers had assigned no reason for this increase, and earnestly hoped that it would be yet possible to continue in peace.

Captain Markham defended the conduct of the admiralty board, in contradiction of the instances adduced by sir Sidney Smith.

Lord Hawkesbury said, it was not usual for ministers to preface resolutions of this nature with many observations; but, in the present instance, he thought it more peculiarly necessary, as it was generally understood at the time of discussing the address, that our establishments were to be considerably increased. Ministers had then distinctly avowed their intentions of proposing such an increase. It was uncommon for ministers to give such an explanation; it was very uncommon to demand it from them. As to a permanent establishment, that was certainly a fit subject for parliamentary discussion; but the establishment which ministers might think necessary for the year, depended upon their opinion of the situation of affairs, that, they were not at liberty to disclose. It was therefore absolutely necessary to place such confidence in whoever were the ministers, as to give them credit, when they declared their

opinions generally, that such a force is immediately necessary for the defence of the state. He believed, that without speaking from any exclusive information his majesty's ministers might have, there were sufficient circumstances known by every man in that house and in the country, to induce a very general opinion, that our military establishments ought to be increased. He wished, however, that the country would endeavour to continue the peace, in the true spirit of peace; a spirit which was perfectly consistent with the national honor; but free from that degree of irritation, which, if pursued, could answer no one good end, but must inevitably lead to hostilities. It had been usual for that house, without much observation, to vote such peace establishment for the year, as ministers should declare to be necessary. It was not, however, merely on this ground of confidence, that ministers relied for the support of the house; there were abundant circumstances known to the whole world, to make an increased establishment a thing of evident and absolute necessity.

Mr. Canning professed to be satisfied with the explanation of his noble friend (lord Hawkesbury), and if such an explanation had been given before the resolutions were brought forward, he thought it would have prevented all discussion. He allowed that it was always necessary to be prepared, not only against the hostility, but against the perfidy of France. We should be prepared against the attack of our foreign possessions, and the possible event of invasion, not only on the first declaration of war, but

even before such declaration should have been made. As to the affairs of Switzerland, he wished to know whether the honor and character of this country had been at all committed; and if so, how that pledge had been redeemed? He considered that under the present circumstances of Europe, a considerable augmentation of our military establishments were necessary; and yet he could not vote for that proposed, without some farther explanation.

The attorney general (Mr. Percival) thought it somewhat curious, that those objections should come from persons who had already recommended an increase of our establishments; had they come from a right hon. gentleman (Mr. Fox) who always recommended small establishments, it would not have been so surprizing. Ministers, however, were determined to steer a middle course, and if it was not in their power to reconcile the jar of parties, he trusted they would be able to reconcile themselves to the public. As it was not to the principle of an increased establishment or an increased supply, but merely on the *quantum* that they now argued, it might be supposed that it was men and not measures which were the objects of their attacks. Opposition speeches often ended in good government votes, and perhaps those who were so violent in their philippics against ministers, were actuated by a violent desire for their places. And if they could supplant them, he supposed they would proceed on the very same principles. He considered the opposition to ministers on this subject, as merely an opposition to their places.

Dr. Lawrence thought this line of observation as unparliamentary, as it was unusual; he considered it an attack on the liberty of speech in that house. France had, since the definitive treaty, increased her army, by nearly 100,000 men, and her navy in the same proportion; he therefore thought it necessary that we should increase ours upon a similar scale, if we would be safe. He denied that he himself belonged to any party, or that he was seeking the places of any body: he was content with the profits of an honorable profession, and had nothing further to wish for personally. He voted for the increase proposed, because, although he thought it inadequate, it was better to have that than nothing.

The resolutions were then agreed to.

Such were the opinions expressed by the leading members, in this spirited debate, on the circumstances of the times. There never appeared to be a period in which parliament were more unanimous in their vote for increasing the military establishments of the country; as indeed it had been most obvious to all, from the very day in which the definitive treaty was signed, that France was by no means willing to confine herself within any given limits; but was proceeding regularly and steadily, to the establishment of her own domination, over the degraded and weakened nations of Europe. During the interval of peace, the French government were at open war with our commerce: avowed their intention of retaking Egypt; and by their cruel and unjustifiable treatment of Switzerland, roused the indignation of every individual

individual in Great Britain. It was therefore naturally to be expected, at the opening of parliament, that different parties would seize the opportunity of delivering their opinions on the situation of the country. Although there appeared no strong systematic or united opposition to the minister, yet many unequivocally expressed their hopes of Mr. Pitt's return to office; and without disapproving of the specific measures proposed, yet appeared to consider the present administration not sufficiently able or vigorous to conduct the affairs of the country, at such a crisis.

On the next day, the 3d of December, after the usual course of business in the house of peers,

The earl of Moira rose, in pursuance of a former notice, to call the attention of their lordships to the affairs of the Carnatic. The unfortunate prince, whose rights and interests he had undertaken to defend, was now beyond the reach of any farther calamity!

After life's fitful fever, he does well!  
Treason has done its worst! Nor steel nor  
poison,  
Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing  
Could touch him further!

He therefore could now make no motion for the purpose of restoring him to his throne; but would call the attention of their lordships to the necessity of controlling the East India company, in their system of excessive aggrandizement and increase of their territories; and in their unjustifiable measures of making war for conquest. We had found fault with France for invading and oppressing all the feeble states about her; and now, by the conduct of the East India company, we allowed

that opprobrium to be retorted and to attach upon ourselves; and it was held up to all Europe, that we pursued in India that same conduct, of which we so loudly accused France. He concluded, by moving for papers, for the information of their lordships, respecting the assumption of the government of the Carnatic.

After a few observations from lord Hobart and lord Grenville, the motion was agreed to.

On the 6th and 7th of December, the principal business which occupied the house of commons, was the presenting several petitions respecting the Middlesex election: the first was, a petition from Mr. Mainwaring, complaining of the return of sir Francis Burdett; and stating that it was owing to the partiality and misconduct of the returning officers; and the corrupt practices of sir Francis and his agents; that there was a colourable majority against him upon the election. There was also a petition from the freeholders in the interest of Mr. Mainwaring, against the election, on the grounds of bribery and treating. On the other hand, a petition was presented by the freeholders, in the interest of sir Francis Burdett, against the petitions of Mr. Mainwaring and his friends. This counter petition stated, that "Mr. Mainwaring was not a person competent to have been returned, both on account of not being possessed of property amounting to a qualification, but by being also further disqualified, by holding certain offices." It also charged him with bribery and corruption; with abusing his powers as a magistrate, to obstruct and prevent the free-



holders from coming up to the hustings to vote for sir Francis; and threatening many publicans with the deprivation of their licences, if they should vote against him. The two first petitions were referred to a committee; but upon the counter petition being presented, the speaker put it to the house, whether they could receive as an election petition, a petition which did not complain of an undue election, and was not easily to be reduced under any of the heads which were prescribed by the law on that subject. A debate took place, which was adjourned, in order to give time to look for precedents; but, on the day of its being finally discussed, it was resolved, "that the said petition does not come within the description of any petition, the proceedings on which are regulated by the act for regulating petitions, to be presented in election cases."—In consequence of this resolution, the counter petition was withdrawn.

On the 8th of December there occurred a very animated debate in the house of commons, on the secretary at war's statement of the intended military establishment for the ensuing year.

The secretary at war (Mr. Yorke) acknowledged, that the estimates, which it was now his duty to present, were for a military establishment, much higher than had been kept up at any former period, when the country was at peace; and the question for their consideration was, whether circumstances did not justify such an increase in our military establishment? He thought the present situation of Europe, and the relative condition of this country and the neighbouring nations,

had been sufficiently described in the preceding debates; and were indeed too obvious to require, that he should attempt any further explanation upon that subject. The overgrown power of France, which had now realized all the dreams of Louis the XIVth and his ministers; its menacing attitude, and the ambitious and enterprizing spirit of its present government; spoke too strongly to the feelings of every rational man, to render any observations of his necessary upon the subject. He considered that the feelings of the nation had been distinctly manifested; that we should preserve the peace we had made, so long as it could be preserved with honor; that we should also abstain from aggression and irritating language; but that, at the same time, we should be always ready and prepared to repel aggression, and to resent a national insult. In consonance with this feeling, he wished to abstain from a war of words with the enemy; but to be always in a state of preparation against any alternative, was his great object. "France is now possessed of the Netherlands; she is all powerful in Holland, and mistress of the whole course of the Lower Rhine, the Maese, and the Scheldt. With such an immense increase of sea coast and naval resources, as well as of territorial power, our navy alone, however excellent, could not be entirely depended upon, for the protection of such an extensive coast as ours from the dangers of invasion. The military force of France, at the commencement of the present year, consisted of eighty-four regiments of cavalry, amounting to 46,000 men; 100 demi-brigades of infantry;

and 130 of light infantry, amounting to 341,000; there were 14,000 veterans employed on garrison service, and the artillery establishment was 26,000. So that upon the whole, the regular force of France, amounted to about 428,000, to which were to be added near half a million of *gens d'armes*, which he did not mean to state as regular troops, but still must be reckoned at something. Such being the state of military preparations in France; and such being her position, it was necessary for this country also to hold itself in a high military state of preparation. No nation could look for the continuance of peace, without feeling a proper confidence in its own means of defence and security. It was therefore the duty of every government to provide such means of defence; as without them, all the accumulations of commerce and wealth would only lead to an accumulation of anxiety, disgrace, and misfortune." He had heard of objections to an increased establishment, both on the grounds of the constitution and of economy. He thought all those objections would be answered, by simply asking, was it not necessary? That force which, in the present state of Europe was necessary to guard the country and its constitution, was both agreeable to the constitution and to true economy. He then proceeded to state the force that was necessary to be kept up for the ensuing year, which was as follow: thirty regiments of cavalry, including horse and dragoon guards, amounting to 17,250; three regiments of foot guards 6060 men; 102 battalions of regular infantry, together with eight West India regiments, amounting to 4158

men. Of foreign corps also, it was proposed to retain the regiments of Stuart, Meuron, and Watteville, amounting to 2532. The whole of the force would be 129,000. The general distribution that was intended, was 60,000 for Great Britain and Ireland; 30,000 for the Plantations, and the rest for India. The expence of this force would be something above £4,000,000, the entire expences of the army for the ensuing year, he calculated at five millions and a half, which was less by £2,000,000 than the expence of the present year, and by £10,000,000 than the expence of the last year of the war. He vindicated the conduct of administration from the charge of having imprudently disbanded the army, and stated that the actual force for the defence of the United Kingdom, would amount to 200,000 men, including the militia and yeomanry; this was a force which he thought would not tempt any foreign nation to attack us. He then proposed his first resolution.

Mr. Bankes said, that if he disapproved of a high peace establishment, it was not because he thought less highly than others of the formidable power of France, but because he thought more highly of the natural means and resources of this country; and he did not like to waste those resources in guarding against a danger which did not exist. In former times it had been found that small peace establishments were sufficient to keep the country secure at home, and preserve its respectability abroad; but if we were now to make the military establishment of France the measure of our own, that could not be done without ruining the resources of the

country. If this country was quiet and contented at home, he did not think it need to be panic struck on hearing of half a million of men drawn up upon the shores of France. Our insular situation was to be estimated as a powerful defence, but, above all, we were to rely on the resources of the nation, when satisfied with its government. It was by public credit and confidence, and not from our population, that Great Britain had carried on so many wars with advantage and glory. He relied also on the great number of men trained and disciplined to arms, who are now in the country; he wished, instead of increasing, to diminish as much as possible, the expences of the army, by allowing the soldiers leave of absence for a considerable part of the year, as had always been done upon the continent.

Sir Eyre Coote approved of the proposed increase of the military establishment, which in times like the present was, he conceived necessary, to support the honor and dignity of the empire.

Earl Temple said, that consistently with the principles he had ever acted upon in that house, he could by no means oppose the increase which was now proposed, nor should he by any vote of his, either damp the spirits of the country, or check that spark of spirit which had, however tardily, been exhibited by his majesty's government. He gave full credit to the able speech which had been made by the secretary at war; but in that statement there was nothing which could enable the house to judge whether this was an estimate for a peace establishment, or for a war establishment. There

was no language of the noble secretary which appeared like telling France, as it was the duty of this country to do, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no further." We were voting a large establishment, without any information on the subject. His lordship then condemned the general conduct of administration, and particularly their conduct with respect to the affairs of Switzerland; and on the whole he considered, that his majesty's ministers were not persons fit to be entrusted with the government of the country in times like the present.

General Maitland highly approved of the very able speech of the secretary at war; and thought that there was no occasion for any other argument to justify the vote, except the present situation of Europe. Besides the enormous power of France, the ruling passion of that people is now entirely for military enterprize; and their government is in the hands of a general, who if not the first and greatest now alive, is certainly the most ambitious and enterprizing. He never gave a vote in parliament with greater pleasure than the present. It was for an establishment which would have all the effect of real economy, and a mode of securing to us peace, far better than could be effected by any seal that was ever put to the treaty.

General Tarleton stated, that he had uniformly voted against the late war, and had done so most conscientiously; but he should vote with pleasure for the increase now proposed, as he considered it absolutely necessary for the honor and security of the country—however great were the horrors of war, yet the



the horrors of seeing Bonaparte's flag on the tower of London, or his political principles current in this country, were still more terrifying to him.

Mr. Archdall hoped the vote of that night, would be understood both at home and abroad, as the cool decision of the representatives of a great nation, who wished to act in the spirit of the answer given to his majesty. It was not the dark manifesto of a perpetual dictator, but the voice of a great and free nation, adequately represented. He had often heard the situation of the country, spoken of in the most desponding terms, by those very gentlemen who were for the most vigorous measures. They seemed to wish to vote the country to vigor, but to debate it to despair. He had heard that a general should not think lightly of his enemy, but that a common soldier should; now he saw no policy in describing our situation to the enemy, so as that they should despise both general and soldier: if what was said in the house passed no further, there would be no harm perhaps, in gentlemen speaking one way, and voting another: but as those things travelled far, it was very dangerous. The strength of France was also magnified; it was supposed by many, that her resources were founded on pillage, and its alliances on compulsion: if so, he saw no great reason for us to dread her power. If with our great resources, our loyalty firm, our honor untouched, our glorious navy, our army and people in a mass attached to our constitution, we should yet be doomed to fall and be destroyed; he must say, there was

something in it beyond human foresight, and therefore we must not be ashamed of our destruction.

Mr. Cartwright also supported the resolution proposed.

Mr. Whitbread condemned the language that had been so often repeated, of a determination to defend our honor, and not to bear insult: he thought that might be very well inferred, from what this country had formerly done; and that consequently such language was unnecessary, and not in the tone of true spirit. He did not seriously believe, that France meditated an attack upon this country, and thought the French government might as well pretend to be alarmed with the fears of an attack from this. Nations, as well as individuals, often retained ridiculous apprehensions of danger; we had once entertained strong apprehensions from Dunkirk being fortified, and now we cared very little about its harbour. We were very much afraid of Jamaica too, when the French fleet sailed for St. Domingo; but those sort of fears cannot last a very long time; he did not see how the vote now proposed, could at all tend to diminish the power of France. He concluded by declaring, that it was with pleasure that he had seen the government of the country, taken out of those hands, who had so misused it; and he dreaded the consequences of such men returning to power.

The hon. Dudley Rider supported the resolutions of an increased establishment.

Mr. Sheridan regreted, that any allusions had been made, to the supposed fitness or unfitness of individuals, to hold high offices in the government;

government; he thought there never was a crisis, in which it was more necessary, than at the present, to prove to the people of England, that they were above all party feelings; all party distinctions; and superior to any petty scramble for places or power. The case of Switzerland was, he thought, a case which deserved serious attention; inasmuch as it shewed how France was disposed to use its great power. A power capable of such unprovoked aggression, and such perfidy, was a power that ought strictly to be watched. If the power of France does not appear greater than in June last, her mischievous disposition certainly appears much greater. He should not however say, that Switzerland was a sufficient cause for going to war, he should still prefer peace if possible, but if it was not possible, he should wish to oppose the most prompt and determined resistance, to the first act of aggression. On that principle, he should cheerfully vote for a large peace establishment. If we were now to look to the map of Europe, there, where a great man, (who was however always wrong in his opinion on this subject) said, "he saw a chasm that once was France," on the contrary, now, we would find nothing but France. The ambition of the ruler of France, must now be principally directed against this country. Prussia was at his beck; Italy his vassal, Spain at his nod, Portugal at his foot, Holland in his grasp, and Turkey in his toils. What object then remained for his devouring ambition, greater or equal to the conquest or destruction of this country? As to the opinion that

some gentlemen entertained, that it was a rivalry of commerce that he aimed at, that was an opinion in which he could not acquiesce; he saw him indeed taking positions for the destruction of our commerce, but he did not see him taking any measures for the mutual benefit of the trade of the two countries. An ignorant observer, might see two armies, and pronounce there was no war, because there was no battle; yet the one may make such movements, as to oblige the other to surrender without a blow. Of the commercial talents of Bonaparte he could say but little; it was more likely, that being bred in camps, his views were more directed to the conquest of this country, than to any rivalry of commerce. This is the prayer that he daily addresses to whatever deity he adores, whether Mahomet, the goddess of battles, or the goddess of reason. He had discovered that we all belong to the western family; for his part, he did not wish to be of his family party; but would rather be on the terms of civil neighbourhood and visiting acquaintance; he would implore him not to consider us as belonging to his family. The existing circumstances appeared to him, to call for great vigilance and preparation, but they were not sufficient to justify a war. A noble lord (lord Temple) had with the ingenuousness of youth, or as some would say, with the inexperience of youth, avowed that his principal object was to obtain a change of ministers: but if that noble lord and his friends had been ministers, they could not have acted otherwise than the present: they would not have gone to war with France  
about

about continental objects; they might have grumbled a little, made more wry faces, and instead of sitting with their arms across, they might have sat with their arms a-kinabo. The noble lord's dislike to the present minister, put him in mind of the following english parody of two lines of Martial :

" I do not like thee, Dr. Fell,  
 " The reason why I cannot tell;  
 " But this I'm sure, I know full well,  
 " I do not like thee, Dr. Fell."

He then entered generally into a vindication of the conduct of the present administration, and thought the former ministers had no right to take much credit to themselves, for the Baltick expedition, which chance, and the extraordinary skill of lord Nelson, brought to a happy termination: nor for the Egyptian expedition, which they had sent out orders to countermand. An ex-secretary at war (Mr. Windham) appeared formerly only to be afraid of jacobinism: that is " killed off" and gone, and yet his fears continue. If however any aggression should be made, we must meet it with a firm conviction, that a country which has achieved such greatness, has no retreat in littleness; and that if we were content to abandon every thing, we would not find security in abject submission; and that we should meet it with a firm determination to perish in the same grave, with the honor and independance of the country.

Mr. Canning expressed the greatest admiration of the sentiments of Mr. Sheridan; they were worthy the man who had so often come forward in times of public embarrassment, as the champion of the country's rights and interests, and

had rallied the hearts and spirits of the nation; he only regretted that such a speech had not come from the mouth of a minister. Such language from those in administration, would in his opinion, do more than fleets and armies, to ward off the attack of a foreign enemy, and to animate and maintain the spirit and energy of the people. But it was vain to look to that quarter for such language. He then, in the course of a long and very able speech, vindicated himself from the imputation of want of candor, in expressing his general sentiments, on the unfitness of administration, while he supported the measure proposed. When it was considered what wonderful effects had been produced in France, by the genius of one man, Bonaparte, he thought that it was absolutely necessary, that the administration of this country, should be entrusted to those, who were most evidently the fittest, from their superior talents and energy, to conduct its affairs in the hour of danger, with honor and advantage; and expressed in the strongest terms, that in his opinion, there was nothing more desirable for the country, than Mr. Pitt's return to office.

Mr. Wilberforce repeated the objections he had formerly urged, against this country involving itself too much in continental alliances. He wished that the nations of the continent, would for the future, rely more upon their own exertions, than on our alliance.

Mr. Fox vindicated himself from the charge of being the apologist of France, but contended that small peace establishments were better for



for the defence of the country, than large ones. It was our continental connexions, and not our own necessities for self defence, which first introduced the idea of standing armies into this country. Our ancestors never saw the necessity of them, as they did not wish to trouble themselves about continental affairs; and it was remarkable, that of all the wars which the country had waged for the last century, it was precisely those which we had began from the smallest peace establishments, that were the most successful. After expressing his opinion, that France could not conquer us by invasion, he said, there was another point in which we were perhaps more vulnerable; he meant, in our finances. He thought it might be the policy of France, to drive us by the menace of invasion, into an expence, that would prevent us from freeing ourselves from the national debt, which was the best ally of France. He thought that wise economy was better for this country, than high establishments; but if it were judged necessary to have 50,000 seamen, he did not conceive, that that could be a reason for also increasing our military establishments so enormously: if we rested our security on high establishments, he should suppose it was not necessary to have in addition, the aid of philippics. For his part, he saw nothing improbable in the supposition, that the ruler of France, having gained for himself great glory, should now wish to turn his attention to the improvement of his country.

Mr. Windham considered, that from the first day of the French revolution, to the present time, Mr.

Fox had always been the apologist, and often the eulogist of France; that at this very day he looked upon the revolution with affection, and kept all its enormities out of sight. He praised very highly the speech of Mr. Sheridan; but declared, that if formerly he was alarmed at French principles, he had now as good grounds to be alarmed at French power.

The chancellor of the exchequer, in reply to the argument of Mr. Fox, with respect to the financial state of the country, said, that its revenue was now so flourishing, that it could afford the increase proposed; and he thought that no smaller establishment would be sufficient, when the great power of France, and other circumstances, which had happened since the treaty of Amiens, were taken into consideration. After some observations from sir James Pulteney, the committee agreed to the resolutions.

The next day the debate was resumed, on the bringing up the report of the committee.

The right hon. Thomas Grenville complained of want of sufficient parliamentary information, before this increased establishment was proposed. He shewed that upon all former occasions, for the last century, the sovereign had always informed parliament of the circumstances which called for high or low establishments; when however a very large establishment was to be voted, he could not think of limiting the use of it, merely to the case of an actual invasion of the country.

Lord Hawkesbury insisted that as much information as was necessary, or usual, had been given to parliament, and that ministers called

for

for no more confidence, than was absolutely necessary for every government. The address contained the system which his majesty's ministers had adopted, namely, to defend our own empire against all encroachment, and look with vigilance to the state of the continent. The adoption of such a system made it absolutely necessary to increase our establishments.

Sir Francis Burdett denied that Mr. Pitt's return to office was the wish of any considerable part of the people, and severely condemned, not only the late administration, but the abuses in the system of government as it now stood: such as the pension list, barracks, and solitary imprisonment. He thought the best way of uniting the people in defence of the country was, by giving them a more equal parliamentary representation, and a greater interest in its defence.

Mr. Hawkins Browne and Mr. Calcraft, spoke in support of the resolution, and expressed confidence in his majesty's ministers.

Dr. Lawrence was of opinion, that the national honor had been impaired by the misconduct of his majesty's ministers, on several occasions; he particularly instanced the dereliction of the interests of the prince of Orange, which had been formally promised, at the time of signing the treaty, to be attended to; 2dly, the conduct of the French government in imprisoning, and afterwards arbitrarily sending out of the country a British officer, captain D'Auvergne; and lastly, the readiness with which our government ordered the prosecution of Peltier for a libel on the first consul; while the *Moniteur* was daily slan-

dering his majesty, the ministers, and the parliament.

The chancellor of the exchequer defended the conduct of his majesty's ministers in those instances; in the case of captain D'Auvergne, as soon as the British minister in Paris heard of his imprisonment, he made a demand of his release, which was immediately obtained.

Mr. Fox said, if the case of captain D'Auvergne had been exactly what was stated by Dr. Lawrence; if the national honor was really wounded in the person of a British officer; this would be, in his opinion, a much more justifiable ground of war, than the conduct of France with respect to the German empire or Switzerland. Strongly as he was disposed to peace, still he should always prefer war to insult or infamy. He did not think the present was a time for renewing continental connexions. It would be rather ungenerous to expose Austria to such danger; and as for the great power of France, he thought there was no use in constantly complaining, unless we could point out some remedy.

Mr. Windham could not see, why Mr. Fox would suppose the national honor could be a ground of war, if he saw nothing of national dishonor in the case of the prince of Orange and captain D'Auvergne. He agreed with what had followed in the last debate from Mr. Sheridan, that a country which had been so long great, had no retreat in littleness.

Lord Castlereagh endeavoured to prove that Mr. Windham over-rated the danger of the country, as much as Mr. Fox had under-rated it.

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The resolutions were then agreed to unanimously.

On a review of these two very important and highly interesting debates, it will have been seen that the note of preparation was swelled to a still higher pitch; and that, in calling for a vote for 129,000 men for the service of the year, independently of the great naval force already granted, (however ministers might conceal the real causes of alarm) a renewal of hostilities was, even by them; supposed not very distant. But the effect of this vote, on the public mind, was by no means dubious. The alarm which was given by the speech from the throne was now universal, and received abundant confirmation from those measures of Parliament which had, since that period, taken place. The public funds experienced immediate depression, and the minds of all were aroused to a sense of danger, and that too immediate; the more surprising to a people, who but a month before, were wrapped round in universal confidence and security. Yet, to the astonishment of the whole country, could not the minister, nor his colleagues in office, be prevailed upon to assign satisfactory and sufficient reasons for those great demands, unprecedented in time of peace, on the public resources. In vain was it urged, that it was unconstitutional and unparliamentary, to press a vote for such an enormous increase of the military establishments of the country, without any information to guide them in the propriety of passing it. In vain was explicitness demanded, as the best means of rousing the public spirit, and even, as the best mode of

answering the ends, proposed by the ministers themselves, in the augmentation. In vain was it pleaded, that if intended for war, the numbers voted were too few, if for peace too many. Government still maintained a sullen and unaccountable reserve, and they entrenched themselves in the position that this force was meant solely to repel hostility and aggression; to defend our own empire against all encroachments; and to enable us to look with vigilance, to the state of the continent. To this vague and indeterminate explanation, if it could be called explanation, did they confine themselves; nor could the splendid eloquence, the convincing reasoning, nor the bitter taunts of their adversaries, procure any more specious or more solid reply. Support however, was given by all parts of the house, to administration, with but a few, and those individual exceptions. The friends of the late minister, (who however did not himself come forward) and the "new opposition," supported the estimates, as manifesting some small degree of energy, in what they termed a feeble and spiritless government;—and the partizans of Mr. Fox did not oppose them, although they shewed evident symptoms of dislike, at the slightest appearance of a renewal of hostilities with France. An exception however must be made, with respect to Mr. Sheridan. His sentiments, as delivered in his speech on the night of the 8th of December, when the secretary at war moved the peace establishments of the year; and which was replete with sound reasoning, argument, and wit; was decidedly in unison with the



the sentiments of the government, whom he professed to vote with, on that occasion, with the greatest cordiality and cheerfulness. In a noble burst of eloquence, he painted to the life, the atrocious conduct of Bonaparte, with respect to Switzerland; which of itself, he said, if none other existed, was almost a legitimate cause of war; and urged from a review of his systems, his politics, and his power, the neces-

sity of resistance, "prompt, resolute, determined resistance, to the first aggression on his part, be the consequences what they might." These sentiments were received by the house and the public, with the warmest applause; and were the more attended to, as coming from one, whose personal attachment to the leader of those, who supported the pacific system, could not be doubted.\*

\* A portion of this speech however, produced an effect very different, we believe, from the intentions of the ingenious and able character who delivered it.—It was meant to be, as indeed it was, a ministerial speech, and supported the measures of administration with energy and effect. But in the playfulness of that wit and fancy, which distinguish Mr. Sheridan's oratorical effusions, he fastened a degree of personal ridicule on the premier, the effects of which long remained, after his more serious arguments were forgotten; and was of far greater detriment, eventually, to his political existence, than the assistance he this night afforded him was of advantage. Some supposed resemblance in the deportment of Mr. Addington, to that which common consent has usually attached exclusively to the professors of medicine, coinciding with the circumstance, of his being the son of the highly respected and eminent physician of the same name; had procured him, partially, the familiar appellation of "the Doctor." Mr. Sheridan, in the course of his celebrated speech on this evening, not contented, (under pretence of giving their adversaries' sentiments,) with holding up ministers to view, as the "lees of a bottle of Tokay, on which white wine had been poured to make it pass for genuine;"—one as a "mere goose quill,"—another as "a stick of sealing wax, which, as soon as the drudgery of signing the peace was over, were to be considered as *functi officiiis*, and thrown aside—allusions which were quickly caught, and kept the house in continued laughter—took occasion, in stating the personal dislike of some gentlemen to Mr. Addington, to quote Martial's epigram,

Non amo te, Sabide, nec possum dicere quare;  
Hoc tantum possum dicere, non amo te.

Of which he said the English parody would be more applicable to the parties—

I do not like thee, Doctor Fell, &c. (*vide speech.*)

The particular emphasis which he laid on the word *doctor*, and his subsequent repetition of it, occasioned it to be instantly applied; and thenceforward the minister was generally distinguished by the appellation of *THE DOCTOR*. The public prints in the interest of his opponents, re-echoed the title, and twisted and tortured it into every species of allusion, that wit and humour could bring to bear upon the man and his measures, and held them up to that ridicule which is always fatal and destructive to public character and confidence.

Let it not be considered, that we have given in this note, too much consequence and importance to a *nick name*. It has been remarked by one of the most acute and philosophic of the French historians, that the epithets which were affixed to the descendants of Charlemagne, such as 'the bald,' 'the stammerer,' 'the fat,' and 'the simple,' were suited to the contempt in which they were held by their subjects; and were the means, by which their enemies prepared those subjects for the destruction of the Carolingian race, and the admission of a more vigorous dynasty!

## CHAP. IV.

*Preliminary Observations.—Committee of the House of Commons on the Supply and Ways and Means.—General Statement of the Finance, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.—Four Millions granted from the Excess of the consolidated Fund, towards the Supply.—Petitions from the Ship-owners, against the Tonnage Duty—Ordered to lie on the Table.—Bill for appointing Naval Commissioners, for the Purpose of Enquiry into Naval Abuses—Debate thereon.—Further Debate on the second Reading.—And, on the third Reading—carried.—Debate in the Lords on the Malt Duty Bill.—Speeches of Earl Spencer—Lord Pelham—Earl of Carlisle—Lords Limerick—Grenville—The Lord Chancellor.—Read a first Time.—Debate on the second Reading.—Speeches of Earls Spencer—Suffolk—The Lord Chancellor—Earl of Carlisle—Darnley—Lord Hobart—The Duke of Norfolk—Lords Grenville—Pelham—and Minto.—Bill committed and passed.—Naval Commission Bill passed in the Lords.—Observations.—Christmas Recess.*

THE unexampled demand in time of peace, of supplies for an immense augmentation, both in the marine and military departments; made it more than ordinarily necessary for ministers to come forward, with a comprehensive, and, if possible, satisfactory statement, not only of the supply for the year, and the ways and means of providing for it; but also a general review of the whole financial system; accordingly, the day after the preceding debate, December the 10th, the chancellor of the exchequer moved the order of the day, for the house to resolve itself into a committee, for those purposes; which being read and agreed to, he moved that the amount of the produce of the permanent taxes for 1802, be referred to the said committee; which being ordered,

the house resolving itself into a committee of the whole house, then entered into a statement of the supply for the year, and the mode by which he intended to raise it. He first observed that he was induced to bring forward the motion, of which he had given notice, for granting to his majesty a sum on the growing produce of the consolidated fund, at a season of the year earlier than usual, by the very satisfactory circumstance of the extraordinary produce of the revenue, during the last half year. It would be recollected that four millions and a half had been voted on the credit of the consolidated fund for one year to the 5th of April next; of that sum no less than 3,800,000*l.* had been realized on the 10th of October last; and there was little doubt, that on the conclusion of the

the

the ensuing quarter on the 5th of January, the surplus of the consolidated fund would exceed the £700,000 necessary to complete the sum which had been voted. The committee therefore would be aware, that unless a power were given to his majesty's government to apply such further surplus as might accrue to the public service, a considerable sum might remain dead and useless in the exchequer: while money must be raised by other means to defray the necessary expenses. He then shortly recapitulated the principal measures of finance in the year 1802; and observed, that the unfunded debt in exchequer bills and navy debt, which in Nov. 1801, had amounted to upwards of £37,300,000, had been reduced to about  $19\frac{1}{2}$  millions, making a reduction of nearly 18 millions, which in the course of the year had been either funded or paid off: Of the remaining sum of  $19\frac{1}{2}$  millions, three millions which had been advanced by the bank as a consideration for the renewal of their charter, bore no interest, and was not payable till 1806, and £900,000 were charged on the annual taxes of the present year, the arrears of which would be sufficient to discharge them. Deducting these sums, and £4,500,000 of navy debt, the remaining exchequer bills scarcely exceeded 11 millions. That in order to effect this reduction, to provide for the present services of the year on that extensive scale which the circumstances of the state had required, and to relieve the country from the pressure of the income tax, it had been necessary to make provision for 97

millions of funded debt; of which 11 millions arose from the funding of exchequer bills,  $57\frac{1}{2}$  millions from the stock charged upon the income tax, and about 30 millions from the loan of the present year. That the charge accruing from so large an addition to the funded debt amounted to above £3,100,000, for which taxes were provided, which were estimated at four millions, but which in the first quarter in which they had become productive, had brought into the exchequer about £900,000, although scarcely any thing had been received on the additional assessed taxes, which were estimated at one million. Adding, therefore, one-fourth of this sum to that which had been realized, it would appear that the produce of the taxes of 1802, in the quarter ending the 10th of Oct. in that year, might be estimated at no less than £1,170,000. He had the satisfaction to state, that so far as a judgment could yet be formed, the services of the year would be defrayed by the grants of parliament, with the single exception of the extraordinaries of the army. Gentlemen would recollect that he had expressed his apprehensions in the spring that a considerable excess would arise on that service, and a large addition of expense had undoubtedly been occasioned by the detention of our troops upon foreign stations longer than had been expected. He had reason to believe that the excess beyond the sum of £1,600,000 provided by parliament, would exceed one million; but he had the consolation of being able to state to the committee, that the total expense of the extraordi-



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naries of the army in 1802, would not exceed one half of its amount in the preceding year. It was also satisfactory to reflect, that the economical management of the naval service had effected a reduction of no less than four millions and a half of navy debt. He next stated the supplies proposed for the year 1803, and the ways and means by which they were to be defrayed as follow:

## SUPPLIES.

|                                                          |                 |
|----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Navy, 50,000 men,<br>at £7 per man,<br>per mon.          | 4,550,000       |
| Ordi. and extra.                                         | 1,218,238       |
| Buildings, &c.                                           | 901,140         |
|                                                          | <hr/> 6,669,378 |
| Army,                                                    | 5,500,000       |
| Extraor. (includ.<br>surplus extraor.<br>issued in 1802) | 2,000,000       |
|                                                          | <hr/> 7,500,000 |
| Ordnance                                                 | 787,947         |
| Corn bounties                                            | 524,573         |
| Miscellaneous—England }                                  |                 |
| Ditto Ireland }                                          | 1,000,000       |
| Irish permanent grants                                   | 363,339         |

Amount of joint charge £ 16,845,237

## ENGLAND'S SEPERATE CHARGES.

|                                            |                 |
|--------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| To pay off excheq.<br>bills on aids 1801   | 2,781,000       |
| Do. do. on aids<br>1803 (Bank)             | 1,500,000       |
| Repayment to In-<br>dia Com.               | 1,000,000       |
| Interest on excheq.<br>bills and disc. &c. | 600,000         |
| Reduction of nati-<br>onal debt            | 100,000         |
|                                            | <hr/> 5,981,000 |

Total supplies 22,826,237

|                                                                                                                                                      |           |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| 2-17ths of the<br>above sum of<br>£16,845,237,<br>are to be contri-<br>buted by Ireland                                                              | 1,981,792 |
| Add for Ireland<br>2-17ths of<br>£1,200,401, for<br>civil list, and o-<br>ther charges on<br>the consoli. fund<br>not relating to<br>the public debt | 141,223   |

On acct. of Ireland 2,123,015

Ditto of England £ 20,703,222

## WAYS AND MEANS.

|                               |                    |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| Land and Malt                 | 2,750,000          |
| Surplus consolidated<br>fund  | 6,500,000          |
| Excheq. bills on aids<br>1804 | 11,030,000         |
| Lottery                       | 500,000            |
|                               | <hr/> £ 20,750,000 |

|                                                            |                  |
|------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| Estimate of excheq.<br>bills outstanding<br>31st Dec. 1802 | 14,180,000       |
| To be funded                                               | 7,000,000        |
| To be paid off                                             | 4,281,000        |
|                                                            | <hr/> 11,281,000 |

|                                            |                    |
|--------------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Proposed to be is-<br>sued on aids<br>1804 | 2,899,000          |
|                                            | <hr/> 11,000,000   |
|                                            | <hr/> £ 13,899,000 |

He next proceeded to consider the supplies of the year as distinguished between permanent services and such as were only occasional. Under the former head, he observed, might be included the navy, the army (except that sum which might be voted to make good the excess of the extraordinaries of the present year, which he estimated at one million,) the ordnance, the miscellaneous services of Great Britain and Ireland, and the interest on exchequer bills, although on all those services it was possible that reductions might hereafter take place. The total amount of those charges was about 16 millions, of which the British proportion would somewhat exceed £14,100,000. In the latter class might be placed the corn bounties, the excess of the army extraordinaries of 1802, the repayment of exchequer bills, and of the advances

advances of the bank and East India company, amounting in the whole to £6,800,000. He was strongly impressed with the conviction, that whatever our necessary permanent expences might be, they ought to be provided for by a permanent revenue equal to the charge; and he trusted, that in this opinion he was supported by a general concurrence of the house, and of the country. That we must not attempt to accommodate our expenditure to our revenue, but must resolutely determine to raise our revenue to a level with our expenditure. He did not, however, at present, feel it necessary to recommend to the committee any such effort. The only operation of finance which he had at present in contemplation, was at some late period of the session, to propose that from six to eight millions of exchequer bills should be funded, in order to prevent any inconvenient accumulation in the market. The committee would be aware that unless a bargain could be concluded with the holders of those bills, on terms advantageous to the public, it might be necessary to raise a loan to this extent, for the purpose of discharging them. In either case, he trusted, that the means of defraying the charge which would be brought upon the public, might be found, without any material addition to the burthens of the people.—He next proceeded to state to the committee, that it might be observed that he had proposed, to vote no more than four millions as the produce of the consolidated fund, although he had stated his expectation of a sum of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  millions in the general account of the ways and means

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of the year. He had proposed a vote so moderate, because it would be sufficient for the immediate purpose of, and would avoid any inconvenience to, the public service, in case the hopes which he thought himself well warranted in entertaining, should not be realized by the experience of the two next quarters. He had, however, to state the produce of the three preceding quarters in support of his expectations. The actual amount of the surplus of the consolidated fund in three quarters of a year ending the 10th October, 1802, amounted to £5,508,067. To this was to be added the bounties paid on corn within that period, and not yet repaid by parliament, being £431,729, and the sum which might be expected from the produce of the taxes of the present year, which had not taken place in the two first quarters of that period. The total would be £7,939,796. From which, deducting the whole of the sums received on account of the income tax, amounting to £2,054,893, the total produce of the three quarters would appear to be £5,884,903. If the ensuing year proved equally productive, the surplus, in four quarters would be no less than £7,845,000; and he therefore could not consider himself over sanguine in expecting a clear surplus of £6,500,000. It was also satisfactory to observe, that the above sum of £7,845,000 was little less than double the surplus of the consolidated fund in any former year; as the largest produce ever known, which was in the year ending the 5th January, 1792, amounted to £4,300,000. In comparing the produce of the taxes, it would be

found

found that a progressive increase had taken place, not indeed in every year, but in every period of a certain number of years compared with periods preceding it. This was an undeniable proof of the prosperity of the country, and a satisfactory indication of its encreasing resources. Supposing the produce of the revenue to continue equal to what it had been of late, which he was far from venturing to predict with confidence, it would afford the means of providing for the defence of the country in a very ample manner. In confirmation of which, he stated the supply, and ways and means as follows:—The naval service, in its different branches, might be estimated at about £4,230,000, a sum capable of supporting an establishment nearly double that which had been maintained in any former peace.—The army (allowing £500,000 for extraordinaries, and supposing a reduction of one million below the present estimate,) would amount to £5,200,000. For the ordnance he should allow £800,000; and for the miscellaneous services of the united kingdom £1,300,000. The total joint contribution would be £11,530,000. Adding £500,000 for the separate charges of Britain, to the British proportion of the above sum, the total to be provided by Great Britain would be £10,553,000.

|                                                                                          |                   |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| To meet this expence, we might estimate land and malt tax                                |                   |
|                                                                                          | 2,750,000         |
| Surplus consolidated fund, estimated according to the produce of the three last quarters |                   |
|                                                                                          | 7,845,000         |
| Lottery                                                                                  | 500,000           |
| Contribution of the East India Company                                                   | 500,000           |
| <b>Total</b>                                                                             | <b>11,595,000</b> |

a sum which would leave a clear surplus of upwards a million.—But there were other indications not less satisfactory and decisive, of the increasing prosperity of the country. It was not possible, till the conclusion of the year, that the accounts of the commerce of the country should be completely made up. But from the best accounts which could be procured, it appeared that the real value of the principal articles of British produce and manufactures, exported in the year ending Oct. 10, 1802, amounted to £27,900,000, while in the preceding year, they were somewhat less than £24,500,000; and that, supposing those articles to bear the same proportion to the whole of the exports, which they had done in former years, the total value of British manufactures exported in 1802, would not fall short of £50,000,000, being an increase of eight millions above the year preceding, which was itself greater than any former year.—The account of the shipping of the country was still more imperfect, as, till the close of the year, returns were only made up for the port of London: but it was not less satisfactory, so far as it could be ascertained, particularly in the important circumstance of the increase of British shipping. In the year ending the 10th October 1801, 1726 British ships, measuring 418,631 tons, and manned with 23,096 men, had entered that port; and 1331 ships, measuring 350,634 tons, and carrying 24,070 men, had cleared outwards. In 1802, the British ships which entered inwards, were 2459, tons 574,700, men 33,743.—The British ships which cleared outwards



wards were 1933, tons 419,067, men 28,112.—The diminution of foreign shipping was not less remarkable than the increase of British. In 1801, the number of foreign ships which entered inwards was 3385, tonnage 452,677, men 20,388. The foreign ships which cleared outwards were 3381, tonnage 445,651, men 23,302. In the year 1802, the number of foreign ships entered inwards was reduced to 1549, tonnage 214,117, men 10,555. The foreign ships which cleared outwards were 1868, tonnage 262,006, men 14,826. Such were the proofs of the increasing prosperity of Great Britain. But that of the other part of the United Kingdom was not less remarkable.—The revenue of Ireland had increased between the 5th of January and the month of August last above £900,000, compared with the corresponding period of the preceding year. An increase which in proportion to the total amount of the Irish revenue was even greater and more rapid than ever known. He then took a view of the state of the sinking fund—a measure which had originated in the sagacity and abilities of the late minister, and had been established by the wisdom and firmness of parliament. In 1787 the sinking fund bore a proportion to the national debt as one to ten. It now had risen to the proportion of one to three, and amounted to no less than six millions, a sum, which annually added to the productive capital of the nation, cannot fail to produce the most extensive and salutary effects. Mr. Addington then concluded with moving his resolutions, which were agreed to, and the report ordered to be received

on the next day. The first resolution was, “that towards raising the supply, there be granted the sum of £4,000,000 net of the growing produce of the consolidated fund.”

On the report being brought up, Mr. Princep, without wishing by any means to abate the exultation which must be felt at the flourishing state of our resources, as stated in the report, recommended a revival of our commercial system, and the navigation laws to which this country was principally indebted for its naval superiority. He decidedly preferred the commercial, prudent, and pacific system recommended by Mr. Fox, to the chivalrous system which seemed such a favourite with another right hon. gentleman (Mr. Windham).

The chancellor of the exchequer corrected an error the honorable gentleman had fallen into, in supposing, that because he had stated the growing produce of the consolidated fund at six million and a half, that therefore he wanted that sum at present: although he believed, the growing produce of that fund would exceed six millions and a half, yet the present vote was only for four millions.

Mr. Windham disavowed his ever having used the expression “Perish commerce, but let the constitution live!” he knew that in this country they mutually supported each other; but he also knew, that the opinions of mercantile men, were often somewhat influenced by their personal interest and immediate gain, and often differed materially from the opinions of statesmen; he was therefore for giving their opinions all the weight they really deserved, but nothing more.

After a few more observations from other honorable members, the resolution was agreed to without a division.

On the 14th of December, Mr. Burdon presented a petition to the house of commons, from the ship-owners of Blythe in Northumberland, against the new duties on tonnage. He stated at the same time, that other nations had adopted the principles of our navigation laws, and that the British shipping suffered materially thereby; and that therefore instead of any new burdens on our shipping, it was rather the policy of the country to foster the British navigation, even though our commerce should suffer by it.

The chancellor of the exchequer admitted, that he was not then prepared to lay before the house an accurate statement of the tonnage of Great Britain; he knew that the shipping in the port of London alone, would not be an accurate criterion: and as to Liverpool, the information which he had received, was very different from what had been stated by one of its representatives (General Gascoyne): the tonnage of British ships had, according to the information before him, considerably increased in the course of the last year, and so had the number of sailors.

General Gascoyne said, when he spoke of the trade of Liverpool, he allowed that the export of manufactures had increased there; but the West India trade in that town was by no means flourishing. The Russian embargo, the war, and several other causes, rendered the year 1801, not a fit period to compare with the present year.

Sir William Curtis insisted that ship-building was going on with unremitting activity, at the different docks on the river Thames.

After some further conversation, the petition was ordered to lie on the table.

The only other debate of general interest which took place in the house of commons, previously to the Christmas recess, was upon a bill brought in for appointing commissioners to enquire into frauds and abuses committed in the naval department.

Captain Markham, on the 13th, moved for leave to bring in this bill, which was called for by the board of admiralty, who had not leisure to examine those matters with sufficient minuteness; and who, besides, were not invested with the power of administering oaths. He completely disavowed, in bringing forward this measure, every idea of conveying censure upon the late administration, for whom, and the noble lord who then presided over the admiralty, he had the highest respect. The circumstances of the war, however, had prevented them from examining thoroughly this subject.

Lord Temple considered that a sufficient ground had not been stated for the appointment of those commissioners; he apprehended that the navy board possessed the powers which were now proposed to be given to this committee.

Mr. Dickenson in support of the principle of the bill, made some allusions to the sending an admiral as ambassador to Russia.

The chancellor of the exchequer vindicated the conduct of government in this respect, and said, that  
no

no man could have been found more qualified in every respect for such a mission than Sir John Borlase Warren.

Leave was then given to bring in the bill, and the next day on its being read a first time,

Admiral Berkeley said he should not oppose the bill, but on examining the patent of the lords of the Admiralty, he was convinced that they possessed those powers which it was now intended to give to commissioners.

Mr. Cooper supported the bill.

Mr. Jarvis said the admiralty were not possessed of all the powers now demanded by the commissioners; they were not empowered to regulate prize agents, nor to call for papers and records; but besides that, these commissioners were to enquire into abuses, if any existed, in the higher departments of the navy, in the admiralty and navy boards, and therefore it would be highly improper that those boards should be judges in their own case.

The bill having been read a second time, and gone through a committee, Captain Markham, on the 17th of December, moved for its re-committal.

Mr. Canning, without meaning to oppose the re-committal of the bill, wished that a measure of such importance, and which did not appear to him very urgent, should be postponed till after the recess, to give gentlemen time to direct their attention to the subject.

The chancellor of the exchequer said it was not his wish to hurry the bill, but at the same time, the importance of it appeared to him a sufficient reason against unnecessary delay; if such abuses did exist, no

time ought to be lost in detecting them; if the house were of opinion that they did not exist, the bill should be rejected altogether. It would be recollected that those commissioners were only empowered to enquire, not to punish; and parliament had, in fact, in the year 1792, pledged itself to make such inquiry when peace was finally restored.

Admiral Berkeley could not perfectly approve of the persons appointed for commissioners with such extraordinary powers: for (excepting sir Charles Pole) he thought that they though very respectable men in their own particular line, were not sufficiently acquainted with the persons or things with whom they would have to do.

Mr. Sturgess objected to this bill, as having for a principal object, to extract confession of guilt from the delinquents, or punish them for perjury; this was contrary to the spirit of our constitution.

The attorney general expressed surprize at the new career of opposition, which some gentlemen had now embarked in. It was perhaps the first time, when ministers had called for an inquiry into abuses, that such inquiry was resisted by opposition.

Dr. Lawrence thought that the bill was in opposition to an excellent principle, which had been laid down, that no man should be compelled to give evidence of his own delinquency; he thought it was the duty of the admiralty to punish the delinquents when they found them out; but he did not approve of commissioners being now appointed, to overhaul every transaction of the late war.



After some farther conversation, the bill passed through the committee: but on the question for the third reading,

Lord Folkstone moved, that the third reading should be on the 18th of February; this produced another debate, in which Mr. Lemon considered the bill as an *ex post facto* law, and consequently unjust.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied, that every inquiry must be, in the nature of things, *ex post facto*. The object of this bill was not to inflict penalties, but to institute inquiry.

Mr. Kinnaird objected to it as unconstitutional and unnecessary, he thought more places would be created by it, and less responsibility attached to the board of admiralty.

Lord Temple supported the motion for putting off the third reading of the bill till after the recess; and thought if the bill was of such importance it ought to have been brought in earlier in the session.

Mr. Sheridan supported the bill, and in answer to the observation that it was an *ex post facto* measure, quoted an expression of Lord Burleigh, in a similar case of inquiry in the reign of queen Elizabeth: he said, "It is an *ex post facto* law: if you had lost your horse, how would you go to find it? Would you not go back the way you came? So it is now with us; the queen has lost her purse, and we are going back to seek it the way it was lost." He proposed, however, an amendment, which was agreed to by the chancellor of the exchequer, that in case the persons now nominated, did not accept of the appointment, members of parliament hereafter should be disqua-

lified from holding the office of naval commissioners.

After some farther conversation, and mutual explanations, the bill was read a third time and passed.

In the house of lords, this bill was further debated, on the 21st and 22d, of December; but to follow the order of time, we think it better first to present an abstract of two important debates which took place in the house of lords, on the 13th and 15th of the same month, upon the malt duty bill. On the first of those days; when the question that the malt duty bill should be read a first time, was put,

Earl Spencer reminded the house, that this was the first bill of supply, which had been offered to their lordships' consideration, in this first parliament which had been called since the union; he therefore thought they should hesitate in letting it pass a single stage, before they had received more information as to the state of the country. It had been customary at every former period, to lay more precise information before parliament, of the state of the country with respect to its foreign relations, than had been done at the opening of the present session. He thought it strange, that those ministers who made the peace, and had given such strong assurances of its continuance, should now demand such a large establishment, without assigning sufficient reasons. He had heard it whispered, that it was partly through fear of offending France, that the usual communications had not been made to parliament; if this were true, and ministers had allowed themselves to be influenced by such unworthy considerations, they did not deserve

deserve to retain their situations a single hour. It had been, however, supposed that they were governed by that principle, both in the affair of Napper Tandy, and of Count D'Auvergne.

Lord Pelham said, that in the latter instance, the French government had released Count D'Auvergne as soon as application had been made for that purpose by the British minister; and the conduct of government with respect to Napper Tandy, was occasioned by circumstances very different from a fear of offending France.

The earl of Carlisle supported the opinion which had been given by earl Spencer.

The duke of Norfolk differed from both the noble earls. He thought the circumstances of the times were notorious enough, to justify ministers in proposing an increased establishment. The circumstances of the times were now very different from those times, in which it was necessary to inform parliament, of what otherwise they might not know.

Lord Limerick justified the conduct of his majesty's ministers; he thought peace had been necessary for the recovery of our strength, and he hoped before war was renewed, the disturbances which had existed in Ireland would be at an end, and the people of that country reconciled to the mild government and free constitution of the country.

Lord Grenville thought the house could proceed no farther in a supply bill, without information from his majesty, as to the causes which called for an extraordinary supply. It had been the invariable usage for the last hundred years, for the

crown to demand such supply, and state its reasons, before parliament voted it. The house had now no information that could warrant them in granting extraordinary supplies; they could not even guess whether ministers intended to keep Malta and the Cape of Good Hope, or to surrender them; and therefore could form no opinion about the probability of immediate war.

The lord chancellor replied, that the present bill was not for an extraordinary supply, but one of the usual supply bills, brought in at the beginning of every session. He contended, that public notoriety was a sufficient ground for parliamentary proceeding: he could not pretend to state positively, the words used by any other of his majesty's ministers: but he could positively say, that he never was of opinion that the peace was an advantageous one; but it was still better than continuing the war without object or possible advantage.

After a few explanations between the lord chancellor and lord Grenville, the bill was read a first time.

On the 15th, when the bill came to be read a second time, the debate was resumed in a more formal manner.

Earl Spencer addressed their lordships at very considerable length, on the ground that he had before touched upon. His objections to the establishments, for which the supply of the year was to be voted, were principally reduced to three heads: first, he objected to the manner, as being to be raised without that communication from the crown to parliament which was usual and necessary; secondly, he objected

objected to the extent of these establishments; for if it were necessary to have 130,000 soldiers, besides our militia and volunteers, 50,000 seamen could not be sufficient; and his majesty's ministers were blameable in reducing the number from 70,000 to 50,000: thirdly, he objected to the probable application of such a force, from a firm conviction, that the present administration had not sufficient judgment and energy of character, to use such a force to advantage. At a time when France was every day extending her empire and her resources, ministers had disbanded our army, and diminished the number of seamen in employment. He declared, he agreed perfectly with a noble friend of his (lord Temple) that in an administration he looked to the men, as well as the measures: as to measures, every body would allow, that buying a good gun was a good measure for the defence of a house; but it was an important consideration to whom this gun should be entrusted. If we are at sea at a time of impending danger, it would be well to hear that the ship was sound; but it would be full as important to hear that the pilot was skilful.

The earl of Suffolk condemned the conduct of the late administration in the whole of the war; and praised that of the present administration, whom he thought deserving of the confidence and support of the nation; and who should therefore receive his support and confidence. He alluded then, to the conduct of the late administration, with respect to confining persons for a long time, whom they suspected of treasonable practices,

but whom they never brought to trial.

The lord chancellor with great warmth declared, that he would sooner suffer death upon the spot, than hear the conduct of the late administration aspersed upon that head without confutation. If it was criminal, he was as deeply criminal as they, and the only reason for pursuing a different conduct now, was, that the country was under different circumstances. He also approved of the conduct of the late administration during the war, and had always supported it: the peace had been approved of by that great character, whom the opposers of the bill had so highly respected, (Mr. Pitt) and he was much surprised to hear the same noble lords, who so highly admired that exalted character, express opinions so very different. With respect to the present situation of Europe, he felt as an Englishman must feel, but would consider it inconsistent with his duty, to give any detailed information upon the subject.

The earl of Carlisle said, his principal objection to the establishment proposed was, that it was to be voted altogether on the credit of the minister; which was a degree of confidence not to be found on the records of parliament. He was not guided in his opposition to this, by any paltry motive of obtaining place or power; but if in the hands of other ministers, the ambition of Bonaparte was likely to receive a greater check; if the tone and spirit of the country were more likely to be supported, under the management of men of greater talents, and men of more elevated minds; in such case, he wished to



see the government of the country in the hands of such men. He therefore voted against the bill.

The earl of Darnley expressed his doubts, whether such a force as had been proposed, could be safely trusted in the hands of the present ministers: he considered the ambition of Bonaparte to be so gigantic, that he would never be satisfied, till he forced the doors of the bank of England with his legion of honor, and planted his flag upon the tower of London. Against such an enemy, he thought, this country should employ its ablest ministers.

Lord Hobart denied that government had compromised the honor of the country, either in the affair of Switzerland; or in any other respect. He stated that a greater force than that which was now demanded had been entrusted to ministers in 1801: he complained that some noble lords who had promised an active, constant, and zealous support to the present administration, had on the contrary, honored them with an active, constant, and zealous opposition; which increased in proportion, as they gained the confidence of the public.

The duke of Norfolk, expressed his surprize at the opposition of some members of the late administration, to the present measure: The person who was at the head of that administration, resigned his situation at a period which called for the exertion of his great talents: he was sure that the conclusion of peace had given general satisfaction; and that the majority of the nation wished for its continuance. He concluded by declaring his confidence in the present administration.

Lord Grenville commenced an animated, and, very able speech, by denying that he or any of his noble friends wished to stop the supplies: they wished, that according with parliamentary usage, a message might be sent from his majesty to the house, to inform them of the causes for which an increased supply was necessary. Such a message might be sent down the next day, and then there would be no delay in passing the bill: at present the house was ignorant whether the establishment proposed was for peace, for war, or for preparations of war. There were abundant precedents of the line of conduct which ought to have been pursued. George the first, did not hesitate to tell his parliament in the first speech from the throne, after the conclusion of a peace, that the peace was insecure and precarious. In such a case, parliament knew what they were about, in voting the military establishments. As to a charge of inconsistency, brought by the noble secretary (lord Hobart) against him and his friends; he must reply, that he supported the present ministers, as long as he could approve their conduct. It was not till after the convention with Russia and the peace of Amiens, that he found himself obliged, in honor, to withdraw that support. After those events, he had no confidence in the wisdom of their councils: He did not wish to pry into the *arcana* of government, or secrets of the state; but he, and every noble lord who heard him, were constitutionally entitled to those proper communications, which had been heretofore uniformly made. The power of France had, since the peace, been regularly

regularly increasing ; while that of this country had been impaired. He had a right to ask ministers the reason of this change of system, or to infer, that they had hitherto acted in a most unwise and impolitic system. He considered the idea of waiting for the changes which time might bring about, as completely ridiculous.

The lord chancellor expressed his regret, that ministers had lost the confidence of the noble lord. Were he at liberty to declare the circumstances which governed the conduct of ministers, in the measures they had adopted ; he was convinced the noble lord would agree with him, that they were influenced by the best considerations for the prosperity of the empire.

Lord Pelham rose for the purpose of replying to some points of lord Grenville's speech. He thought, that if in his lordship's opinion, the present ministers were so unworthy of confidence ; it would have been his lordship's duty to go further than in making speeches in opposition ; he ought to have moved an address to his majesty for their removal. He had never coveted office ; he assumed it with no other view than for the service of his country, in a critical and awful period. He acted to the best of his judgment, and did not wish to hold his situation a moment longer than he enjoyed the confidence of his country. He concluded by stating, that no charges of incapacity in ministers, could be a reason for not passing the present bill.

Lord Minto agreed in the objections that had been made by other noble Lords, to votes of supply, or their being offered to the house

without the usual information. He strongly suspected, that the honor of the country had been compromised with respect to Switzerland. He believed it was after a remonstrance made on the part of this country, that Switzerland was invaded ; and yet ministers never gave any information to parliament upon this subject, though often asked for it.

The bill was then read a second time and committed.

On the 21st of December, the bill for appointing naval commissioners, was introduced into the house of lords, by lord Pelham.

Lord Nelson warmly supported it, principally on the intolerable difficulties that naval men now find in getting their prize money.

The lord chancellor wished for full time to consider a bill, that appeared to depart from that principle of law by which no man is obliged to criminate himself.

The bill however was read a first and second time without further opposition. On the question being put the day following for its committal,

The duke of Clarence, who considered the bill not only unnecessary but mischievous, moved as an amendment, that it should be committed this day three months.

The lord chancellor, however, opposed this motion, but called for the peculiar attention of their lordships to the clauses of the bill, when it should be committed.

The house then went into a committee, and proposed an amendment, to protect persons from being obliged to answer any questions which might criminate themselves. The amendment was adopted, and the bill was passed.

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Such were the principal debates, which occupied the attention of parliament, before the Christmas recess.

In the slight, but we trust sufficiently accurate and comprehensive sketch, we have given of the subject matter of the public bills, which came before the legislation in this first period of the domestic history of the year; we have dwelt more particularly, on the discussions which arose from the consideration of the king's speech; and on those which took place on the army and navy estimates; as being, not only highly important in themselves, in a national point of view; but as amply unfolding the opinions of the great leading characters of the day; and the outline of their political associations. We purposely waved, however, any examination of the minister's financial statement: first, because it passed in the house of commons without remark or comment of any kind; and secondly, because an appropriate opportunity will present itself, at a more advanced period of the account of the remaining proceedings of the session of parliament, which comes within the limits of our present volume; and in which we shall examine with impartiality, whether this statement, satisfactory and flattering as it was in its details, deserved that credit and applause, which Mr. Addington solemnly claimed as its right; or whether it were founded in that fallacious and temporizing system, which had hitherto paralyzed and crippled us in our foreign relations; and now threatened to extend its deceptive and deleterious effects over our domestic concerns. But however public opinion might

be held in equilibrium, on those great leading features of the early part of the session; it decidedly manifested itself, as hostile to the last act of it; namely, the introduction of the bill for navy commissioners; and perhaps no subject of equal importance ever agitated the public mind, or produced more eager or animated debate within the walls of parliament. The introduction of the bill in question, was considered on all hands, as a measure at once nugatory as to the benefits it proposed; oppressive and arbitrary in its mode of operation; invidious with respect to the navy board, whose most material functions it usurped; and as being, as expensive as useless to the nation. While this bill depended in parliament, the reasoning for its being thrown out was supported on various grounds. It was convincingly proved, that there existed no necessity for such a measure; as the commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of England, possessed by their constituted authority, and within themselves, sufficient powers, if they chose to exert them, to correct the abuses complained of; since by authorizing the navy-board (which by patent possessed the right of administering oaths, and of punishing all frauds committed in the naval department) to inquire into the alleged causes of complaint, they might, and must have been effectually removed. To enforce this argument, it was urged, that when in the year 1792, the grossest misconduct occurred in the ordnance department in the West Indies; recourse had not been had to the institution of a new board, in order to detect and punish the offenders.



offenders. They were detected and punished most effectually, by a commission, issuing out of the board of ordnance itself, without resorting to novelty, oppression, or expence. It was objected, that this bill had been framed, with the most profound ignorance of the fundamental laws of the country, inasmuch, as it contained within it, a compulsory clause to oblige offenders to accuse themselves! And indeed this fact was so evident, that every lawyer in the lower house, gave it his decided negative; the servants of the state, the attorney and solicitor general, differed most materially upon its construction; and even many of the warm friends of the minister, and pensioned by the crown, refused their support to the measure, upon the ground of its being too strong. Under these opinions and circumstances, at once discordant and inauspicious, the bill was pared down, the most exceptionable clauses were rescinded, various amendments made, and it was then transmitted to the house of peers. Here the opposition assumed a new and singular form: two of the cabinet ministers (one of whom was the lord chancellor) declared it to be, the most arbitrary and unconstitutional attempt that had ever been made: they struck out several parts, including even some of the amendments made by the commons: erased the compulsory clause altogether; reduced the bill with respect to its efficiency, to an absolute nullity; and in this shape, gave it a tardy and ungracious assent. The bill having passed both houses in this crippled and mutilated form, it was evident, that as to any object of public utility, it might as well

never have been committed; and therefore could by no means answer the professed intention, of those who brought it forward; and that all the ends of justice might have been obtained without an establishment, which superadded to inefficiency, an heavy increase of the public burthen. Other objects, and other motives, than those which originated in views for the public weal, were now resorted to: and the minister and the first lord of the admiralty participated the censure. It was not overlooked, that in the former, whose professed objects were œconomy and disinterestedness, there was on this occasion manifested a thorough dereliction of both those vaunted qualities, Ten or twelve thousand pounds yearly, from the public purse, distributed through the medium of this commission, to his particular friends and connexions, abundantly proved his slender claim to either; while to the latter, who was ostensibly the great promoter of the bill, many attributed the wish of establishing delinquency, and affixing criminality on the navy board; an object, which was supposed to have arisen from a desire to displace the excellent and amiable character at the head of it, and place therein a follower of his own: one in which he had hitherto failed; and that vexation at the disappointment, had originated this, as it proved, very obnoxious measure. Others however conceived it to arise from purer motives; they believed that the first lord of the admiralty had already too much upon his hands, (when it was considered, how trifling was the assistance he derived,) owing to the want of experience and knowledge,

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from the junior members of his board;) to undertake this investigation himself; and that the infirmities induced by great age, as well as the consequences of a most afflicting infirmity, to which this great officer was subject, rendered him unequal to the task of going through more, than the ministerial and political functions of his high office. He therefore most probably wished for a commission of this sort, as much for the purpose of lightening the burthensome part of his duty; as for that of his own future exculpation, should any inquiry ever occur, respecting his administration of the naval affairs of Great Britain. Be the motives however what they might, the means were completely abortive in themselves, and produced no small share of odium to both Mr. Addington and the earl St. Vincent, as statesmen and as individuals, in their consequences.—Such were the objections *prima facie* to the naval commission bill. And here before we dismiss the subject, probably for ever, it may be necessary to consider whether in the result, it appeared that they were well founded, or the contrary. For this purpose we shall anticipate a little in order of time, and from such of their proceedings as occurred within the year, collect all that appears necessary to lay before our readers for that purpose.

In the reports of this new commission, generally speaking, there were not to be found any detail of abuses, which had not previously been adverted to by the navy board; and the defaulters or delinquents had either actually been punished, or were undergoing a judicial investigation of their conduct at that

moment, and set on foot for that purpose. Some regulations indeed were recommended, which could and certainly ought to have originated with the admiralty board itself: but even in these, the leading features of their deliberative operations, bore the marks of hurry and precipitation, and of anxious eagerness to deteriorate, and affix blame on existing establishments. This was more immediately apparent in their report on the charity, known by the name of the Chest of Chatham; as in order to remove that fund to Greenwich, a great degree of unmerited censure was thrown on the officers, in whose administration and custody it was placed: the more unmerited, because it was notorious, that in no one instance of a public institution, have the accounts and property of the nation been conducted and managed with such true economy, as well as such disinterested honesty: and because, had the commissioners called for the necessary documents, and examined those officers themselves; which in the ordinary course of conducting business of such a nature as they were employed upon, was indispensibly requisite; but which most unaccountably was neglected by them; they would have found, and they would have done but a common act of justice in stating it to the public, that the estates belonging to this fund had been augmented considerably in their value, instead of remaining stationary; which is most erroneously affirmed by them in their report on this subject to be the case! It would be wholly unnecessary to dwell longer on these reports: we have endeavoured to shew the spirit in which this commission set out, and the

the mode in which it operated. In short, on a thorough view of it, in all its points and bearings, there appeared in it nothing new or necessary, save in that part of its proposed functions which alluded to the abuses, and to the regulation, of the prize agency of the navy, over which the admiralty had certainly no previous controul; and of which we shall hereafter take occasion, when the debates on that subject occur, to take more particular notice. But

even here it was evident that this subject was fixed upon, more as a popular vehicle, to carry through the objectionable parts of the measure, than from any other motive; as Sir Wm. Scott, who presided in the courts of civil law, where subjects of maritime jurisdiction are decided, had just brought in a bill, which provided for every case which the commissioners of naval inquiry had pointed out as an existing abuse.



## CHAP. V.

*Discouraging prospects at the commencement of the year.—Meeting of Parliament after the recess.—Chancellor of the Exchequer moves for a continuation of the Bank restriction bill.—Debate.—Supported by Sir F. Baring—Lord Hawkesbury—and Mr. Princep.—Opposed by Mr. Tierney—Fox—Banks.—Passes the Commons.—Moved in the House of Lords by Lord Pelham.—Debate.—Lord Auckland—Moir—King.—Second reading.—Debate.—Lord Auckland—Grenville—Sheffield.—Passes without further opposition.—Message from the King on the Prince of Wales's affairs.—Congratulatory address to his Majesty from both Houses, on his providential escape from the machinations of Despard and his associates.—Account of the conspiracy.—Trial of Despard.—And execution of the Traitors.*

UNDER very different circumstances and aspects, did the year 1803, compared with that which preceded it, commence. Unbounded confidence in the government; security in the good understanding which subsisted between France and Great Britain; and a firm reliance on the continuance of a peace, for which so many sacrifices had been made on our part, and by which so many advantages were secured to the enemy; marked the first of these periods. At the latter æra, distrust in the ability and firmness of the king's ministers; demonstrations which could not be mistaken, nor explained away, of the hostility of the views and designs of the ruler of the French nation; and the almost inevitable rupture of the treaty of Amiens and a renewal of the war; were the most prominent features of public opinion. In January 1802, the public funds were high;

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the spirit of commercial adventure, raised by the hope of arrangements for facilitating the trade between France and England; and internal tranquillity and attachment to the constitution, universally prevailed throughout all parts of the British Empire: In January 1803, the stocks began rapidly to decrease in price; no commercial treaty whatever had taken place with France; and our prisons were crowded with traitors, whose suspected aim and purpose, were to overthrow our establishments by the aid of France; while in Ireland, beneath a smooth and tranquil surface, the current of disaffection and discontent, set rippling in; to the dismay of all, save those who ought not implicitly to have trusted to appearances.

Before we proceed however, to the detail of the circumstances, which produced this great and unlooked for change of affairs; in order to preserve the integrity of our subject, we shall

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previously give a summary of the principal matters, which occurred in both houses of parliament, to that period, when the dangers which now menaced us were no longer problematical; and when the king's message, left no more doubt as to the hostile views of Bonaparte.

On Thursday the third of February, parliament met again after the Christmas recess; for the first three or four days, the lower house was occupied principally, in settling the election petitions; but on the 7th, the chancellor of the exchequer moved for leave, to bring in a bill for the renewal of the bank restriction bill. The solvency of the bank he said, was undoubted; but after no less than twenty millions of specie, had been lately drained from the country for grain, it would be dangerous, suddenly to take off the restriction; as that might operate to draw all the remaining bullion out of the country.

Mr. Tierney thought, that however time and custom might have reconciled us to the measure; it was a great evil, that the circulating medium of the country had been completely changed: it was now six years since we had any report from the bank; and consequently the house was entirely ignorant of what the bank had been doing in the mean while. He wished that this bill should not pass as a thing of course, but, that there should be an inquiry into the necessity of it.

Mr. Fox agreed in opinion with Mr. Tierney in this respect: he wished, that the restriction should be continued for a short time only, in order to consider the state of exchange and other matters,

which were supposed to make the further restriction necessary.

Mr. Banks expressed the same opinion, and wished the time that this restriction should be in force, to be as short as possible.

Lord Hawkesbury thought an inquiry into the state and administration of the bank of England, quite unnecessary; although at a future time perhaps, he should not oppose a rigid investigation of the state of banking in general, throughout Great Britain.

Sir Francis Baring, coincided with Mr. Addington, that it was necessary to wait, till trade had returned within its former channels.

The chancellor of the exchequer concluded this conversation, by confessing it was with reluctance and regret, that he proposed the present measure; but however painful the duty, he felt it a duty, that he was bound to discharge.

Leave was then given to bring in the bill. When this bill had gone into the committee,

Mr. Addington moved, that the duration of it should be "until six weeks after the commencement of the next session of parliament."

Mr. Banks, urged a variety of reasons for shorter time to be named; he principally relied on the state of exchange which was at par, and the balance of trade, which was now in our favour: he concluded by moving as an amendment "that the first of May, should be the day on which the restriction was to cease."

Mr. Princep supported the original motion, on the ground, that no loss or inconvenience, had been sustained by any body, in consequence of the restriction.

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Mr. Addington, in a reply of considerable length to all who had opposed the bill, declared, that if he supposed any considerable number of the reflecting part of the community, doubted the sufficiency of the bank, he would agree to an inquiry; if he now resisted it, it was merely because he was convinced it was unnecessary: he thought the whole object of the amendment would be accomplished, by declaring, that it should be in the power of parliament to repeal or amend it in the present session. He however had no expectation, that the circumstances of the times would allow it so soon to be repealed.

The bill went through a committee, and after some general observations from Mr. Johnstone, it was read a third time on the 14th of February, and passed without any farther opposition. On Thursday the 17th, it was carried into the lords, where upon the first reading being moved by Lord Pelham, secretary of state, lord Auckland moved for an account of the bank notes outstanding; which was ordered.

The earl of Moira, could not agree to absolve the bank for a further term from its engagements, without being perfectly satisfied from full inquiry, that the public ran no risk; and that the necessities of the state required it. The bank could have no necessities to plead; and if it was for the accommodation of government, government ought to confess the reason. If the wealth of the bank was, as it ought to be, infinitely superior to the demands upon it, it could receive no injury by the greatest publicity respecting its affairs. He

seemed to consider, that ministers continued the restriction, merely to induce the bank to take their exchange bills. He concluded, by moving an account of the money and bullion in the possession of the bank, and of its other property, exclusive of the debt due by government, on the 5th of January 1803.

Lord Pelham assured the noble earl, that the measure was not called for by the bank; nor was proposed in consequence of any such connivance, as had been supposed between government and the bank; but *bona fide* upon the grounds, which had been stated upon bringing in the bill: he therefore opposed the resolution as unnecessary.

Lord Auckland was of the same opinion; that as the validity of the bank was undoubted, any resolutions tending to an inquiry were unnecessary.

Lord Moira's first motion was therefore negatived; but subsequent resolutions which he moved, with respect to the amount of notes outstanding: to the exchange, for the last thirteen months between London and Hamburgh; and the prices of bullion; were severally agreed to. On the question for the second reading of the bill on the 22d of February,

Lord Pelham, restated the grounds upon which the bill was brought in; and expressed his hope, that as there had been a gradual amelioration in the rate of exchange in the course of last year, it might have completely returned to its level by the time the bill expired; and that probably, a less hazardous time might occur for removing the restriction, even before this bill should expire.



Lord King, condemned the bill in its principle; and thought the precedent was still worse, inasmuch as abuses, are gradual and progressive. At present, as it was a time of peace, it was possible that the bank did not issue much paper for the accommodation of government; but if this measure should be had recourse to in war, it was impossible to calculate to what an extent the abuse might increase, from having the whole monied interest of the country at the disposal of the minister and the bank directors, for the time being. The issues of the bank, before the restriction, was about ten millions on an average; it is now sixteen millions, and it is evident that their profits are in proportion to their issues. He then shewed, that the exchange with Hamburgh, was turned against this country, by the conduct of the bank, in increasing its issues. He considered the issues excessive; and that this conduct of the bank, had produced something of a depreciation. This depreciation, however, was only discovered by foreign exchange; it must be great indeed before it could be perceived in the home market, by different prices for commodities; for gold and for paper.—The solvency of the bank was no security against the depreciation of its paper, no more than the security of exchequer bills, prevented them from being at a discount.

The earl of Moira repeated, that it was his opinion, that this measure had been brought forward by ministers, in order to support the splendid statement they had chosen to make, of the financial situation and resources of the country: it was

necessary for the government, to have an understanding with the bank, for the purpose of circulating its exchequer bills. It was evident, the bank could not receive their exchequer bills so freely, if they were obliged to pay their notes in specie. He thought nothing could be more unjust, either to the inhabitants of this country or to foreigners, than the interference of the government, to prevent the bank from making good their engagements.

The earl of Westmoreland supported the bill, on the ground of acknowledged solvency in the bank.

Lord Auckland defended the measure, at considerable length, and held out a very flattering picture of the resources of the country, and of its financial prosperity; and said, at some future day in the session, he would bring forward some resolutions, for the purpose of convincing the house more fully, of the accuracy of the financial statements which had been made.

Lord Grenville rejoiced, that the noble Lord had promised to bring forward a discussion of the resources of the country; he would join most anxiously and most sincerely in such an inquiry, and in forwarding such measures as would seem best calculated to improve and increase our resources; because he was fully convinced, that by such manly measures alone, the country could be saved from the imminent danger, to which it is now exposed. It would give him great pleasure then, to find the government determined, to look the situation of the country in the face.

Lord King, in explanation, said that the Irish bank paper was depreciated considerably, in consequence,

quence, as he believed, of excessive issues.

The marquis of Sligo confirmed the fact, of the notes of the private banks in Ireland being at a discount; but said, that the paper of the bank of Ireland was not.

Lord Sheffield thought, that the bank paper not being depreciated, was a proof, that the issues were not too large. It was now proved, that it was not absolutely necessary to have great quantities of bullion in circulation. Scotland had improved considerably, with scarce any coin; while France does not find her public credit at all improved, by the great quantity of coin and bullion she possessed. Holland, when she flourished most, depended almost entirely on her bank; and Spain, with a perpetual yearly influx of precious metals, does not now possess the character of a wealthy nation. His lordship seemed to consider, that it would both embarrass and diminish our trade, to make coin a necessary payment; as the bullion of the kingdom was, at all times, small in proportion to its commercial dealings.

The bill was then read a second time, and after having gone through the committee, was finally passed.

On the 16th of February, a message from his majesty, was brought down to both houses of parliament, recommending the present situation of the prince of Wales to their consideration. This message was accordingly taken into consideration, on the 23d, in the house of commons. The day preceding its discussion there, an address of congratulation to his majesty, on his escape from the machinations of traitors, was voted in both houses.

—In the house of lords, it was moved by

The duke of Montrose, who felt it unnecessary to make many prefatory observations, as there could be but one sentiment in that house. It was a rooted enmity to our happy constitution, that instigated the traitors, to conspire against the life of one of the best and most amiable princes who had ever filled the English throne; and who for the many substantial benefits conferred upon his subjects, deserved their gratitude more than any former king, who had ever swayed the sceptre of these realms. He concluded, by moving an address, expressive of personal attachment and loyalty; and a determination to support the constitution and government of the country.

Lord Camden seconded the motion for the address, and expressed his horror at the conspiracy; which evidently originated from those jacobine principles which had done so much mischief in France; but which had been successfully resisted in this country, and in Ireland; where he himself had been a witness of the mischief which marked their progress. The address was then ordered to be presented by the whole house. On the same day in the commons, lord Euston, after describing very forcibly, the horrors which would ensue, from the government of the country being transferred from its constitutional defenders, to a set of men not far removed from savages; as were the majority of the conspirators, who had been justly punished for their offence; declared, he felt a pleasure which language could not describe, at seeing that

our beloved monarch, still lived and reigned in the hearts and affections, of the great majority of his people. He then moved an address, similar to that which was passed in the lords, which was seconded by lord Boyle, and carried unanimously.

The conspiracy, which gave rise to this solemn testimony of the affection of both houses of the legislation, to the person of our excellent monarch; and which was followed up by similar addresses from every public body in the united kingdom; was perhaps the most extraordinary, that has ever been recorded in the historic page. Its objects, were incontestibly established by the clearest evidence, to have been no less, than the "seizure of the person of the king, compassing his death, and dethroning him."—For these purposes, combinations of small societies of disaffected persons, were established in different quarters of London and the adjoining country. Engagements were entered into, and oaths solemnly administered, to all who could be seduced to join the confederacy. To effect this flagitious purpose, the seduction of the soldiery was in various instances attempted, and in some few cases successfully. And to such a height and maturity had their treasonable projects advanced, that the mode, the time and the place, for the assassination of the king, was actually determined upon.—Vast as these plans were, comprehensive and mighty as were their designs, it does not appear, that more than

fifty or sixty individuals were ever concerned; and of those, but one person whose rank in life, education, or abilities, could be supposed to render him, in the slightest degree formidable. The residue of those infatuated wretches, consisted of some few of the guards, who had, subsequently to the return of the brigade of that corps from Chatham, been seduced from their duty and allegiance, by the active agents of the meditated treason, in London; and of some of the lowest order of artisans and labourers! Such were the numbers, and such the description of that combination, which meditated nothing less than the life of their sovereign, and the seizure of the bank, the tower, and the members of both houses of parliament!

In our account of the domestic transactions of the last year, we noticed the arrestation of Colonel Despard, and many of his associates, at an obscure public house in Lambeth. Some days after, a few other persons, were apprehended on suspicion of treasonable practices, but who were subsequently discharged. On the 7th day of February, in the present year, the principal conspirator, and on the 9th, twelve other prisoners, were tried at the Surry sessions house, Horsemonger-lane, before a special commission, of which the lord chief justice of England, was the principal, on an indictment for high treason.

In the course of the trial of the former,\* it appeared, that in the spring of 1800, a detachment of the guards returned from Chatham, and

\* For a minute account of which, vide the Appendix.



that shortly after, several of the privates were seduced to join in a conspiracy, for overturning the government. A society at some unknown period, had been established for the specious purpose of promoting the extension of liberty; from whence issued, what were called, constitutional declarations; the forms of revolutionary engagements; tests and oaths. Meetings were established at various obscure public houses, in order to avoid suspicion, to which the objects of their seduction, were invited and entertained; and to whom unlawful oaths were administered; where seditious songs were sung, and toasts of the most atrocious tendency drank. Towards the end of the year 1802, when the agitators of the plot, thought their proceedings were sufficiently matured; their confidence of success betrayed them into the grossest extravagancies; their audacity exceeded all bounds; a day for attacking the tower was proposed, and the great blow was resolved to be struck on the 16th of November; the day on which the king first intended, to go to his parliament. Hitherto their meetings, had consisted entirely of the lower orders of the people, journeymen, day labourers, and common soldiers; but now that the drama was nearly complete, that the minor parts were cast, and the piece had undergone as many rehearsals, as were judged necessary before its public exhibition; the manager and principal actor, thought it proper to make his appearance.

This man, whose name was Despard, was a person of respectable family and connections in Ireland,

of which country he was a native. He had from his early youth been bred to arms, and in the service of his country, had given the most distinguished proofs of intrepidity, zeal, and good conduct. He had attained to an high military rank; and the evidence of Lord Nelson and Sir Alured Clarke, no incompetent judges of merit, bore the most honorable testimony to his conduct and character while employed with, or under them; nay, it was even proved, upon this awful occasion, that the preservation of a valuable British possession, was entirely owing to his valour and experience. Such, however, was the person, who now became known, as the leader and first mover of this conspiracy. It was supposed, that irritated by the refusal or delay of government, to liquidate some claims which occurred in the course of his services; and by a long and close confinement, he had undergone in the prison in cold-bath fields, towards the close of the late war; to which, as an object of suspicion, on what grounds has never appeared, he had been committed; and from whence he was only released by the expiration of the act for the suspension of the habeas corpus;—he had brooded over his misfortunes, and the injuries he conceived himself to have received; till he had wrought up his mind, naturally enthusiastic and gloomy, to the belief of his having it in his power, at once to avenge his own wrongs, and restore his country to freedom. It is difficult to conceive, that with such associates as we have just described, he could form any feasible plan for effectually overturning, such a constitution as that for Great Britain; for seizing

the person, or for assassinating one of the most beloved and most powerful monarchs of Europe ; for attacking the strong fortress of the tower ; and the taking possession of the bank, the public offices, the prisons, and the two houses of parliament ! Such however, by the most clear and uncontrovertible testimony, were his designs ; nor did there, in the course of a long and minute investigation, appear, that he acted in concert with foreign agents, or, that there was any corresponding combination, in any other part of the united kingdom. It was, however, fully and clearly proved, that on the Friday preceding the 16th of November, Colonel Despard met some of the seduced soldiery, and others of the conspirators, for the first time ; that he spoke freely of their traitorous designs, and the best mode of putting them into execution ; that the intercepting and shooting the king, on his way to parliament was then discussed with him, as well as the probable difficulties attending such a plan ; on which he used the remarkable expressions, " If nobody else will shoot him I will," adding, " I have well weighed the matter, and my heart is callous." Every other part of the design was then adverted to, and freely debated. Colonel Despard, spoke of the strength of the conspiracy, at Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and Birmingham, and of his own activity in forwarding the cause. That the people were every where ripe, and that the death of the king would be the signal for a general rising. It further appeared, that through the medium of one Francis, with whom he seems to have been most confidentially con-

nected, that Despard had himself sworn, and attempted to swear, soldiers and others, to engagements, binding them to the destruction of the king and government. To be brief, the most flagrant and overt treasonable acts were proved against him ; and finally, that he was, with about thirty persons sitting in full convention, assembled for treasonable purposes at the Oakley Arms public house in Lambeth, arrested on the night of the sixteenth of November ; and after some examinations, fully committed with twelve others on a charge of high treason. After a trial which lasted nearly eighteen hours, the jury brought in their verdict of guilty. On the second day following, nine of his associates, on nearly the same evidence were clearly convicted, and three acquitted ; making in the whole ten persons who were left for execution. In consequence of the services and former good character of Colonel Despard, he was recommended by the jury to mercy, as were, from some circumstances which appeared in their favour, three of the other condemned persons : it was not however judged advisable, by his Majesty in council, to extend the royal prerogative in favor of a person, so deeply tainted with the crime of treason, as the leader of this misguided and deluded knot of conspirators ; and the law with respect to him was suffered to take its course : the latter were, in that spirit of mercy, which has ever distinguished the administration of justice in these happy realms, reprieved, and finally pardoned.

On the 21st of February, the dreadful atonement to their injured country, was made by Colonel Despard



Despard and six of his wretched companions in guilt. They were executed, with the usual forms in cases of punishment for high treason, on the top of the new gaol in the Borough; in the presence of innumerable spectators of their unhappy fate. The great majority of the culprits, died with the utmost penitence and decorum: but the unhappy principal, evinced at this awful moment, the same steadiness of deportment, and obstinate adherence to his opinions, which he had hitherto preserved: Neither during his confinement, nor since sentence of death had been passed upon him, had he availed himself of the spiritual assistance, that was assiduously tendered; and of which his fellow prisoners eagerly participated. On the scaffold, which he ascended with firmness, and without the least change of countenance, he addressed the surrounding people in an elevated and lofty voice: he pleaded his long and meritorious services to his country; denied (strange to say!) in the most explicit and solemn terms, the crime for which he was about to suffer; accused the king's ministers of availing themselves of legal pretext, notwithstanding their conviction of his innocence, to destroy him, because he was the avowed friend, of the poor and oppressed: and confidently predicted, notwithstanding his fate, and perhaps that of many who might follow him; the final triumph, of the principles of liberty, justice, and humanity, over falshood, despotism, and delusion. He then took his leave of all around, with wishing them that peace, happiness, and freedom, which he had ever made it his ob-

ject, to endeavour to procure for them, and for mankind in general. Immediately after this speech the populace cheered; it was, however, but a momentary impulse, which instantly subsided. The platform fell, and the whole were launched into eternity! This impressive and awful spectacle to a British multitude, terminated without the smallest riot or confusion. Although all seemed to commiserate the sufferings of the individuals, yet it was not forgotten, that they had violated the laws, and endangered the constitution of their country; and it was considered by the spectators, as at once the dignified process of deliberative justice, and a necessary sacrifice, to the welfare and security of the empire.

Thus terminated a conspiracy, unexampled, we repeat, in the annals of history, for the extent of its designs, when contrasted with the weakness and paucity of its means: yet when we consider the character, and particular views of the individual, by whose plan it seems exclusively to have been framed, it cannot but appear, to have been of a sufficiently formidable and alarming nature; and that the measures of government, in the detection and exemplary punishment of those concerned, were amply justified by every principle of policy and justice. That Colonel Despard was an enthusiast, that his plans were visionary and impracticable, were facts admitted by all: but it was equally true, that in the same proportion as he was enthusiastic, in that proportion was he dangerous; and that it was evident, that he had formed to himself a system of revolutionary action, the principal feature of which



which was, that a convulsion in the state, was not to be effected by extensive associations, thro' which in all human probability, the design would transpire, and of consequence be frustrated; but by a small party of desperate men, who having struck one great blow (such as the assassination of the king) and having filled the city with consternation; would find, then, and not before, thousands of coadjutors: and that though many chances were against such a scheme, yet that it held out infinitely better prospects of success, than one founded on numerous and extensive combinations among a people, far from being universally disposed, to countenance conspiracy and rebellion. If such were the deliberate opinions of the leaders of this plot,—and that they were, was admitted on all hands—that which appeared too romantic, to be seriously embraced by any man of acknowledged sense and talents, as was Colonel Despard; assumes the appearance of arrangement, and leaves not a shade of doubt on his individual criminality; whatever may be thought of the practicability of his designs.\* In reply to those who adduced proofs of his innocence, from the fortitude he evinced, and the steady denial of his guilt at the place of punishment; it must be called to their recollection, that the former quality depends more on temperament and

constitution, than on any other causes; and that nine tenths of the felons who suffer in the ordinary course of justice, evince to the full as great a share, as Colonel Despard. In fact, any other line of conduct would have been incompatible with the character, and inconsistent with the nature, of the man: and when it is remembered, that he manifested not the smallest vestige of religious education, habit, or opinion, during the period of his confinement; nor even at the approach of his painful and ignominious punishment; it cannot be going too far, if we assert, that his conduct on that awful occasion, was more owing to the desire, of appearing a martyr to the oppressive systems of government, and thereby to increase the strength and numbers of the cause for which he suffered; than from a consciousness of innocence. Indeed the evidence of his machinations were so convincing, as not to leave a doubt of his guilt, upon the minds, of the most prejudiced; and the complete oblivion into which his memory, and even the transaction which we have gone so much into detail upon, fell, almost immediately, were the best proofs of the slight impression, his cause or his sufferings, had made upon the public. It is but justice to say that the conduct of administration throughout the whole of this transaction was highly commendable;

\* Nor even on this part of the subject, are we prepared to say, to what extent the execution of a scheme, projected and executed by such a leader as we have described, and a set of determined desperate men, might be carried; when we recollect the circumstances of the daring attempts, which were made upon the persons of the kings of Portugal and Poland, within the period of a very few years: and which were nearly crowned with complete success, almost within the precincts of their respective capitals.

caution and activity were equally conspicuous in their measures. Early aware of the conspiracy, they watched its progress with unceasing solicitude, through all its windings and ramifications : at the moment when the designs of the traitors were ripe for execution, they dragged them and their nefarious project into light ; and at once, crushed principal, abettor, and treason, by the strong arm of the law : thus raising a rampart about the person of our beloved monarch, and placing him and the constitution, far beyond the reach of the sacrilegious hands, by which they were attempted to be violated.

Addresses from both branches of the legislation, from the clergy, the laity, and the corporate bodies of the kingdom, poured in upon the sovereign on this joyful occasion ;

gratitude to providence for his escape from the hands of the traitors ; and the attachment and personal affection of his subjects, equally beamed forth in these manifestations of loyalty : and perhaps there had hitherto occurred, no period in which mutual happiness and satisfaction, were so strongly evinced, as upon this occasion, both by king and subject. Nor were there wanting, those dutiful acknowledgments to the supreme being, under whose guidance and protection, the empire had escaped those evils which had impended over it : thanksgivings were offered up, in all places of public worship throughout the united kingdom ; and forms of prayer were composed for the occasion, at once expressive of the purest gratitude, the most touching piety, and the greatest moderation.

## CHAP. VI.

*King's Message respecting the Affairs of the Prince of Wales, taken into consideration in the House of Commons.—Committee of the whole House.—Debate—Mr. Addington—Solicitor General—Sir R. Milbank—Mr. Harrison—Lord Castlereagh—Mr. Sheridan—and Mr. Fox.—The Minister's Resolution for allowing £60,000 to the Prince of Wales, from the consolidated Fund, unanimously agreed to by the Committee.—Message taken into consideration in the Lords.—Address of Thanks moved and carried.—Message from the Prince of Wales to the House of Commons.—Bill for increasing the period of Annual Exercise of the Militia, passes both Houses without opposition.—Interesting Debate on Mr. Calcraft's Motion respecting the Prince's Establishment—Lost by a small Majority.—Original Proposition finally agreed to.—Abrupt relinquishment of the Prince's further claims.—Considerations and Remarks thereon.*

ON the 23d of February, the chancellor of the exchequer having moved, that the house should resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, on his majesty's message, with respect to the prince of Wales,

Colonel Stanley asked, whether it was intended to raise money for the purpose of relieving the embarrassments of the prince; or whether this measure was not a compromise for certain claims of money, which had not been appropriated to his use? If it was a compromise on account of claims on the revenues of Cornwall; he must say that the house could not know whether he had any legal claim or not; and lawyers were very much divided in opinion upon that subject. In any other light, his duty to his constituents, would not allow him

to lay any additional burdens upon them, on this account.

Mr. Addington denied, that the present motion was founded at all upon a compromise of claims; neither was it for the purpose of paying the prince's debts, as they had been already provided for, by a former arrangement; it was merely for the view of re-establishing his royal highness in that splendor which belonged to his rank in the state.

The house having then resolved itself into a committee of the whole house,

Mr. Addington said, he should submit to them a proposition, which, notwithstanding what had been said by the hon. member, he trusted would have the general acquiescence of the committee. He was sure that every member of it would



would feel, that he had a constitutional share, in the splendor and dignity of the heir apparent of the British crown. He was convinced, that every member must feel rejoiced, at the means having been found to restore his royal highness, to the dignity and splendor of his high state. In 1795, a message was delivered to the house from his majesty, for an extension of the prince of Wales's establishment. At that time the house had thought the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, £13,000 annually, together with £60,000 annually from his income, should be applied to the liquidation of his debts, which then amounted to £650,000. The result was, that £563,895 of the debts had been now paid off; and that by July, 1806, the whole would be liquidated. The prince had now, for eight years, borne this diminution of his income, and it was time to restore him to the situation in which he would have been, if it was not for the arrangements made in 1795, for the payment of his debts. The object of his proposition was, "to enable his majesty to grant to the prince of Wales the sum of £60,000 annually." His royal highness, in the year 1795, had £138,000 annually, which, considering the increase of price in every thing, was not as much in proportion as £90,000, which was the establishment for the prince of Wales, above ninety years ago. He did not mean to propose a grant of any thing more to the prince of Wales, than what had been settled eight years back; he only wished him to enjoy the income that parliament had already thought proper for the heir apparent, freed from that diminution, which was occa-

sioned by the arrangement for the payment of his debts. It was not to be forgotten, that he was heir apparent to the greatest crown in the universe. He then moved, that "it is the opinion of this committee, that his majesty be enabled to grant yearly, any sum or sums of money, out of the consolidated fund of Great Britain, not exceeding in the whole £60,000, being to be computed from the 5th of January 1803, and to continue until the 5th of July 1806, towards providing for the better support and dignity of the prince of Wales."

In answer to a question from Mr. Harrison,

The chancellor of the exchequer again stated, that £563,895 had been paid off, of the prince's debts; and that there remained a round sum of £235,754 to discharge.

The solicitor general, (Mr. Manners Sutton) began with stating, that although no longer in the service of his royal highness, he still was honored with his confidence; and could express in his name, that he felt the most sincere gratitude to his majesty, for the interest he had been pleased to take, with regard to his situation; and that he submitted with cheerfulness, to the wisdom and justice of the house. It was the object of the prince, to shew in all instances, his sincere respect and duty to his country, and rather than at all diminish the harmony which should subsist between him and his royal father, he was content to forego every claim of right, which must lead to a contest, that whether successful or not, must be to him, a source of the deepest regret. For his own part, he had no hesitation as a lawyer, in maintaining,  
that

that the claims of his royal highness were too firmly established, to be shaken by any opinions, that could be brought against them; and therefore, he could not but admire, the delicate and dignified conduct of the prince, in thus foregoing those claims. There certainly had been no compromise, nor any thing resembling it; the intimation of the present measure, came upon his royal highness unexpectedly, and no terms were attempted to be imposed upon him. He repeated the statement that he had formerly made, that whatever were the expences, incurred by his royal highness, they had not fallen upon the public. In order to be convinced of that, it would be only sufficient to compare the present with former times; and the actual situation of his royal highness, with that of his illustrious predecessors. He concluded, by declaring he should vote for the resolution proposed.

Sir Ralph Milbank said, that it was notorious, that the prince had lived in a state of comparative obscurity, for the last eight years, and that it was time to restore him to that state and splendor, which became his exalted rank.

Mr. Harrison objected to the manner of granting this annuity, as a boon to his royal highness, when it was clear, that he was a creditor to the public, for more than the amount of his outstanding debts. The solicitor general had informed them, that legal opinions were agreed upon that subject. Although for his part, he did not think the dignity of monarchy depended upon its trappings, yet when he saw splendor in every corner of the

court, and in all its appendages, he saw no reason, why the prince of Wales should be the only person from whom it was withheld.

Lord Castlereagh was of opinion last year, when this matter was first suggested, that the time was come, for restoring the prince to the full dignity and comforts, which became his rank; but as the claims of the prince then came forward in a more legal shape, it was necessary to await a legal decision. He perfectly approved however, of the feeling which dictated that course, namely, that the prince wished rather that his debts should be paid out of his own means, than that he should appear burthensome to the public.

Mr. Sheridan said, he preferred so much, the character of his royal highness, to his comforts, that if this was to be represented to the public, as a boon to the prince (who had come down to parliament a third time for payment of his debts,) that he was not prepared to say, that he should support it. The fact was this, the prince had in the course of last session, applied for the restoration of his RIGHT, not on his own account, but for the sake of his creditors: there was a long discussion both historical and political, on his claims, but the house resolved they could do nothing in it. A petition of right was then proceeded upon, but suddenly the proceedings were stopped, and this message came down to the house. The right hon. gentleman (Mr. Addington) objected to the word compromise, but it was because he considered it a fair and honorable compromise, that he supported it. As to the petition of right, it would have been very doubtful,



doubtful, when it could have been decided. The "glorious uncertainty of the law," was a thing well known and complained of, by all ignorant people, but all *learned* gentlemen considered it, as its greatest excellency. He therefore thought this was a fair and honorable compromise; but he wished the house to bear in their minds, that his royal highness considered himself in honor and in justice, bound to pay his creditors, the £10 per cent. which the commissioners had reduced of their demands; and until that was done, his royal highness could not resume conscientiously, nor in honor, his state and dignity.

The chancellor of the exchequer, explained this circumstance in the following manner: For all the debts which were fairly and justly due, there were given to the creditors, who were at liberty to accept them at their option, debentures of £100, bearing 3 per cent. interest, or £90, bearing 5 per cent.; those who preferred the £90, could not be said to have their debt reduced, as by law, no interest at all was due on debts, which were merely book debts. He was very glad that this measure would silence for ever the petition of right. Although legal opinions had said, that he was entitled to an account of the revenues of Cornwall, none had said that in that account, no allowances were to be made for money expended for his use; but at all events, if there were a legal judgment, the fund was gone on which it was to be a *lien*; and if the prince should be obliged at length, to come to parliament, for its equitable interpretation of the judgment, it would

let in an account, between the public and the prince, which it was much better not to go into. He concluded, - by maintaining, that there had been no deduction made from the debts of the creditors.

Mr. Sheridan, and the chancellor of the exchequer, mutually explained.

Mr. Fox said, that as he conceived the account closed between the prince and the public in 1795, he thought it was improper to allude to what had passed in 1787. In 1795, there were some persons who thought £125,000 per annum, was too great an income, to be allowed a prince of Wales; but he was not of that number. The chancellor of exchequer, in arguing that there had not been a reduction of £10 per cent. made by the commissioners in the prince's debts, said that book debts bore no interest; that was true, as long as they were book debts; but from the time you pretend to pay them, and give securities, then these securities always do bear interest, and therefore giving a security for £90, for a debt of £100, was most clearly a diminution of £10 per cent. As to the claims with respect to the duchy of Cornwall, the only way he thought, they could enter into the present question, was, that in addition to the consideration, that the prince had for eight years submitted to great privations and restraints, other reasons have occurred, which strengthened his claims on the generosity of the nation. In that point of view only, he considered the sacrifice of the Cornwall claims, applicable to the present question. He concluded, by observing the prince had now shewn himself worthy



worthy of the management of a large income; by his prudence, which was the only virtue he was ever charged with wanting.

After some observation from Mr. Banks, who thought that the prince ought to prosecute his petition of right, the resolution moved by Mr. Addington, was unanimously agreed to in the committee.

His majesty's message on this subject, was taken into consideration in the house of lords, on the 25th of February.

Lord Pelham, after a very few preliminary observations, moved an address to his majesty, similar to that moved in the house of commons.

Lord Carlisle seconded the motion for the address, but wished the question, had been decided on the petition of right.

After a few words from lord Moira, in praise of the conduct of his royal highness upon this occasion, the address was unanimously agreed to.

On the 28th Mr. Tyrwhitt brought down a message from the prince of Wales, in which his royal highness, after expressing his gratitude for the liberality of parliament; declared that there were claims still upon him, both in honor and justice, for the discharge of which, he must still set apart a considerable sinking fund.

Mr. Calcraft gave notice of a motion, to enable his royal highness immediately to resume his state and dignity; which Mr. Erskine declared was without the prince's knowledge.

On the same evening, a bill for extending the period for exercising the militia from twenty-one to

twenty-eight days annually, was brought into the house of commons, by the secretary at war, and was passed there without any serious opposition.

It was brought into the house of lords, on the 3d day of March; and, on lord Hobart's moving for the second reading of the bill,

The duke of Montrose took a view of the relative and positive strength of France, in the present moment, which made the proper training and discipline of our militia, a very serious and important consideration. He considered twenty-eight days too few, and wished that at least one third of the militia, should be exercised double that number of days. He thought it necessary to augment the national defence, in proportion to the increased danger of the times.

After a few words from lord Hobart, who complimented the zeal shewn by his grace upon the present occasion, the bill was read a second time, and afterwards passed, without any opposition whatever.

On the 4th of March there was a very long and interesting debate in the house of commons, on the motion of Mr. Calcraft, respecting the prince's establishment. That gentleman began, by stating, that the motion he was now to bring forward, originated solely with himself, and that he had not communicated with any person on the subject, previously to his giving the notice. He said the country was anxious, to see the heir apparent resume that state and dignity, due to his exalted rank; which, notwithstanding the liberal grant of parliament, could not now be done, unless there were some arrangements made

made for those claims, which affected the honor and justice of the prince, and which otherwise he must levy upon a considerable part of his income, to discharge: He therefore moved, that a select committee should be appointed, to inquire into the extent of those claims, which had been signified to the house, in the message from his royal highness.

Sir W. Geary seconded the motion.

Mr. Erskine said, that when on a former day, he had asserted this motion was brought on, without the knowledge of his royal highness; he by no means meant to say, that it was on that account improper for discussion in that house. His royal highness felt grateful for the kindness of his majesty, and for the great liberality of parliament. He was amply satisfied, and personally felt himself no way interested in the motion. If he therefore coincided in the motion, it was as a member of parliament, and not as servant to the prince. As to the prince's claims for an account of the revenues of Cornwall, they were most undoubtedly valid; but he did not mean to say that what was expended for his education and support during his minority, should not be charged against that account. He was glad that the subject was now at rest; and he was only anxious for the honor of the prince, that it should be known, that he had, out of his own revenues, paid, within the last eight years, the sum of £375,000; and that now, at forty years of age, he did not owe one shilling to the public.

Mr. Fuller supported the motion, as did Mr. Cartwright.

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Sir Robert Buxton considered, that in the present state of the country, when the taxes were so high, and a neighbouring nation had 500,000 men ready to pour in upon us, on the first quarrel, princes would do themselves most credit, by avoiding useless expences and idle parade. His royal highness knew, that the dignity of a prince consists, not in the trappings of a court, but in the virtues of the man. He therefore moved the previous question.

Mr. Curwen seconded the motion. If his royal highness found himself still involved in debts, it would be right of him to pay them; but he could hardly expect the public to be satisfied, with a burden which might appear to them as proceeding from extravagance. He thought a committee would be inconvenient, as, if debts appear that the committee did not think fair, it was not to be supposed that parliament would pay them.

Mr. Hilliard supported the original motion.

Mr. Johnstone objected to the motion most decidedly. At a time, that such large revenues were raised upon the subject, he could not consent to such an increase of the public burdens. As to the Cornwall claims, he thought the time for the prince to urge his right, was in the year 1795; but then he preferred appealing to the liberality of parliament. He said, there was another very good reason for not prosecuting this claim. The whole amount of the revenues of Cornwall, from his birth to his coming of age, was but £234,000, and the expences were at least as much; therefore, it did not appear that

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there



there would be any thing coming to him out of those revenues.

Mr. H. Lascelles opposed the motion. He thought the Cornwall claims were only held over the house *in terrorem*; while indirect applications were making.

Mr. Burdon thought, that if such a committee were appointed, it would be in the awkwardest situation that ever a committee of that house was placed: it could not pretend to inquire into debts of honor, which certainly an act of parliament could not mean to consider.

Mr. Tierney voted for the committee, but would not pledge himself to vote the payment of all sums that might be found undischarged; but, as a member of parliament, he wished to know what the circumstances were, which prevented the prince from resuming his splendor. He contended that his royal highness was the least expensive prince of Wales who had ever existed; and that £30,000 was all that the public had advanced to him by extraordinary grants; if the revenues of Cornwall were deducted, as they ought to be. The £125,000, which was assigned for the prince, in 1795, was not more than the £100,000 per annum, which had been given to his grand-father, in 1733. He believed, considering the difference of times, that it was not so much. He concluded with giving his hearty assent to the motion.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that knowing as he did the sentiments of his royal highness upon this subject, the present motion was to him, rather matter of surprise than of any other sensation. In point of regularity, no proceedings could be taken on the present

motion, without a previous recommendation from the crown. The message that had been sent down, had nothing to do with the payment of the prince's debts, which had been provided for by a previous arrangement; after that arrangement of 1795 it was impossible for his majesty to conceive, that any fresh debts could have been incurred; nor could the house take notice of such debts. It would be disgraceful to have entered on the journals, a third proceeding for the payment of debts. He insisted that the Cornwall claim was by no means as clear as had been stated, and that some of the first law authorities were of a contrary opinion; and besides, parliament had given large sums, far exceeding the amount of those claims, for the payment of the prince's debts. He therefore opposed the motion.

Mr. Fox supported the original motion: he had himself no doubt of the validity of the prince's claim to an account of the revenues of Cornwall, and he did not think any person could advise his majesty to resist them, on the ground "that he had educated the prince of Wales handsomely, and given him the same masters as his other sons, and therefore that he ought to be paid for it." The debts of the civil list, had been several times paid during the present reign; particularly in 1769, 1777, and 1782, and no other ground was alleged for the debt, except the high price of the articles of life. Although he did not much approve of this practice, yet he thought the principle would apply, as strongly at least to the situation of the prince, as to any other whatever.

Mr.



Mr. Sheridan supported the original motion with great force, and answered the objections in the happiest vein of humour. He considered, that coupling the message which had been sent by his majesty, with that which came down from his royal highness, the house had documents enough to see, that the intentions of his majesty could not be carried into execution on the sum now voted; and therefore it was competent to them to increase the vote: an honorable member (Mr. Johnston) had said, that in 1795, when the spirit of jacobinism was abroad, less objections were made to increase the splendor and dignity of the royal family: this was indeed a strange principle for supporting royalty. It reminded him of the story of the conversation of the two owls in a ruined castle. One of them said "Long live king Mahmoud! as long as he lives to carry on his devastations, we owls will never want ruined castles to build our nests in." The royal family might say on the same principle "Long live the Jacobins! as long as they exist, we shall enjoy all the splendor and dignity due to our rank; but the moment the spirit of loyalty returns, and the love of monarchy resumes its place in the hearts of the people, we shall be thrown on the shelf." In reply to Sir Robert Buxton, (who appeared to despise all external trappings, and think that virtue alone was the only true dignity of a prince,) he said he was ready to admit the principle; but not to confine it entirely to the heir apparent: for instance, if all the great officers of state would consent to rest upon their virtues, it would be

very well: if the speaker, when going to present an address to his majesty would dispense with his gilded coach and mace, and walk to St. James's, wrapped up in his virtues, and a warm surtout, with the privilege of carrying an umbrella, if it should rain: if our judges would lay aside their state, and go their circuits in the mail coaches; and the gentlemen of the bar move as outside passengers: if the lord mayor and sheriffs, instead of their gilt barges and Guildhall banquets, would come down in hackney coaches, and dine at Dolly's chop-house on their return: then indeed it would be undoubtedly right, that the prince should conform to the prevailing customs, and lay aside all his state and splendor. Mr. Sheridan concluded a very humorous and argumentative speech by supporting Mr. Calcraft's motion.

Lord Hawkesbury defended the arrangement which had been proposed by ministers, in consequence of a message from his majesty; the house could not, as members of parliament, look into any debts contracted by his royal highness since 1795; the discharge of such debts (if they existed) must be left entirely to his own honor and prudence. No new account ought now to be entered into about debts, and there was nothing, in either the message or the proceedings of parliament thereon, respecting his speedy re-assumption of his state.

Sir John Wrottesley and Mr. Smith spoke in favor of the motion, and lord Castlereagh against it.

The house divided upon the previous question: the ayes were 184, the noes 139.

On the 14th day of March, the Prince of Wales's annuity bill was read a second time in the house of lords; previously to which, lord Pelham made some observations on the length of time, the prince had lived in a state of comparative obscurity; and the universal wish that seemed now to pervade the house, and the public, that he should be relieved from his difficulties.

Lord Moira stated, that on account of debts, which the prince found binding upon him, both in honor and in justice, he was prevented even now from resuming his state and dignity; but felt grateful to parliament, and content with the allowance they had made him; and had instructed his counsel to drop the proceedings respecting Cornwall.

The earl of Carlisle felt, that this provision, was not sufficient to enable his royal highness to resume his state; but in the present circumstances of the country, he thought no more could be done.

The earl of Darnley was of the same opinion, but did not consider the situation of the country so perilous as to justify despondency.

The duke of Norfolk thought, the allowance for the prince insufficient; and that a person of his elevated rank in the state, ought not to be left in a situation, where he was eclipsed by many lords and many commoners: he knew however, that votes for a grant of money must originate in the other house.

Lord Caernavon disapproved of the bill, as inadequate to its object, and as unconstitutional, in getting rid of the Cornwall claims, which was a civil list debt, without any inquiry.

The earl of Moira, in explanation, denied that the abandonment of the Cornwall claims was at all the effect of a compromise: his royal highness had only made that claim for the benefit of his creditors, but when he found that the allowance now proposed would enable him to satisfy his debts, without recurring to it, he abandoned it with pleasure. The bill was then read a second time, and ordered to be committed.

The original proposition which had been made by ministers, for giving the prince of Wales an annuity of £60,000 per ann. for three years was the final settlement of this important business: for in a few days after, an event took place, which caused the prince to signify to the house by Mr. Erskine, (his chancellor) that he could not think at such a time, of increasing farther the burdens of the country; and that he was perfectly satisfied with what parliament had done.

This large division against Mr. Addington, in the house of commons, the greatest he had yet encountered, sufficiently manifested the sense of the house, to be with the prince of Wales; and the public beheld, in the minister's conduct upon this occasion, either a mysterious ambiguity, or a low spirit of chicane, equally unworthy the high situation he filled. It was recollected, with surprize, that administration had refused to entertain, in the course of the last session of parliament, a proposition for considering the amount of his royal highness's claims, as the creditor of the public; and the reference he proposed to make upon them to the judgment and wisdom of the legis-

lation,



lation; on the ground, that the matter was one solely for the decision of a court of law, and not for that of Parliament. However this opinion might be combated; and it was carried by a very small majority; the inference was obvious. In consequence, his royal highness had prepared a petition of right, which was submitted to the lord chancellor, and his claims were ready to be finally determined by the issue of a solemn adjudication, when now, administration as if fearful of the result of such an inquiry, and desirous of quashing all farther proceedings; came forward with a specific proposition, (or rather compromise) for increasing his royal highness's income, by an annuity of £60,000 per annum, for three years; specifically, however, premising, that this sum was given, in order to restore him to the state and splendor belonging to his rank; which it was well known he had for eight years voluntarily foregone, by the diminution of his establishment, more than one half, in order that his creditors might be finally satisfied. In the same spirit of acquiescence to the king's government, which had already distinguished in the course of this business, the whole of his conduct, and now, as then, equally averse from the indelicacy of a suit with the crown, the prince cheerfully announced his acceptance of the proposed sum, with eagerness and with gratitude; and waved for ever an investigation, which it was the decided conviction of himself, and his great law officers, would have placed him in the desirable situation of appearing, what he really was, the creditor, not the debtor,

of the public. But, in the acceptance of this increase of income, his royal highness wished it expressly to be understood, that in consequence of the reduction he had submitted to for more than eight years, some incumbrances had gradually increased upon him, which, superadded to the payment of those debts not provided for by the arrangement of 1795, but which he found himself bound in honor to discharge, would yet farther delay the re-assumption of the state and dignity of the heir apparent to the imperial crown of these realms; unless parliament should enquire into those embarrassments, and adopt the most effectual means of relieving them, as speedily as possible, and that therefore the sum, which he took in the same spirit in which it was given, namely, as a satisfaction for the foregoing the farther prosecution of his claims, was still insufficient for the purposes, for which it was alleged to be granted. For this purpose the motion was made, which gave rise to the debate we have just detailed, and which was supported by all the talents, wit, and ingenuity, in the house.—Mr. Addington, however, brought the usual strength of the ministerial numbers, to bear on the subject, and it was lost, there being 328 members in the house, by the slender majority of forty-five! —Nor did the minister retire from the contest with any increase of credit or reputation; it was not forgotten, that after driving the prince of Wales to the necessity, (which he actually deprecated, in the face of the nation, by his minister's declaration in the former session) of a suit at law with his



royal parent; that he deliberately checked the course of public justice by the offer, of, what could only be considered a compromise. Nor was this all; far from allowing it to be, what in fact it was, the price of the relinquishment of a legal investigation, which was dreaded; he sought, under the specious pretence of a boon to the prince of Wales, to call it, the means by which the splendor and dignity of this august personage would be restored; yet, when the fallacy, and utter impossibility of the attainment of this desirable end, being accomplished without an inquiry into the actual state of the prince's affairs, was stated; he obstinately refused to entertain such inquiry; and persisted in giving the appearance of increased obligation, to what was, in fact, unjust in its principle, unsatisfactory both to the prince and

to the public; and totally inadequate to its proposed ends. Such however is the usual fate, of the half measures of little minds.

Contrasted with this line of conduct, the people observed in the whole of that of their future monarch, dignity, equity, and moderation; and when it was seen, that at the critical and awful moment we have already alluded to, he declined giving any farther trouble to the great council of the nation; that in such a moment, he could not think of adding to the burdens of the country, and that he declared himself perfectly satisfied with the liberality of parliament; gratitude and admiration universally prevailed; and his future subjects, beheld in this meritorious and exemplary conduct, ample promise of the greatest blessing providence can bestow—a patriot king!

## CHAP. VII.

*King's message.—Probability of immediate war.—His majesty's message taken into consideration in the lords.—Address moved by Lord Hobart.—Debate.—Earl Spencer—Lord Grenville—Earl of Moira.—Address of thanks carried.—And in the Commons same day.—Address moved by Mr. Addington.—Debate.—Mr. Fox—Lord Hawkesbury—Mr. Windham—Sheridan—Grenville—Dr. Lawrence.—Address carried.—Message for the embodying the militia.—Motion for 10,000 additional seamen.—Debate.—Mr. Francis—Chancellor of the Exchequer—Mr. Dent—Fox—Burroughs—Lord Hawkesbury—Mr. Elliot—Canning—Trench.—Increase agreed to.—Remarks.*

ON the eight of March, a message from his majesty,\* was brought down to both houses of parliament; which was received all over Europe, as the signal of the approach of war between Great Britain and France. The sensation with which it was received was great, beyond description; and from the moment it was delivered, every man of common sagacity or political experience knew a rupture to be inevitable. In this message, it was stated, “that considerable military preparations were carrying on, in the ports of France and Holland; and that it was therefore expedient to adopt additional measures of precaution, for the security of the king’s dominions: that discussions of great importance, were carrying on between his majesty and the French government, the result of which was uncertain; and therefore, relying with confidence on parliament,

to enable him to take such measures, as circumstances might require, for supporting the honor of his crown, and the essential interests of his people.”

This message was the fore-runner of the war; whether his majesty’s ministers of the day were, or were not justified, by existing circumstances in sending it down, is a matter of the greatest importance for the historian of the times to consider; but here as a parliamentary transaction we shall confine ourselves to speak of it, from the effects it produced on the legislation. The further discussion of the prince of Wales’s claims was abandoned indeed, at his own request; and every minor interest and lesser consideration, were absorbed in the great question, “shall we have peace or war with France?”

On Wednesday the 9th of March, the order of the day for

\* Vide State Papers.

taking his majesty's message into consideration being read in the house of lords;

Lord Hobart rose to move the address. He thought there could not be a difference of opinion, when his majesty had communicated to them, that great military preparations were actually making on the coasts of France and Holland; and that important discussions were pending between him and the French government; the result of which was very uncertain. It was the earnest wish of ministers, that the tranquillity which subsisted between the two countries, should not be interrupted: and he relied upon it, that the country would enable them to preserve it, consistently with the honor and interests of the nation. He then moved an address, which was nearly a recapitulation of the message.

Earl Spencer rose, not to oppose the address, as he had been always a friend to vigorous measures. He rejoiced to find, that ministers were at length sensible, they had gone the full length of concession and negociation; that they were now determined to act a manly part. There was no other chance of saving the country, but by shewing the first consul, that we are not afraid of meeting France single handed,\* and that rather than suffer the smallest particle of the national honor to be tarnished, we were ready to recommence hostilities. He should wish however to know, whether the discussions alluded to in his majesty's message, were new, or of a long standing?

Lord Grenville, perfectly agreed

in opinion with the last noble lord. He rejoiced at this first instance of sound political wisdom in his majesty's present ministers: they had seen the consequences of a system concession and meanness; and he hoped they would act with due energy and perseverance in that now proposed. The reasonings of this day, were warranted by the experience of the last eighteen months, and he therefore cordially assented to the motion.

The earl of Moira delivered a very animated and impressive speech. He wished however to be satisfied, that sufficient cause existed for this appearance of energy; this sudden change in the conduct of his majesty's ministers. He hoped it was not a mere bravado, intended to cover some farther concession. The communication which had been made, had created a very general alarm, and materially affected those who had property in the funds. He hoped ministers would be able to shew at a future day, that they had not done this unnecessarily. He wished ministers would speak out, and not be afraid of offending the first consul of France: as for his part, he had no notion of talking longer with compliment towards this new Hannibal; who had sworn on the altars of his ambition, deadly and eternal hatred, to the interests and prosperity of this country. If we would consult our most immediate interests, and uphold our national character; we must shew that man that we are not to be intimidated, by the menace of consequences. We must, in the language of our immortal bard,

\* Vide State Papers.



" Be stirring as the time, be fire with

" fire ;

" Threaten the threatener, and out-

" face the brow

" Of bragging horror !"

We must boldly look our danger in the face ; and be prepared to meet it in its worst form.—No man could more sincerely wish for peace than himself ; no man regretted war more as a great calamity ; but constantly to submit to the domineering arrogance of an implacable rival, is positive ruin, to which war in its worst shape was preferable ! He considered, that an uniform, consistent, manly tone, might prevent war, by throwing all the blame upon the transgressor ; and there was no man, however great his power, that was independent of public opinion ; and above all, of the opinion of the people he governed. Whoever considered the history of the man who now governed France, would not consider attempts impracticable, because they are difficult. We should prepare our minds for an attempt upon this country. If it could only produce mischief and confusion, the person at the head of France, is the man who would coolly calculate upon the total destruction of an army, to accomplish a mighty mischief. But when he said, that England was not able, single handed to contend with France, where did he get his information ? Was it from the noble lords near him, whom he was proud to call his friends ? (lords Nelson and Hutchinson) or at what period of our history was it, that he discovered England was not able to grapple with France ? Should the enemy land, they would undoubtedly push for the capital ; and certainly a pitched battle would be

fought, which should end in the destruction of one army or the other, before he should be permitted to reach it. He concluded by exhorting ministers, in a very forcible manner, to make a common cause with the people, in the defence of their common country.

After some observations from lord Westmoreland and lord Auckland, in support of the motion, the address was carried *nemine dissente*nte.

On the same day in the house of commons, after Mr. Erskine had, as already mentioned, given up on the part of the prince of Wales, any farther demand on parliament, in consequence of the situation of the country,

Mr. Addington rose to move the address to his majesty, in consequence of the message : he felt convinced that the appeal made by his majesty to the wisdom and public spirit of the house, would not be in vain. Although the armaments now preparing in the ports of France and Holland, were ostensibly for colonial objects ; yet, as there were important discussions between France and this country, the issue of which was very doubtful ; no one could foresee, whether those armaments might not be diverted from their original object, to the attack of this country. *He hoped still for the continuance of peace*, but should that be impossible ; every communication, that could throw light upon the subject and bring it level to the judgment of that house, should unreservedly be produced. The whole object of the preparations, which he now recommended, were for precaution and internal security ; and not directed to

*offensive*

*offensive operations.* After again expressing the wish of his majesty's government, that peace should be preserved; if it could be preserved with honor; he concluded, by moving an address, promising to support his majesty, in those objects mentioned in the message.

Mr. Fox said, after the message of yesterday, he could not oppose the motion; but he must say, no vote was ever required from the house, where they were left so completely in the dark. Whether the object of the discussions lay in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, ministers had not told us. When however, his majesty stated those discussions to be of great importance, he could not doubt the allegation; but when we were called upon to afford additional means of defence, we should be informed of the particulars, which rendered such additional defence necessary. He concluded with the following remarkable words, "that his majesty's ministers, would do well to consider the tendency of their measures. If through their negligence, rashness, or ill concerted plans, they involved the country in war, at this important period; he should pronounce the present administration to be the most fatal and destructive which ever directed the affairs of Great Britain!"

Lord Hawkesbury agreed with Mr. Fox, that the present address, did not pledge the house to any thing specific: but at the same time if the pending discussions, should unfortunately terminate in war, the house would certainly have a right, to the fullest information on the subject; and he himself felt perfectly prepared, to defend the

conduct of ministers, either on every separate part of those discussions; or upon the whole plan of their national administration.

Mr. Windham regretted, that the house was so completely in the dark, upon the subject which now called for another armament: he hoped that it would not be thought, that the opposers of the peace of Amiens, necessarily wished for a renewal of hostilities; for his part he should always consider a good peace as better than a war; but he contended ministers were equally responsible, for making a bad peace, or for making peace when it ought not to be made, as they would be for making war, without proper grounds, or where war ought not to be made. He thought Mr. Fox considered too exclusively, the evils of war; and did not sufficiently calculate the evils of a bad peace. Whether at the present moment, we ought to have peace or war, it was impossible for the house to judge without more information.

Mr. Sheridan, in a very animated speech, reprobated an opinion delivered by the last speaker, on many occasions, and repeated to-night, namely, that the peace of Amiens had left the country in such a situation, that if our existence, as a nation, were at stake, we had not the means of maintaining the contest. What, was this language to hold, at the present moment? The first consul of France had modestly proclaimed to the vassal thrones of Europe, that England is no longer able to contend, *single-handed*, against France; but I little expected to hear that sentiment re-echoed in that house. He trusted, if war was unavoidable, he should



should see, and the right hon. gentleman would see also, that there were still left spirit and resources enough in British hearts, not only to defend the existence of the country, but to avenge the slightest insult to its honor.

Mr. Windham denied, that he had ever used the language imputed to him.

Mr. Canning supported the address; but considered that ministers had studiously wrapped up in mystery and reserve; that knowledge which they ought to have communicated to parliament.

The chancellor of the exchequer disdained the reserve imputed to him, and said he should never withhold from parliament any thing, which the interests of the country required it should be informed of.

Mr. Grenville defended Mr. Windham, from the perverted comment, which had been made upon his speech this evening. He supported the address, but, at the same time, thought the effect of it was much weakened, by its not touching the political opinions of any member of that house, or pledging them to any specific measure.

The attorney general, defended the line of conduct, which his majesty's ministers had taken, from the objections which had been made in the course of the debate.

Dr. Lawrence expressed himself friendly to peace, but if, upon due information, war was necessary, he should cheerfully vote the supplies, for conducting it with energy.

The address was then unanimously voted.

On the next day (the 10th) a message was delivered by the chancellor of the exchequer, expressing

his majesty's desire of embodying and calling out the militia of the united kingdom.

On the 11th of March, the house formed itself into a committee of supply.

Mr. Garthshore moved for 10,000 additional seamen, including 3400 marines.

Mr. Francis said, he should have made no objection, if the naval force proposed had been much larger; the house had, by their address, performed their duty to his majesty; but it will pause, before in pledging themselves to support his majesty, they should allow ministers to construe that pledge, as one of supporting their measures. Personally, he was neither an enemy nor a competitor to his majesty's ministers; he bore a great regard for many of them, and ill will to none; but still, he thought they were highly responsible for their conduct. By the treaty of Amiens, we had paid a high price for peace; and yet, in point of fact, we never had obtained it; instead of peace, we obtained a hollow truce; a short cessation of arms; and the consequence was, war renewed at greater expence and disadvantage, than if the peace had never been made. He therefore considered it, neither safe, nor politic, to trust the management of a war, to the hands of those, who shewed so little ability in making the peace. It was a melancholy consideration, that at such a time as the present, all the eminent abilities of the country, were excluded from its councils and government. In fair weather, a moderate share of skill might be sufficient; but for the storm, other pilots should be provided.

Mr. Addington, was at a loss to conceive,



conceive, how the honorable gentleman who spoke last, could now accuse, for weakness and incapacity, an administration which he had declared, had always enjoyed his confidence; although, in the same breath, he declared it to be his opinion, that all the ability of the country was excluded from it. He, and all his majesty's ministers, felt the great responsibility under which they acted. They had been uniformly consistent in the principles, which had induced them to advise his majesty to conclude the peace; they sincerely wished its continuance; but should, unhappily, the war be renewed, he was convinced, that even then, they should be able to prove their consistency, and justify themselves to the country.

Mr. Dent considered, that the number of seamen, now proposed, was insufficient; especially as we had, by the peace, restored so many thousand seamen to France. He concluded, by moving, as an amendment, that "instead of ten, there should be twenty-five thousand seamen and marines, now voted."

Mr. Fox said, he was as ready as any other member in the house, to vote for the proposed addition of seamen, if they were necessary for the public service; but with so little information as the house now possessed, he could not pretend to give an opinion, whether it were 10,000, according to the original motion; or 25,000 according to the amendment; or whether it were not still a greater number that were wanting, for the public service? He for one denied, that the sovereign has in theory the uncontrolled

right, of making war as well as peace; but in practice and in substance, this house possessed the privilege, by which alone, such declaration could be carried into effect; and therefore, although it was only this privilege of the purse, that the house was possessed of, yet that was sufficient to prevent any wars being entered into, which parliament disapproved of. Not to speak of the effect that the voice of parliament had on the American war, the parliament of Charles the second did compel that sovereign, to relinquish the Dutch war. As armaments must necessarily precede the declaration of war, he feared the effect of granting supplies for those armaments, would be to make the house a party to wars, that it might hereafter disapprove of. Perhaps, when ministers had plunged the country into a war, the house might be of opinion, that negotiation would have been better, or that more vigorous measures should have been taken; he therefore could never consent, that that house should become the mere echo, of whatever communication, ministers might please to send down, in the shape of a royal message. He was not content to rely merely upon the good intention of ministers; he wished the house to be enabled to judge, whether their conduct was right or wrong. He still approved of the treaty of Amiens, and principally, because it freed us from those detestable and abominable principles, upon which the late war was conducted. He hoped that we should never hear again, of wars begun for the pretence of the protection of religion and social order. He trusted, that such hypocrisy was

for

for ever destroyed; and that no ministers would again attempt, to impose upon a generous people, by such false pretexes. He requested, that ministers would not be afraid of reproaches; for too great efforts at conciliation; as long as it was consistent with honor, he was a warm advocate for conciliation; but would never be an apologist for dishonor. He concluded by saying, that he should not vote against the motion.

Mr. Burroughs considered, that secrecy in negociations, which might possibly terminate amicably, was much to be desired. We were not yet at war; and he hoped it would be avoided; but, at the same time, he felt the utmost confidence in the resources of the country, to carry on a war, should it be unavoidable. Great as France had become, by the plunder and oppression of all the nations on the continent, she was unequal to the task of domineering over this country.

Lord Hawkesbury agreed in the general principles laid down by Mr. Fox; he only differed in the application of them. When a negociation is terminated, he thought it right to give ample information; but, while it was pending, it was better to keep silence, than state matters which might produce irritating discussions, that must impede the negociation itself. On the commencement of a war, it was right to state the causes of it; but perhaps, when things were settled amicably, it was better not to stir up again those passions which had hardly subsided. Ministers considered 60,000 seamen a force adequate to the circumstances of the

times; and, at the same time necessary, considering the armaments of the enemy.

Mr. Elliot thought the resolution offered to the committee unprecedented, not being sanctioned by sufficient information.

Mr. Canning repeated the observations he had made on a former evening, on the necessity of ministers (if they intended to deal fairly by parliament) giving every information to the house, at the time those negociations were ended, whether they should end in peace or in war: should they end in peace, the house ought to know why those large supplies had been called for. The armament itself, if unnecessary, was extremely imprudent; unnecessary armaments might lead to war. He should vote, however, for the force proposed, in the hope, that ministers would use it for the purpose of obtaining a complete, honorable, and durable peace, and not for restoring it to that feverish unwholesome repose, from which they had roused it. There was no time, at present, to consider in whose hands, the administration of the country might most safely be trusted; and ministers must, at present, act under the highest responsibility.

Sir W. Pulteney, thought ministers acted prudently in fitting out such an armament, as the present situation of affairs seemed to require. He did not think it right, while negotiations were pending, to lay before the house such information, as might only serve to put the people into bad temper. He thought the supply now demanded, was necessary, from those circumstances which are evident to all the world; but if any more were demanded,

then

then the house might pause, and ask for farther information.

Mr. Trench, considered himself pledged to no specific measure, by voting for this supply, which was wanting merely for precaution.

After some explanations from the different gentlemen, who had taken a part in the debate, the resolution was voted without farther opposition.

It is not, here, our intention, to enter at large into the causes which led administration, to the measure of vigour and resolution, which appeared in the king's message, and in the subsequent increase of the military establishments of the empire: that subject more appropriately belongs to another part of the work, and shall form the subject of our most particular consideration, in which the conduct of France, and the relative situation of both countries, from the period of the peace of Amiens, to that of the renewal of hostilities, shall be amply detailed: a few remarks, however, on the effect which the debates resulting therefrom, and which have been the subject of the present chapter, produced on the state of political party, and public opinion, may not be useless nor irrelevant.

It was the singular fate of Mr. Addington's motion, of an address of thanks to his majesty, for his message urging the necessity of warlike preparation, in common with that of every great national measure, he had brought forward since the commencement of the session; to meet with no opposition whatever from the great leading interests in parliament; though the grounds of their acquiescence were widely different, and of a nature,

which could afford him slender cause of satisfaction.

We have already seen\* that the late minister, and those who were personally attached to him, had ceased to continue that warm support in parliament, which Mr. Addington had experienced from them at the commencement of his administration. On the present occasion Mr. Pitt again stood aloof, and in the debates of the ninth and eleventh of March, that person whom we have already described as his most confidential friend,† in giving his support to ministers, qualified it by many expressions of distrust in the abilities of administration; and of dissatisfaction at the ignorance, in which the house and the country were kept, on these important occasions. From these indications—sufficiently obvious indeed—conclusions were drawn, both within and without the walls of parliament, not very favourable to the opinion, of the continuation of the friendship and good correspondence between the late leader of his majesty's councils, and the present. From the “old opposition” as was the party designated, of whom Mr. Fox was the acknowledged leader, the support to administration was given in terms, even more equivocal; a desire not to disturb the unanimity of the legislature, on this trying occasion, was the sole principle on which he and his friends grounded their acquiescence; and repeated deprecations of a renewal of the war, sufficiently manifested, the only terms, on which the present government could hope for their assistance; and it is still farther to be remarked, that one gentleman‡

\* Vide page 29.

† Ibid.

‡ Mr. Francis.



of the greatest respectability and talents, whose attachment to the party, whose conduct we are describing, could not be doubted, went so far on this occasion as to say, that, "the whole ability of the nation was excluded from its existing councils!" One exception, however, appeared in the speech of Mr. Sheridan, to the union which otherwise distinguished those, with whom he had hitherto acted.—He took occasion to applaud the conduct of ministers to the skies, not only for their present activity, but for their former moderation; and with considerable energy and effect, called the attention of the house, to the approaching contest; which he insisted, we were fully equal to maintain, under the guidance of the councils which now directed the state. It was supposed, that though it did not now appear, this line of conduct would not be confined, of all the individuals of whom the party consisted, to this gentleman solely. Some other leaders of the "old opposition" were suspected of similar views; to which they might possibly be led, either by the allurements of official situation, which it must soon, from the threatening aspect of their affairs, be the object of administration to offer to their acceptance; or from the inveterate abhorrence with which they contemplated the return of Mr. Pitt to office; and which was a circumstance alike to be expected, both from the incapability and want of energy, of the present ministers, and from the apprehended extra-

ordinary pressure, of foreign and domestic affairs. But by far the most unfavorable impressions to the credit and character of Mr. Addington and his colleagues, were made on the house and the public, by the speeches and arguments of those, who had with unceasing solicitude, and the most perfect consistency, exerted the whole force of the most splendid talents, and brilliant eloquence, (hitherto in vain) to open the eyes of the king's government, and the empire, to the impending dangers.

In vain had the most experienced statesmen, the most accomplished orators, individuals of the highest rank, and greatest interest in the public weal, with almost prophetic prescience, warned the country of the dangers of the peace of Amiens, of the encroaching disposition of the French ruler, and of their inevitable consequences. This little, but illustrious band, few in numbers, but of whom each individual was qualified to lead; now found that they were no longer considered by the multitude as a "war faction," a "pack of sanguinary bloodhounds,"\* whose objects were place and power, and whose lust of both were insatiable; but as the self-devoted, steady sentinels, over the public safety; who had descried the danger from afar, and who had sounded the alarm, with timely vigilance, in the ears of a nation, deluded, and lulled into the most profound and unsuspecting security! Were it possible for men, such as we have here described, to have triumphed

\* Such were the epithets which clamour had most indecently applied, and even in the ministerial prints, to such men, as the Spencers, Fitzwilliams, Grenvilles, Windham, &c. &c. &c. who composed the "new opposition."

in the moment of their country's danger, at the complete fulfilment of their predictions; this would have been the period—the proudest that perhaps ever fell to the lot of statesmen to enjoy: but as, in the hour when confidence took the lead of experience, they had not been awed or depressed by numbers into silence, so were they now, not betrayed into immoderate exultation. Acting upon immutable and firm principles, they were found in their ranks, at this moment of consternation, cheering and encouraging their country to exertion:—congratulating the ministers on the appearance of vigour which they had shewn:—and proffering their assistance and co-operation in every meritorious effort, that they might make for the restoration of the honor of the nation. It must however, have been matter of satisfaction to them, to see, the government, though tardily, complete converts to that system they had so long abused, and vilified; the approximation,

with some few shades of difference, of the remaining two great leading parties of the country to their opinions; and above all, that by a steady adherence to their principles, they should at last have the satisfaction of establishing, such an union of talents, political experience, and property, as might prove the best, perhaps the only defence, against the despotic machinations of the powerful and inveterate enemy to the British name.

But, however praiseworthy the moderation of the “new opposition,” certain it is, from henceforward, in proportion as their popularity and their credit with the people increased, in that proportion did Mr. Addington and his colleagues decline in public opinion; and it was evident to all, that the moment when a junction should be formed between the three great parties, who seemed, though in different degrees adverse from their measures, that, that moment would witness their dismissal or retreat from office.

## CHAP. VIII.

*India Budget.*—Lord Castlereagh—Mr. Johnstone—Chancellor of the Exchequer—Mr. W. Dundas.—*Prince of Wales's Annuity Bill, passes the House of Lords, without opposition.*—*Irish Militia Bill.*—*Debate.*—Mr. Wickham—Elliot—Sir Lawrence Parsons—Yorke—Colonel Fitzgerald.—*Proceedings on the Nottingham Election Bill.*—*Bill brought in to regulate them in future, by Mr. Hawkins Browne.*—Supported by Mr. Pierrepont and Mr. Bond.—*Petition against it, from the Mayor and Corporation of Nottingham.*—Presented by Mr. Fox.—Ordered to lie on the Table.—*Further Proceedings on the Irish Militia Bill.*—*Debate.*—Mr. Windham—Secretary at War—Sir W. Pulteney—General Tarleton—Sir L. Parsons—Mr. Wilberforce—Mr. Elliot.—*Resolutions agreed to—and a Bill ordered pursuant thereto.*—Remarks.

ON the 14th day of March, in the house of commons,

Lord Castlereagh brought forward, the India budget, for the years 1800-1, as the accounts for the last year had not been yet received. He stated, first, the revenues on the average of three years; next he compared the estimated and the actual amount of the revenue of the last year; and thirdly, the estimated revenue for the succeeding year. The revenues of Bengal, for the year 1800-1, amounted to 6,650,000*l.* which exceeded, by 319,000*l.* the estimated revenue. The charges also exceeded the estimate, by 358,500*l.* The net revenue of Bengal was 1,877,000*l.* for that year. He estimated however the net revenue of the ensuing year, at nearly 600,000*l.* higher. The excess of the charges above the estimate, was owing to the war, and the Egyptian expedition; as to the Madras revenues, notwithstanding

that they had increased in that year 350,000*l.* above the estimate, yet the charges had also increased beyond the estimate, by near 260,000*l.* This was owing to this presidency having borne the principal burden of the Egyptian expedition. After going through a very minute detail of the affairs of the company, he stated the following, as the leading heads. The army of India, now consists of 24,000 Europeans, 89,000 natives, and 10,000 lascars, making altogether, an army of 124,000 men. The debt of India was 18 millions and a half, of which near ten millions had been added, within the last ten years; but, on the other hand, it must be recollected, that those were years of war, and that the Indian empire had been doubled in extent; and the means of the company every way increased in proportion to its debt. If peace continued, the country would participate, next



year, to the amount of half a million, in the prosperity of the company; but if war should again break out, they must, for a time, forego this advantage. He then moved a variety of resolutions, conformable to the statements in the budget.

Mr. Johnstone thought, his lordship was not justified, by any past experience, in drawing such a flattering view of the future prosperity of the company: the fact was, that hitherto, notwithstanding the fine statements, annually made to parliament, the debts of the company were annually increasing; there had been no less than seven millions of difference between the estimates and the results, for the last three years; which prevented him from giving much credit to the calculations of the noble lord for the future. He then entered into a variety of calculations, to prove, that the financial statements of his lordship were much exaggerated. As to the extension of our territories in the East, it was not only contrary, in point of policy, to the opinions of every man of abilities and superior judgment, but contrary to a positive act of parliament; and they were obtained by violations of national faith, as disgraceful as any of the most reprobated acts of the French government.

The chancellor of the exchequer denied, that our conquests had been made unjustly; as to the circumstance alluded to (the assumption of the territories of Arcot) he hoped that the house would not entertain any prejudice, against some of the most meritorious men the country could boast; but allow them time to explain and justify their conduct in that affair.

Mr. Francis, objected to the statements of the noble lord, as built upon estimates which might, or might not, be made good, and perhaps on false documents. Those estimates were nothing but promises, held out from year to year; and promises which, hitherto, had always failed. On the renewal of the charter, half a million annually was to be paid to the public; and yet the public never yet had received more than one year's profit from this. He contended that the whole statement of to-night, was fallacious, and not to be depended on; and that the accounts were not fairly drawn.

Mr. W. Dundas, and Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, replied to the arguments of Mr. Johnstone and Mr. Francis, and supported the statement, made by the noble lord, in the name of the East India company. The resolutions were then voted, and the report received.

On the 15th, the house of peers resolved itself into a committee, on the prince of Wales's annuity bill.

The earl of Carlisle was still of opinion, that this bill was inadequate to the object it professed; but, in the present circumstances, it was perhaps better to be silent on that subject. He did consider the present times, extremely perilous; for though our soldiers and sailors were brave, we had but a weak administration. The spirit of the country could not fairly be called into effect, when its rulers were incapable of directing its energy. He said, that to the present bill, he must give a reluctant concurrence; but expressed a strong hope of a change being made in the administration.

Lord Pelham, defended the conduct of ministers, who had not sought

sought their situations, but were called to them by his majesty, on the recommendation of him who was at the head of the last administration. Nor had they ever experienced a want of confidence, on the part of the nation. He was glad, however, to learn, that this supposed want of confidence, was the only ground of his lordship's fears for the safety of the country.

The lord chancellor complained of the irregular turn the debate had taken. The question was about the prince's annuity, and the arguments about the general merits of the administration! He confessed, that the situation he held, had always been his highest ambition; he knew that he had done his duty, and while he was sensible that he had the approbation of his king and country, he troubled himself but little about the sentiments of his lordship. The bill was read a second and a third time, without further opposition, and finally passed.

On the same day, there was a long conversation in the house of commons, upon a resolution, moved in the committee, upon the Irish militia bill.

Mr. Wickham proposed a resolution, authorising the lords of the treasury, in Ireland, to give bounties, not exceeding four guineas a man, to persons enrolling themselves in the militia of Ireland; at present, they being only allowed to give two.

Mr. Elliot wished, that the militia, in Ireland, as well as in England, were raised in the constitutional way of ballot, rather than by bounties; as it must interfere very much with the recruiting for

the regulars, to give men bounties for staying at home.

Mr. Wickham replied, that in Ireland, it had been found almost impossible to enforce the system of balloting; it was therefore necessary to have recourse to bounties, otherwise there would be no militia in Ireland.

The secretary at war (Mr. Yorke) observed, that the hon. gentleman, (Mr. Elliot) from the official situation he had held in Ireland, must know, that bounties were the most effectual means of raising a militia, in that country, where they were unaccustomed to the ballot. The Irish militia had displayed great spirit and energy, during the war, and most of them made general offers of service, for any part of the globe; there should, therefore, be no objection now to raise this force, in the only manner that it could be done.

Sir Lawrence Parsons took notice of the difference of the constitution of the army in England and Ireland; in the latter country, where most of the recruits are of the catholic persuasion, the catholics in the army, are allowed the free exercise of their religion, which is not the case in this country. He had the honor of being a governor of a county in Ireland, and, at a meeting of the deputy governors, it was unanimously agreed, that recruiting by bounties, and not by ballot, was the only effectual mode, for that country.

Colonel Fitzgerald confirmed the statement, that the system of balloting was not practicable in Ireland, where the people are not used to it; and that the price of the

substitutes, if that system were adopted, would be much higher than what, by the present bill, was proposed to be given to recruits.

Colonel Bagwell contended, that the Irish militia was highly serviceable to the recruiting service; and exemplified his observation, by stating, that last war, when there was a pressing necessity for a large body of troops, the Irish militia colonels became recruiting officers, and in a few days procured 10,000 volunteers, for the expedition to Holland; a similar levy was made for the expedition to Egypt.

After some farther conversation, the bill was agreed to.

On March the 16th, Mr. H. Browne, as chairman of the committee, upon the Nottingham election, presented the report, which stated, that the last election was void; that John Allen, the returning officer for Nottingham, had acted contrary to his duty, in opening a poll, at a time when there was no third candidate; that the freedom of election had been grossly violated, by riots and disturbances; and acts of personal intimidation and violence practised, during the election; that Daniel Parker Coke, esq. the petitioner, was obliged to quit the town, from a just apprehension of hazard to his life; and that a large number of electors, in his interest, were deterred from polling; that John Davison, esq. the mayor, John Allen, esq. the returning officer, and the magistrates of the town of Nottingham, took no steps at all, to secure the freedom of election, and the peace of the place; and that it appeared to the committee, that there was no chance of a free elec-

tion in Nottingham, unless the magistrates of the county had a concurrent jurisdiction with those of the town, to preserve the peace of the place, during the election. He therefore moved, that the farther consideration of the report should be postponed, till the 20th of April; at which time he intended to bring in a bill, pursuant to the report.

On the speaker's putting the question, upon the first resolution,

Mr. Fox thought it would be too precipitate for the house, to vote such resolutions, merely upon their being read to them by the clerk. The committee might be in possession of good reasons for their resolutions, but, he thought, it would be, perhaps, too much to say, that Nottingham should be without a representative in parliament, until the house should have time to decide, upon what measures ought to be taken on the voluminous report, which was not to be presented for their consideration, sooner than in a month from this time! It would, perhaps, be keeping the town of Nottingham, too long in a state of ferment.

After some farther conversation, the motion of Mr. Browne was agreed to; and the house came to a resolution against issuing a new writ for the town of Nottingham, until the farther consideration of the report.

Upon the day appointed for the farther consideration of it, when the different resolutions were agreed to,

Mr. H. Browne moved for leave to bring in a bill, to regulate the elections at Nottingham. It had appeared, by the report, that the freedom of election had been grossly violated;



violated; not only on the last election, but on former occasions. The outrages, committed at the last, were of such peculiar atrocity, as to call for a special report from the committee. The object of this bill, however, was neither to disfranchise, nor to punish; but to preserve the peace of that town, in future elections, by giving the magistrates of the county a concurrent jurisdiction with those of the city of Nottingham.

Mr. Pierrepont stated, that he was in the town of Nottingham, during the election; and thought the present bill absolutely necessary; it was impossible to describe the confusion and riot, which daily interrupted the election; and which was owing, in a great measure, to the negligence of the magistrates.

Mr. Fox did not oppose the bringing in the bill, but felt himself convinced, from the most attentive examination of the minutes, that Mr. Davison, the mayor, was not guilty of negligence; he had done every thing in his power to preserve the peace, except calling in the military, and surrounding the booth, with armed men. This was what, he believed, the magistrates of the county would be as incapable of proposing, as those of the town. He hoped this country would never witness such an election as had been described, by a naval officer, (Sir Sidney Smith) to have taken place, at Brussels, in a hollow square, of the French army. He did not deny, however, that a remedy might be necessary, and, as a remedial measure, he should not oppose it.

Mr. Bond stated, some shameful outrages, which had come to

his knowledge; and, after some conversation, leave was given to bring in the bill; and it was ordered, that a new writ should not be issued, sooner than three weeks.

Previously to the second reading of the bill,

Mr. Fox presented a petition against it, from the mayor and corporation of Nottingham, who stated, that such a bill would be a virtual censure upon, and degradation of, the corporation, without any imputation of delinquency: and a violation, in the persons of the magistrates, of those rights and privileges, which Nottingham had now enjoyed for nearly 400 years. This petition was ordered to lie upon the table, till the second reading of the bill.

The next day a debate took place, upon the report of the committee, upon the Irish militia bill.

Mr. Windham rose, to protest against the mischief, with which it appeared to him, that the present measure was fraught: he avowed, candidly, that he was not a friend to the militia system: he had a sort of prepossession for it in his early years; but he had none at present. He gave every credit to the patriotism of the militia officers, and the courage of the soldiers; but, from want of experience in real danger, he thought the militia would always be inferior to troops of the line. Even the bravery of the militia, might operate as a mischief, when not regulated by that prudence and discretion, which is only to be got by experience; he thought, it was highly dangerous, to rely upon them for the defence of the empire; and that they never could be equal to regular troops. He said, the

constitution of the militia was every way bad. A militia colonel could not be disposed to correct severely men whose votes he was soliciting for the next election; besides the militia was merely a defensive force; in which respect, the regulars had a great advantage over them, as being equally calculated for defensive or offensive operations. Had we a disposable force of twenty or thirty thousand men, when Bonaparte marched to Marengo, the most vital part of his empire, would have been left exposed to invasion and insurrection!

Mr. Wallace considered, the honorable gentleman was not in order, in pursuing such a line of reasoning on the simple question, of what bounties should be given to recruits in the Irish militia?

Mr. Windham resumed; he thought when the question was about a bounty, it was a thing to be considered, whether the force to be raised was worth that bounty, or not. As to the constitutional question about standing armies, that was now merged in the question, how long are we to keep the country? Another argument in favor of the regular troops was on the ground of accuracy. The bounties given to militia men, prevented many from entering into the regular service; he thought it a very whimsical mode of reasoning, adopted by gentlemen on the other side, that because exertion was acknowledged to be necessary, that therefore, it was unimportant to consider how that exertion could best be made. For his part, it was his decided opinion, that it was to regular troops, and not to militia, that the defence of the empire

should be intrusted at the present crisis.

The secretary at war, was astonished, that the right honorable gentleman (Mr. Windham) had now thought proper to complain of the militia; a force, which when he himself was in office, he had increased to a most unprecedented degree. Not only the militia of England was very much increased under his administration, but the militia of Scotland, and he believed of Ireland too had been formed on the same plan, and upon those occasions he made no objection. As to the militia, it must be allowed, that they were not altogether equal to regular troops, but they had rendered great services; in 1780 they saved the metropolis; in Ireland, the Irish militia, in conjunction with the yeomanry, saved that country to the British crown. Upon the expedition to Holland, a great part of our force were volunteers from the militia, and on every occasion, both the English and the Irish militia men, had shewn every disposition, to meet the enemies of the British empire.

Sir William Pulteney, was surprised that Mr. Windham could think the militia not to be depended upon in case of invasion, when it was recollected how much they had been employed, and how gloriously they had done their duty: it could not be forgotten that an American militia, had, in defence of their homes, defeated the best British troops of the line, who attacked them as invaders; and there would be little doubt, but that an English or Irish militia, would act with equal spirit against those who should invade their country. There was another powerful consideration in favor



favor of the militia force, namely, that they were incomparably less expensive than regulars, and in the present situation of the country, he would recommend it to gentlemen, not to despise economy.

General Tarleton, thought it imprudent to compare the merits of the militia and troops of the line; but of this he was sure, that there was no officer in the house who would not prefer 15,000 militia to 10,000 troops of the line for any service; and such a body as 18,000 Irish militia, must, with the 25,000 regular troops in that country, be a powerful means of securing it from the attempts of the enemy.

Sir Lawrence Parsons, said the entire question at present was, whether when Ireland possessed all the materials of an army, it should or should not be allowed to use them, in the only manner that it was possible to apply them? The Irish militia had, in the course of last war, conducted itself uncommonly well, not only in their own country, but in volunteering their services abroad, and in garrisoning the isle of Guernsey.

Mr. Addington, in defending the militia system from the objections of Mr. Windham, took an opportunity to compliment Colonel Vereker, (who was then sitting in the house dressed in his militia uniform): that honourable gentleman had, at the head of a small corps, on that establishment, checked and defeated French troops in Ireland, when in the full career of their success.

Mr. Wilberforce strongly supported the motion: he said, if any political principle was more strongly impressed on his mind than another,

it was his attachment to the constitutional defence of a militia. It was a force, which none but a free country could enjoy; while a standing army was a sort of force, to which every one must look with constitutional jealousy. He thought it likely, that it was from his love of expeditions, that, that right honorable gentleman (Mr. Windham) was so attached to standing armies, and so averse from militia.

Mr. Elliot, approved of the principle of the militia system, and wished that a militia should always be kept up, but on a very reduced scale; he considered that the militia principle was abandoned in the present bill, as it went to raise a force by bounties, instead of by ballot; in the place of a militia force, he would consider this as a fencible force of the worst species, which was not to serve out of Ireland. The Irish militia had been completely disbanded, and the system dissolved at the conclusion of the last war; the question now was, whether it should be revived, in a manner the most likely to impede the general recruiting service? He thought, a board of French general officers, could not contrive a measure, more likely to sap the military strength of the empire, than what was contained in the resolution now before the house!

Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Hiley Addington, and Mr. Dawson supported it: the resolution was then agreed to, and a bill ordered pursuant thereto.

This dereliction of the only mode of raising a militia force known to the law and the constitution, was a sufficient, but melancholy proof, that the confidence, so often and so



recently expressed by ministers, in the peaceable disposition, and attachment to the government, of the bulk of the people in Ireland; was either not believed by themselves, or that they acted under the influence of the grossest deception. To all thinking minds, this abandonment, both in letter and spirit,

of the law, by which this constitutional force had hitherto been raised, and the substitution of an army of mercenaries, (from the impossibility of enforcing the original act in Ireland) was a source of the most serious and well founded alarm.

## CHAP. IX.

*Debate in the House of Lords, on the Earl of Carlisle's motion for naval enquiry.—In the Commons on the militia officers' bill—and on India affairs.—King's message, to reward Sir James Saumarez.—Lord Ellenborough's chalking bill.—Debate on the punishment of Trotter for contempt of the orders of the House.—General Gascoyne moves for a bill, to equalize the measure of foreign salt.—Proceedings on the clergy residence bill.—Debate on the Pancras work-house—and on the coroners' bill.—Grenada loan bill.—Easter recess.*

**I**N the house of lords, on the eighteenth day of March, the earl of Carlisle, called their lordships' attention, to a motion he should have made had he seen ministers in their places; the motion which he had intended to make, respected the artificers in the dock yards; and at which he particularly wished the noble earl at the head of the admiralty to be present. He came down as an independent peer of parliament, unconnected with parties, and perfectly unbiassed; he was happily,

“Unplac'd, unpension'd, no man's heir  
or slave;”

He was unsolicitous whom his public language or his conduct might offend: he declared his intention to bring forward his proposed motion early in the next week, if he should then see ministers in their places.

The lord chancellor said, that as to the motion of the noble earl, he could say nothing, because he knew nothing of its object; but as to his other observations, he must say, that although he was convinced that the parliamentary conduct of

the noble earl, would always be guided by fair and honorable motives; yet he should recollect that others had feelings as well as himself, and felt wounded at unfavourable imputations thrown out against them. He was convinced, that those with whom he acted, had the confidence of the country, as expressed by its constitutional organ, the parliament.

After some mutual explanations between the earl of Carlisle and the chancellor, the conversation dropped.

On the same day there was a debate in the house of commons, upon the second reading of the militia officers' completion bill.

Lord Folkstone, considered this bill would be the death blow of the militia. The constitutional principle of the militia, rested almost entirely on its being officered by men of property; and therefore highly disapproved of giving commissions in the militia to unqualified persons. He thought the half-pay officers, ought to get commissions in the line.

The

The secretary at war, expressed his astonishment, at his lordship's apprehensions; as the present bill was copied, almost *verbatim*, from the act of the last session.

Mr. Sheridan strongly supported the bill. He had been always a friend to the militia system, and was a little surprised at the singular discovery lately made, that it was not constitutional. He lamented any innovations made on the system; he was sorry to see excellent militia regiments, broken up, for the purpose of reinforcing the troops of the line; and the militia colonels converted merely into drill serjeants. The noble lord had said, that if persons unqualified, should receive commissions, those who were qualified, should resign theirs. This was a most extraordinary sentiment, and delivered at an extraordinary time! This bill, only gave the lord lieutenant the power, of filling up the vacancies in the militia, from officers of another description, in case that a sufficient number of qualified persons were not to be found. What else could be done? If the country gentlemen of England, should ever prefer their horses and their hounds; their country sports and their horse-racing, to the defence of their country; was the militia on that account, to be laid aside, or remain unofficered? He concluded, by expressing his wish, to see the militia system restored to its original principle; but conceived the present was rather a time for prompt decision, and vigorous action, than for speculative discussion, and cavilling deliberation.

The bill was then read a second time; on the question of its committal,

Lord Folkstone thought, that when Mr. Sheridan had spoken of the backwardness of the young nobility and gentry of the country, he had alluded to him. He assured him, that he had already applied for a commission in the militia, but had not, hitherto, been fortunate enough to obtain it.

Mr. Sheridan declared, that when he spoke of the gentry of England at large, he by no means intended to allude particularly to his lordship; but he was very glad to hear from his lordship, that he had applied for a commission; as in that case, his example might do more good, than his speech could do mischief.

After a few more explanations, the bill was ordered to be committed.

The earl of Carlisle made his promised motion, on the 21st. After several previous observations, on the character of the present administration, which he conceived to be weak, fluctuating, and irresolute; and which had given orders to arm and disarm, without alleging any reasons for its conduct; concluded by moving, that "the proper officers should lay before the house, a monthly return of the number of artificers employed in his majesty's dock-yards, from the 1st of May 1802, down to the present time."

Lord Hobart thought, the house ought not to agree to such a motion, without having adequate grounds assigned for its adoption. As to the character of the present administration, they rested it upon their public conduct, and thought the approbation and support they met from parliament, was a sufficient answer



answer to the opinion delivered by his lordship.

After an explanation from earl Carlisle, the chancellor proceeded to put the question.

Lord Grenville then rose, and although he approved of the principle of the motion, requested that his noble friend would withdraw it, as the present was not a time to throw any embarrassment in the way of Government. He did not think the conduct of the present Government, was such as to inspire any confidence; to appearance, at least, their measures denoted weakness and irresolution: perhaps, however, at a future time, they might be able to explain all those apparent inconsistencies; at present, as they had given no manner of information, the house was not in a situation to judge; but, as they had been suffered to go on so far in their own way, he thought this would not be a proper time to stop them.

Lord Pelham, defended the conduct of administration, which, he thought, fully possessed the confidence of parliament, and the country.

The earl of Carlisle, in consequence of the suggestion of lord Grenville, proposed to withdraw his motion.

Lord Grenville denied, that ministers could fairly say, they had the confidence of parliament, unless they laid such information before parliament, as would enable it to form a correct judgment.

The lord chancellor concluded the conversation, by a defence of the conduct of ministers; who, he said, were only silent on points, that their duty to their king and

country, required that they should be silent upon.

The motion of the earl of Carlisle was then withdrawn.

On the same day, in the house of commons, after lord Castlereagh's resolutions, respecting the revenue of India, had been agreed to,

Mr. Francis rose, for information; he disclaimed having intended to apply falsehood or fabrication personally to any of the directors: but, he must still consider the accounts presented to the house, false in their balances and results. The most important point on which he wished to be informed, was, whether the public had at all guaranteed the capital of the company, as they had the imperial loan?

Sir Theophilus Metcalfe defended the accounts, and the characters of the East india directors, who had presented them. He said, the guarantee, as it was called, was not a government guarantee, but a guarantee, regulated by the act of the 31st of the king.

Mr. Johnstone, also found fault with the accounts, both for the present and the former years.

Mr. W. Dundas and Mr. Wallace defended them.

The following day, in the house of commons, there was some farther conversation, about the militia officers' bill.

Mr. Bastard, Mr. Lascelles, and colonel Mitford, seemed to disapprove of the clause, allowing the lord lieutenant to give commissions to certain officers, without qualifications.

Sir W. Geary said, that parliament had proceeded, step by step, to destroy the nature of this constitutional body; he thought the present was the last step.

Mr.

Mr. Bastard thought the last parliament had disgraced the character of the militia, by their innovations, on the original principles of the establishment: he conceived that it was this conduct, which had produced the many resignations, of which ministers complained.

The chancellor of the exchequer contended, that the militia had not been ill treated by the former ministers; nor had they been insulted, or degraded by the last parliament. Who was it that conquered in Egypt? The militia.—Who was it that fought jacobinism and treason in Ireland? The militia.—He felt so proud of the conduct of the militia, last war, that he could not bear to hear it said, that the militia had been degraded.

Lord Folkstone insisted, that they had been degraded, and their officers much disgusted, by having their men taken from them.

General Tarleton thought, that the officers from the line, which the present bill alluded to, might well associate with any description of men in the country; he did not know whether the noble lord meant, that they were unfit company for the landed interest, or the landed interest for them?

The resolutions were then agreed to, in the committee; but, upon the report being brought up, the next day,

Mr. Windham said, he should certainly rather see the militia officered, by officers from the line, than not officered at all; and, on that consideration only, he should vote for a measure, which appeared to him subversive of the fundamental principles of the militia system. Indeed he thought it ludicrous, to give

the term Militia, to a force like this, composed of officers without qualification, and men without ballot. For his part, instead, of wishing to assimilate the militia to the army, he would much rather assimilate the army to the militia. He wished, that drafting from the militia, should be entirely abolished; and that soldiers should be raised for the regular army, only for a term of years. He thought, the effect of the present bill, would be this: that it would rob the regular army of officers, by introducing them into the militia; and as for soldiers, it was pretty well robbed already. If he then voted for the present bill, it was merely for want of a better.

The secretary at war said, that in order, as much as possible, to reconcile the measure to the feelings of the gentlemen, who opposed it, he should introduce a clause, by which it should be declared, that the power of the lord lieutenant, might not go farther, than to introduce, unqualified officers, as high as the rank of captain.

Lord Stanley, suggested the propriety of admitting Roman Catholics, who should be qualified as officers of the militia.

The amendments were then agreed to, and, a few days after, the bill was read a third time, without any farther opposition.

On the 24th of March, the chancellor of the exchequer, brought down a message from his majesty, which, in consequence of the eminent services, performed on various occasions, by Sir James Saumarez, and particularly by his spirited and successful attack, upon a superior fleet of French and Spanish ships,

in the straits of Gibraltar, on the 12th of July, 1801; recommended the grant of an annuity of 1200*l.* to Sir James Saumarez, for the term of his natural life.

When this message was taken into consideration, the next day,

The chancellor of the exchequer, recounted his former services under lords Rodney, St. Vincent, and Nelson; but particularly dwelt on the last gallant action, when he had acted as commander in chief. After a complimentary speech, he concluded, by moving a resolution, agreeably to the recommendation of his majesty, which was unanimously agreed to.

On the 28th, lord Ellenborough brought forward, in the house of lords, the bill, now known by the name of Lord Ellenborough's Act, for making the maiming, wounding, and disfiguring, any of his majesty's subjects, a capital felony. In consequence of the Irish Chalking Bill, which was soon to come again before their lordships' consideration, he had turned his attention to the subject, and, in this instance, would wish to assimilate the English criminal law, to that of Ireland. By the Coventry Act, "a lying in wait" must be proved; and, at present, an assault, with intent to murder, was, by the law, only a misdemeanor, although an assault, with an intent to rob, was a felony! He then stated, some of the provisions of his bill, respecting child-murder; and the administering medicines to procure abortion. He should also propose, to make it a capital offence, for a man to burn his own house, for the purpose of defrauding the underwriters.

Lord Auckland highly approved

of the bill, which was then read a first time.

On the same day, in the house of commons, a very long debate took place, on the punishment which ought to be inflicted, on James Trotter, who had been committed, for not attending a committee of the house of commons, to give his evidence respecting the Dumferline election.

James Trotter, having surrendered himself, and presented the usual petition, expressing his sorrow for having offended against the privileges of the house, was brought to the bar; and being asked, had he any thing to say in his defence? said, "that he was absent from home, for ten days, after the first summons was sent him; and that his family did not send the second after him." He then expressed contrition, and asked pardon.

Lord Euston moved, that he should be reprimanded, and then discharged.

Mr. Tierney, considered this punishment, as altogether insufficient: he considered that the crime of staying away, from giving his evidence when required, was full as bad as prevarication, if he had attended; he could by no means believe, that the prisoner could have remained so long ignorant of a summons, from such high authority, as the speaker of the house of commons, which was a thing that must have been spoken of, as a circumstance rather unusual in the neighbourhood. It was much more likely, that he was absent from his house on purpose, to avoid being obliged to answer some questions he might be asked, about bribing a vote, at Queen's Ferry. He thought, that



that he ought to be committed to Newgate: he should, therefore, move two resolutions; the first, declaring the sense the house entertained of his conduct; and he should follow that up, by a motion, for committing him to Newgate.

Mr. Sheridan also thought, an exemplary punishment should be inflicted upon him; he, himself, had confessed, that between the times of the service of the first and second warrants, he had returned to his family; and yet, he had paid no attention to the warrant he had seen.

The lord advocate of Scotland, was against a severe punishment, on the ground, that there was no wilful contempt; but, that the prisoner might have really thought, the first order need not be obeyed, as he did not receive it till after the day, on which it specified, that he ought to attend: he thought his confinement, his being brought up here, near 400 miles, and his expressions of sorrow, should weigh with the house, against inflicting a severe punishment.

Mr. W. Dundas and Lord Dunlop thought, that under all the circumstances, of what he had already suffered, and his situation in life, he might now be reprimanded and discharged.

Mr. Fox strongly contended, that an exemplary punishment ought now to be inflicted. As to perjury, it was a crime, to which the laws had affixed, an adequate punishment; but the crime of disobeying the speaker's warrant, and absenting himself from giving evidence, if not punished by that house, could not elsewhere be punished. The only defence attempt-

ed was, telling the house, that if he had been aware of the dangers of disobedience, he would have obeyed their warrant! This was a very curious sort of defence, and, as he thought, ought not to be listened to, by that house. He therefore agreed with the ideas, that had been thrown out by Mr. Tierney.

After some observations, from the chancellor of the exchequer, and other members, such minutes of the evidence before the committee, as related to James Trotter, were ordered.

On a subsequent day, the minutes being read, after a long discussion, the house resolved on committing the said James Trotter to Newgate.

After this discussion, Gen. Gascoigne, stating the disadvantages sustained by Liverpool, from the high duties on their salt, over that of foreign salt, imported into Ireland, moved, that "leave be given, to bring in a bill, to equalize by weight, the bushel, of all salt imported to that part of the united kingdom, called Ireland."

Mr. Corry stated, the absolute necessity of importing foreign salt into Ireland, for the provision trade; which, he said, would otherwise be destroyed; and, on that account, moved the order of the day.

After some conversation, General Gascoigne, finding the sense of the house to be against him, withdrew his motion.

The clergy non-residence bill was read a third time, in the house of commons, and passed without any serious opposition.

On the 30th of March, upon the question being put, for the second reading of it, in the house of lords,

Lord

Lord Auckland felt great doubts on which side he should vote; he saw great danger in allowing the suspension suddenly to drop; but he thought it would be much better to shorten the period of the suspension demanded.

The bishop of St. Asaph, wished the bill to go into a committee; although he thought it might be necessary to propose many amendments there, before it would be a fit bill for their lordships to pass; he wished the bill to be of a shorter duration; and expressed his fears, that the vicar or the rector often took the curate along with him, to enjoy the sports of the field, and left their parishes without any minister.

The lord chancellor defended the bill, and instanced the case of the rector of Bow church, who although he discharged most punctually the duties of his office, was obliged to pay nine several penalties for non-residence, although there was no parsonage house in the parish! On the other hand, there were clergymen who held great livings, that seldom or never resided on them. He feared that the operation of this bill, might in some degree tend to injure materially, several most deserving curates, who were now employed by non-residing rectors. He warmly defended the conduct of his brother, (Sir William Scott) in bringing in this bill.

The bill was committed for the next day; when the bishop of St. Asaph again rose and declared himself generally averse from bills of suspension; which were contrary to the principles of an enlightened legislature: he wished that some permanent system should be at

once adopted: he had heard much of the hardship of men of great talents, buried in an obscure vicarage, and being obliged to throw away the pearls of their eloquence and erudition, to a swinish peasantry; he thought, those who were not above accepting livings among the peasantry, should not be above instructing them: he therefore moved that the suspension should be continued to the 13th of May, instead of the 8th of July.

The lord chancellor admitted, that bills of suspension were to be avoided, except in cases of great necessity; he thought there was a greater chance, that a general measure of that sort, desired by the reverend bishop, would be brought forward before the eighth of July, than before the thirteenth of May: he therefore opposed the amendment.

The bishop of Durham, wished to extend the duration of the bill to the 8th of July; he bestowed the utmost praise on the learning and abilities of the honorable gentleman, (Sir William Scott) who had brought in this bill, and he thought the measure ought, as much as possible, to be left in his hands.

Lord Alvanley, was also against the amendment; in the hopes, that before the expiration of the time mentioned, some general system might be introduced in a bill, instead of the statute of Henry VIII, which was now in force.

Lord Auckland wished, that a general provision should be made, to regulate the subject: he thought if their lordships would but attend their duty in that house regularly, they might originate and frame a bill for the purpose, which would probably

probably be received by the other house.

Lord Ellenborough, spoke very eloquently on the necessity of the clergy residing on their benefices; he said, this was the foundation of the moral strength of the country; which even more than its military strength, ought to be cultivated and cherished. Highly as he respected the learning of the universities, and the science and literature, that were taught there; still, he considered the parochial instruction of the clergy, of greater national importance. He should prefer punishing non-residence in the clergy by indictment as a misdemeanor, rather than by civil process or specific penalty. He said, he should not support any future bills of suspension on this subject.

The bishop of St. Asaph, after hearing the lord chancellor, lord Ellenborough, and lord Alvanley, agree in disapproving of any more suspension bills on this subject; and wishing for a general plan to regulate the residence of the clergy; said, under those circumstances, he should withdraw his amendment, and agree to the original motion.

The bill then went through the committee, but, upon the report being brought up on the following day,

The earl of Carlisle said, that he could by no means agree with those noble lords, who yesterday declared they should vote for no more suspension bills. This bill was brought forward for the purpose of saving from prosecutions, a number of innocent clergy; and he could not consent, to expose them again to similar prosecutions; even although a general plan were not

agreed to before the 8th of July: he doubted, whether it could be done within that time. As to his majesty's ministers, he thought they could not well bring in such a measure without doing what was formerly in agitation, namely, assigning a provision out of the public purse, to the inferior orders of the clergy.

Lord Arden and lord Auckland, both agreed in the propriety of this general measure, which was so much wished for, originating rather in the house where the prelates sat; than in the other house of parliament; they expressed a wish, that lord Ellenborough, whose speech the day before, had made so powerful an impression, would take up the business.

Lord Ellenborough said, that from his other avocations and official duties, he could not pledge himself to give the necessary attention to the subject.

Lord Alvanley said, the only doubt he had, of the propriety of the measure originating in that house, was, that perhaps, it might be deemed right to make a provision for the inferior clergy, out of the public purse.

The report was then agreed to by their lordships.

The militia officers bill was read a second time in the house of lords, on the 31st of March, and was committed on the 4th of April. On both these days it produced discussions of considerable length. On the question for the second reading,

Lord Caernarvon, strongly objected to that part of the bill, which took away the landed qualifications, before necessary. This dangerous experiment



experiment was now to be made, on an alarm, that ministers have excited, to which, even the constitution of the country is obliged to give way. If the militia officers were to be disgusted, there was an end of all the services, which were to be expected from the institution.

Lord Cawdor also, disapproved of the clause, and expressed a fear, that it was the intention of government now, as during the last war, to draught the men from the militia, into other services.

The bill was then ordered to be committed; but, on the day appointed for the committal of it,

Lord Romney rose, and professed himself to have been always, a warm friend to the militia system; the principles of which, he was sorry to see, constantly departed from; he considered, that the clause which dispensed with the landed qualifications, would drive many qualified officers out of the militia. He thought the militia laws had been changing, from bad to worse, every year; and he thought it would be better, to give up the system altogether, than continue it on its present footing. It would be better, that the nobility and gentry, should raise regiments, at their own expence, to reinforce the regular troops.

The marquis Townshend, defended the bill; which then went into a committee.

When the clause was read, allowing the lord lieutenants and deputy lieutenants, to recommend in certain cases, the appointment of unqualified officers,

The earl of Carnarvon, strongly objected to the clause, as subversive of the militia system: he thought, that ministers had always

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sought the destruction of the militia, because it was a constitutional defence, and not servilely in their power. As this clause dispensed with qualifications in officers, it left nothing but a force, unequally raised by ballot, or by rate, which fell exclusively on the landed interest. He did not like the principle, of introducing into this country, the Irish militia, who are now to be raised by bounties, and commanded by officers, not possessing qualifications.

The duke of Cumberland supported the bill; which, he thought, likely to give efficiency to the militia, without disturbing its constitutional principles. As for the draughting men out of the militia, for foreign service, that was only done in a case of extreme urgency, in the last war; and it was not likely to happen again.

The earl of Westmoreland, defended the bill; and saw no more reason, why there should not be an interchange of militia, between England and Ireland, than between England and Scotland.

Lords Limerick, Radnor, Bolton, and Pelham, also defended the bill, upon general grounds.

The marquis of Sligo, bore testimony to the generous spirit of the nobility and gentry, commanding the Irish militia. They did not wish to stay at home, at their firesides, until they were themselves invaded; but were always ready to stand, or fall with the empire; and volunteer, where ever their services were most necessary.

The bill was then carried through the committee; and, in a few days after, read a third time, and passed, without any farther serious objection, or important opposition.

On the 4th of April, there occurred a debate, in the house of commons, upon a petition against a bill, for erecting a work-house, in the parish of St. Pancras.

Sir Francis Burdett, presented a petition, against the same, from above 1400 parishioners; who complained of it, as subverting the ancient mode of supporting and regulating the poor; and placing the government of them, in the hands of a select number of the parishioners, under the name of "guardians of the poor of the parish;" the petitioners begged to be heard, by their counsel, against the passing the said bill. Sir Francis therefore concluded, by moving, that "the petitioners should be heard, by their counsel."

Mr. Byng, opposed the prayer of the petition, on the ground, that the great majority of the people of property and respectability, in the parish, were for the bill.

Mr. Hurst said, there never was an instance of a number of men, being deprived of their franchises, without some alleged misdemeanor; or at least, without being heard in their defence.

Mr. Courtenay, was for the petition. No evidence had been adduced for the bill, because there was none. He considered the bill, as going to invest the entire government of the poor of the parish, in a directory, most jacobinically elected by themselves, and neither accountable to the vestry, or to any one else.

Mr. Sheridan said, the question was not, whether the bill was a good bill, or a bad one; but whether the petitioners should be heard by their counsel? This bill, in its present shape, was so different from the

original bill, that he thought they had a right to be heard. The present bill had some strange clauses; one was, to prevent disputes, between the guardians; and the remedy was somewhat Hibernian; namely, to remove them all in such cases! One clause, was to prevent profaneness, swearing, and lewd conduct, by punishing such offenders, both in diet and dress; which he supposed meant, stripping and starving! Another clause was, to make it a capital offence to carry off from the workhouse, any article furnished there; so, that if a poor girl got a pair of shoes, and went away with them, she was to be indicted! Another clause was, to empower those guardians, to hire out children, in harvest or hay-making time! This put him in mind of dean Swift's suggestion, to the poor of Ireland, that "they might fatten their children, and eat them." He hoped the justice of the house, would not suffer the petitioners to go away unheard.

Mr. Fox, in reply to Mr. Byng, said, that if the majority of the parish, were for the bill, they might be entrusted to chuse those guardians of the poor they called for; and there was no necessity for their being appointed by the legislature. The fact was, that, at first, there was an agreement between the two parties, that each should chuse thirty; but, because the majority chose gentlemen of fortune, the party suggesting the bill, broke through the agreement, and brought in the present bill, for the purpose of appointing, to the same offices, tradesmen in a very inferior situation in life.

Sir W. Pulteney said, the framers of the bill, had acted in opposition  
to



to the vote of the vestry, upon the subject.

After some farther observations, the house divided; when the numbers were, 58 for the petition, and 124 against it. The question upon the third reading of the bill produced some farther discussion, but it was at length agreed to, and the bill was passed and ordered to the lords.

On the next day there was an animated discussion, and division in the house of commons, on the second reading of the coroner's bill, which had been introduced by Mr. Byng.

Mr. Hobhouse opposed the bill, which had been in fact rejected by the last parliament: a great majority of the coroners, had made no complaint; that the price of provisions and the expences of living, had much increased, were well known facts: but there existed, however, many other places, of which the salaries had continued the same, for a long time back. Upon the same principle, an application might be made, to increase generally all salaries. If this office of coroner was so ill rewarded, how came it, that it was so much solicited, and that most of the coroners could afford to keep deputies?

Mr. Shaw Lefevre, agreed in opinion with Mr. Hobhouse; he believed the emoluments of their offices were considerable; he recollected an instance of a shipwreck on the coast near where he lived, where flocks of coroners came down from all the neighbouring districts; and fastened, like birds of prey, on the drowned mariners, in order to hold inquests, and charge the district with their fees! He knew the office, was so desirable to many

persons, that considerable sums were spent to obtain it.

Mr. Sheridan, by the description of the last speaker, thought instead of flights of coroners, it was flights of cormorants who came to the shipwreck. He supported the bill, as thinking the coroners' pay at present insufficient. On a division, the second reading of the bill was carried by a majority of 12.

On the 6th day of April, Sir William Scott moved for leave to bring in a bill "for amending the provision in the act of Henry VIII. relative to spiritual men holding farms, and residing upon their benefices." The act which was now to be amended, had been made before the reformation, when the nation was justly indignant at the corruptions, and usurpations of the clergy, who were then catholics. Several penalties were, by that act, to be inflicted on those clergymen holding farms, or absenting themselves from their benefices. Those penalties, however, had slept for a long time; till about five years ago, they were called into activity, by a general attack on the clergy, on the part of common informers. A number of cases occurred where the non-residence of the rector, was by no means criminal; and yet it subjected him to the penalty. The last parliament found it necessary, to re-consider this subject, which lord Coke said, ought to have been done in his time, (170 years ago); the bill, that he should now propose, was, in substance, the same as he had presented last year; but which he had withdrawn, on account of the quantity of business then before the house. He took occasion to throw out an opinion,



that some provision should be made, for building parsonage houses in small livings; and giving some assistance to the curates, who might be dismissed by the operation of the present bill: and he would wish to follow it up with some measure of that sort; but he had not introduced it in that now before the house.

Leave was then given, to bring in the bill. The next day the report on the Grenada loan bill, was taken into consideration.

Mr. Wilberforce considered it impolitic, to continue this measure at the present juncture. When first this measure was brought before parliament, they were told, that the money would soon be repaid; but instead of that, frequent applications had since been made to parliament, for farther loans! Although he was no enemy to the West Indian interests, yet he did not like to see large sums of money, which could be better employed at home, sent over, to what he conceived, the most vulnerable part of our empire. He thought the same money employed in our own country, would be laid out, both on better security, and more to the public advantage.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, the honourable member had not sufficiently taken into consideration, the peculiar embarrassments of Grenada, and St. Vincents, in the year 1795: he had not sufficiently weighed the advantages of the West India trade: nor did he seem to have recollected, that every hogshead of sugar, or puncheon of rum, was paid for by British manufacture: he could assure the honor-

able member, that government had taken great pains, to be satisfied; that the persons who received this loan, were sufficient securities for the re-payment of it; they could not however, fulfil their engagements in the present year, without the most serious inconvenience; and their present application was not for farther aid, but for farther time to make good their instalment, in the re-payment of what had been already borrowed. This was an indulgence, they were entitled to, from the liberality of the house.

Sir Robert Peale was friendly to the measure, and approved of the principle upon which the loan was first made; it was demanded by the West India gentlemen, to enable them to defend their property, at a time, that it was perhaps very doubtful, whether government could have done it or not. He thought the claim of the gentlemen, extremely moderate and reasonable; and that perhaps they might with justice have demanded, not merely a loan, but an indemnity for losses, occasioned by the inadequate protection their property had received. As to the objection, that property in the West Indies was rather of a precarious nature, he thought that was rather a reason, why it should be assisted in time of need, by the powerful arm of the government.

Dr. Lawrence thought, that there had been no impropriety in originally granting the loan; and it appeared to him, that the same reasons required its continuance. He feared the islands would be in a dreadful state of confusion and misery,

misery, if by withdrawing from them the support of government, the blacks (whose sanguinary temper was well known) should be left idle and unemployed.

Mr. Johnstone and general Gascoyne also supported the bill. The

report was then agreed to, and the bill ordered to be read a third time, on the 19th of April.

The house, then adjourned from the 7th to the 19th of April, for the Easter recess.

## CHAP. X.

*Proceedings in Parliament, after the Easter Recess.—Committee of the House of Commons, on the giving Facilities to mercantile Transactions.—Chancellor of the Exchequer's Plan, for the Consolidation of the Duties. Proceedings on the Report of the Ilchester Election Committee—And on the Coroners' Bill—Lost.—Lord Folkstone moves for Papers, respecting the Cape of Good Hope—Refused—Debate in the Lords, on the Irish Bank-restriction Bill.—Lord King—Earl of Limerick—Lord Auckland.—Nottingham Election Bill, carried unanimously.—Clergy Bill—And Mr. Markham's Divorce Bill.—Sir Henry Mildmay's Motion on naval Abuses.—Debate.—Irish Bank-restriction Bill.—Clause agreed to, in the Clergy Residence Bill, allowing the Rector three Months' leave of Absence.—Debate in the Lords, on the Insolvent Debtors' Bill.—Retrospect.*

**I**MMEDIATELY on the meeting of the house of commons, after the Easter recess, pursuant to adjournment; on the 21st of April,

The chancellor of the exchequer moved, that the house should resolve itself into a committee, to consider, that part of his majesty's speech, which related to the giving facilities to mercantile transactions.

General Gascoyne declared, that he thought it absolutely necessary, for the house to know, whether these regulations applied to a state of war, or peace? On this point, he asserted, ministers had been most unaccountably silent; and yet, he thought, it was intimately connected with the question. Although the professed object of this measure, was the consolidation of duties, yet he found, by the schedules, that a considerable increase of revenue was intended. He therefore thought, he had an undoubted

right, before he should give his vote, to ask, in what manner this increased revenue was to be applied; whether to a state of war, or a state of peace?

The chancellor of the exchequer, in reply, said, that it was impossible for him, consistently with his duty, to make any communication to the house, at present; but he denied, that the principal object of the proposed measure was, as supposed by the hon. general, an increase of the revenues.

The house having then resolved itself into the committee,

The chancellor of the exchequer, proceeded to detail his plan for the consolidation of the duties, which were now raised, under no less than 170 acts of parliament; he stated, that the principal object of the bill, was to simplify the mode of collecting the duties; although, ultimately, it might lead to an increase of revenue.



revenue. He dwelt, with considerable force, on the great resources which this country derived from its commerce, which has increased, under every pressure of circumstances!

General Gascoyne, repeated his opinion, of the necessity of the house being informed of the state of the country, as to peace or war, before they could form an accurate judgment on questions of finance.

After some farther conversation, the chairman reported progress, and had leave to sit again.

On the following day, Mr. Smyth reported, from the committee, appointed to try and determine the merits of the Ilchester election, that "such a system of corruption was formed, and such individual acts of bribery committed, to influence the said election; as to render it necessary, that the same should be taken into the most serious consideration of the house;" he farther reported, that "Mr. White Parsons and Mr. Alexander Davison, were implicated therein;" he therefore moved, as a second resolution, "that the attorney general should be instructed to prosecute Mr. White Parsons and Mr. Davison."

Mr. Wallace, objected strongly to this resolution; he considered, that there was, by no means, such evidence before them, against Mr. Davison, as would induce a jury to find him guilty.

Mr. Burdon thought, there was sufficient evidence of bribery and corruption, to induce the house to come to the resolution that was submitted to them.

Mr. Johnstone, expressed him-

self, very strongly, of a similar opinion.

Mr. Sheridan declared, he could not feel, that vehement degree of indignation, against poor freeholders, who sold their votes; when he recollected, that great Lords sold boroughs, by wholesale; and considered their unconstitutional influence, as part of their property. He did not see sufficient evidence to prosecute Mr. Davison, and he hoped the house would examine the minutes very carefully, before they resolved on such a measure.

The master of the rolls, thought it neither consistent with the dignity of the house, nor with justice; that another prosecution should be instituted against Mr. Davison, at a time, that he was liable to prosecutions, from any common informer. Bribery could be punished in the common way; and he had not sufficiently considered the evidence, to say, whether any conspiracy had been proved. He therefore moved, the previous question.

After some conversation, the previous question was agreed to, and the farther consideration of the report, put off for a fortnight.

On the 27th of April, upon the question being put, in the house of commons, for the house resolving itself into a committee of the whole house, on the coroners' bill; sir Robert Buxton, sir Robert Williams, and Mr. Dickinson, jun. opposed the question, as disapproving, altogether, of the principle of the bill; and considering the present emoluments of the office, amply sufficient. Mr. Hurst, on the other hand, supported it; and, on a division, there appeared a majority of eighteen, in favour of the committal of the bill;

but when, on the 10th of May, the report was brought up,

General Tarleton, compared the situation of those coroners, with that of brave and meritorious officers, who lived on much smaller incomes, and scorned to come to parliament, for an increase of their half-pay.

Mr. Shaw Lefevre, also opposed it, on the ground of its being notorious, that the situation of coroner, was one much sought after; and that, in the present situation of the country, salaries ought not, unnecessarily to be increased; he concluded, by moving as an amendment, that "the bill should be read a third time, this day six months."

The amendment was adopted, by majority of five, and the bill was consequently lost.

The 24th, lord Folkstone rose, in pursuance of a notice he had formerly given, to move for copies of the different orders which had been issued, respecting the evacuation or retention of the Cape of Good Hope; as also, for an account of the discussions, relative to this subject, between the governments of this country and France, previously to the last orders sent out for its surrender. It had appeared, that a variety of contradictory orders had been sent out by ministers: sometimes they wished to retain it, at other times they determined to abandon it: and yet no reasons for those sudden changes of disposition, had been stated to the house! The orders for retaining the Cape, did not arrive there till after the Dutch troops had landed; and were executed, rather by a recapture, than a retention. News

of this capture, had only arrived in England, twenty-four hours, or, at most, not more than forty-eight hours, before the message was delivered. It therefore, appeared, as if ministers had sent the message, merely from a consciousness, that they had committed an act of hostility, and not at all for the reasons therein alleged. This act of hostility, in re-taking the cape, must certainly have produced much discussion; although it were true, that orders were sent out, after the business of Switzerland was over, that the cape should be again restored. He concluded, by moving for the copies of the papers, before mentioned.

The chancellor of the exchequer, professed every desire to give information, but declared, that if the papers were granted, they would require explanations, which could not be given, at the present moment; with safety to the public interest: he had no objection to granting the information sought for by the motion, as soon as it could be given, with safety. He thought it his duty then, to move the previous question.

Mr. Windham felt convinced, that his noble friend had no wish to embarrass the proceedings of government; and; therefore, would not press for any information, which his majesty's ministers had declared to be prejudicial to the public interest; he was sorry however, that the reason given by ministers was such, as must debar the house from information, so long as they should think proper to withhold it.

Lord Hawkesbury, thought it impossible to discuss the question, respecting



respecting the Cape of Good Hope, without also disclosing information respecting other points of the negotiation : he did not approve of detached motions of this sort ; the house had a right to full information upon the proceedings between this government and that of France ; as soon as that information could be given, without danger to the country, it should be done. It would clearly be the duty of ministers, at a proper time, to make a communication, stating every thing of information that appears to them proper : if in the judgment of the house, or of any individual member, such communication should not be satisfactory, it would then be more regular to call for such farther information as might seem necessary.

Lord Folkstone thought, that the information which he sought for, of events that must have happened before October last, could not have any bearing on those discussions with France, which commenced only a few weeks ago : he would not allow, that one gentleman having given notice of a general motion, was at all a reason, which should prevent any other gentleman from bringing forward another motion, on a subject connected with it ; if so, it would be in the power of a member, by putting off his motion from day to day, to prevent any other person from pressing for information : he was, however, ready, after what was stated by ministers, to withdraw the present motion.

Mr. Fox thought, that before any details of the conduct of ministers were examined, there were other questions which should first be disposed of ; namely, the general state

of the nation, and next the general conduct which led to that situation. Although he thought the general inquiry, should be previous to any detailed discussion ; and that the present motion, as a question of detail, would come in its proper place when the general question came to be considered ; yet he was free to acknowledge, that the conduct of the noble lord had been candid and fair.

Mr. Martin said, that he found no reason hitherto to find fault with the conduct of ministers ; but when he heard of their responsibility, he must say, that though it was a term often used, yet in his opinion it was always used to little purpose : for his part, he would not give a farthing for the responsibility of any ministers in this country.

The house then proceeded to the order of the day.

On the question being put in the house of lords, on the 3d of May, that the Irish bank restriction bill, be read a second time,

Lord King delivered his sentiments very fully on the subject ; he considered, that it was those restrictions, which, by encouraging an enormous issue of bank notes, had produced their depreciation, and finally the rate of exchange so unfavourable to Ireland. Country banks had not done so much mischief, as was usually attributed to them ; on the contrary, they had afforded great accommodations to the public, and he believed they were a very salutary check upon the bank of England, which was now, much more careful and vigilant, as to its notes, than probably it otherwise would have been. The country banks were also an excellent check



check to forgery; which would seldom be detected; if there were no other notes circulating than those of the bank of England. In Ireland, during the year 1797, the number of notes issued, amounted to only 600,000*l.*; and now there are no less than 2,600,000*l.* in circulation! this was a circumstance, which sufficiently accounted for the balance of trade being so unfavourable. He thought the directors of the bank of Ireland, had grossly abused that discretionary power which had been vested in them; he should therefore beg leave to move a clause in this bill, "that the bank of Ireland should be obliged to pay their own notes in those of the bank of England," which would prove a check on the enormous issue they had lately made. He thought there ought not to be two standards of currency in the two countries, which are now united; he should not, however, propose that such a clause should operate sooner, than six months from the present time.

The earl of Limerick replied to his lordship; he defended the conduct of the directors of the bank of Ireland, who had been circumspect and prudent, as well as vigilant in the discharge of their duty. The first great increase in the issues of the bank of Ireland, was in consequence of an effort of the conspiracy that was then forming, to distress the government by a run upon all the country banks, which must necessarily also produce a run on the bank of Ireland; it was to counteract this scheme, that they were first obliged to increase their issues. The bank of Ireland had, in spite of surrounding difficulties, of foreign invasion and rebellion, still

kept up its credit, and given great accommodation to the public. He attributed the unfavourable state of exchange in a great measure, to the increase of the public debt, which was now 40 millions, although in 1797, it was but 7 millions. His lordship concluded by urging a variety of topics, in support of the bill.

Lord Auckland, entirely coincided with what had fallen from the earl of Limerick; he therefore supported the bill, which was then read a second time, and ordered to be committed.

On the same day in the house of commons, there was a warm debate on the Nottingham election bill.

Mr. Fox contended, that if the magistrates of that town had been guilty, they ought to be brought to trial; and if they were not guilty, there was no occasion for legislative interference. If even the magistrates elected by the townsmen of Nottingham had been culpable; that, (their reason for punishing them,) would be no reason for depriving them who elected them, of the ancient right of chusing their own magistrates. As to riots having formerly taken place in Nottingham, where was it that they had not sometimes taken place? It would be as unfair to disfranchise Nottingham on that account, as to disfranchise the city of London on account of the riots of 1780. Besides those former riots in Nottingham were principally occasioned by that party calling themselves loyalists, who upon the arrival of any good news from the continent, seized and ducked those whom they considered as jacobins or dissenters.

Mr. Bond, the attorney general,  
and

and Mr. Frankland, supported the bill: Mr. Grey and lord George Cavendish opposed it, as interfering with the rights of election.

Mr. Rose said, if the riots of Nottingham had been accidental, he should not have thought it necessary to bring in the bill; but it had appeared that rioting was so established as a system at Nottingham, that the interference of the legislature was absolutely necessary: he therefore was a warm friend to the bill, and only regretted that the attorney general had not been ordered, to prosecute those who had conducted themselves so criminally.

After some observations from Mr. Hawkins Brown, (the mover of the bill) and Mr. Shaw Lefevre, the question on the third reading was carried by a majority of 164 to 29. The mode in which the present bill was calculated to obtain its object, was by allowing the magistrates of the county a concurrent jurisdiction in the town of Nottingham, with the magistrates of the town.

The house then went into a committee on the clergy bill, and there was a considerable difference of opinion expressed, about that clause, which allowed spiritual persons to hold farms; Sir William Geary was against this indulgence. Sir Robert Buxton feared that it would turn the principal attention of the clergy to avocations that yielded more emoluments than their profession. Mr. Keene said, that the virtue of charity which the parson should inculcate, might be somewhat lost in the profession of a farmer; and that in the event of a hard season, the parson might, like other far-

mers, keep his granary full till the prices were at the highest: the attorney general, sir William Scot and Mr. Windham, supported the clause, as did also Mr. Bastard, who thought the nation would derive great benefit from the improvements in the system of agriculture, which might be expected from so enlightened a body as the clergy; if like other people, they were permitted to direct their attention to it.

The clause was then adopted, and the further proceedings of the committee postponed till a future day.

On the 4th of May, the house of Lords having gone into a committee on the Rev. Mr. Markham's divorce bill,

Lord Auckland rose, pursuant to a notice he had formerly given, to oppose that clause in the bill which went to restore the lady to the possession of all her original fortune; such clauses he considered, as likely to lead to collusion between a husband and wife, in order to obtain a divorce. In the present case, where the lady had borne ten children to her husband, and was afterwards unfaithful, there was no reason for extraordinary indulgence.

Lord Alvanley had no objection to the clause being omitted, if it appeared, that the lady had sufficient provision to enable her to live virtuously for the future.

Lord Auckland replied, that to his knowledge, the lady would have a sufficient provision.

The lord chancellor disapproved of the clause entirely, and said, that the more correct way of proceeding, would be, that if the lady had not a sufficient provision to

keep



keep her from a state of prostitution, that she should come to the house by a petition, and pray for some farther provision.

The clause was then omitted.

On the same day in the house of commons; Sir H. Mildmay brought forward a motion, calling upon the commissioners appointed under the naval abuse bill, to make their report. The principal circumstances on which he grounded his motion, were, first, the sudden dissolution of a contract with Mr. Taylor for supplying the navy with blocks, without assigning any cause whatever; 2dly, the resignation of Mr. Leycester, whose known talents and abilities as a commissioner, was one of the principal inducements for passing the bill; and 3dly, the expectation which had lately been held out, that in a case of emergency 50 sail of the line could be got ready in a month; this emergency appeared now to have arrived, and the ships were not ready!

Sir C. Pole, (one of the commissioners) bore testimony to the zeal and assiduity, with which the commissioners discharged the task reposed in them; they generally sat from five to seven hours a day. In a very few days, the house might expect their first report.

Capt. Markham, defended the conduct of the admiralty generally; and insisted that our naval force in every part of the world, was abundantly sufficient to cope with that of any European power.

The chancellor of the exchequer also defended the conduct of the admiralty; and said, he should suffer more willingly the charge, of having used unguarded language to

attach to him, than hear the board of admiralty found fault with, for not having fifty ships of the line ready within a month. Although the ships might have been got ready within that time, yet it would be impossible to have them manned so speedily!!!

Mr. Canning considered the motion as perfectly fair and candid, although, as a report was now promised, it would perhaps be unnecessary to press it farther. After commenting a little on the statement of the chancellor of the exchequer, he compared both that, and the express terms of his majesty's message, with an assertion that had fallen this night, from a lord of the admiralty, (captain Markham) that there was no preparation of any consequence, either in the ports of France or Holland.

Capt. Markham confessed, that in this instance, his zeal had outstripped his prudence: he had spoken with the warmth of a sea-officer; who was always ready to under-rate the power of the enemy.

Mr. Fox opposed the motion, on the ground of its being necessary to invest strong powers somewhere, for the remedying the multiplied abuses in the navy.

After a short conversation, sir H. Mildmay obtained leave to withdraw his motion.

The Irish bank restriction bill, being the following day committed in the house of lords;

Lord King, again adverted to the rate of exchange between the two countries, the unfavourable state of which to Ireland, he attributed to the depreciation of its currency, that naturally arose from



the excessive issue of bank notes, which were the circulating medium. He concluded, by moving a clause, that the governor and company of the Bank of Ireland, should be obliged, upon demand, to pay their notes, in English bank notes.

The marquis of Sligo said, it was impossible to add such a clause as this, to a bill for restricting payments in specie; as the bank of Ireland could not get those bank of England notes, without paying guineas for them; such a clause would militate against the whole principle of the bill. As to the rate of exchange, it perhaps carried with it its own remedy. The exchange operated, as a tax upon imports, and a bounty upon exports. He admitted the very unfavourable circumstances in which Ireland now stood; but he hoped, that better prospects would soon appear.

The earl of Limerick also, disapproved of the clause, which, after a few explanations between lords King and Limerick, was negatived, without a division.

In the house of commons, on the same day, the house resolved itself into a committee, on the clergy bill; and there arose considerable discussion on that clause, which allowed the rector three months leave of absence, in the year; the attorney general thinking this indulgence too long.

The chancellor of the exchequer, on the other hand, said, that was not more than was allowed in every public office or collegiate establishment, for necessary recreation and relaxation. When the statute of Henry VIII. was first passed,

from the then state of society, there was a more absolute necessity for the constant residence of the clergy, than there is now. The clause was afterwards agreed to, upon a division, and the committee adjourned.

The earl of Moira, on the next day, in moving the committal of the insolvent debtors' bill, in the house of lords, made several preliminary observations, on the situation of debtor and creditor; he wished a distinction could be made, between honest and fraudulent debtors; and that the latter should be punished as swindlers. He considered all those who contracted debts, without a prospect of repaying them, or who, after contracting debts, deprived themselves, by their extravagance, of the means of paying them, as fraudulent debtors. It was only the fair and honest debtors, whom he would wish to relieve. He then stated, that a benevolent institution, in this metropolis, had, in the course of last year, discharged 1125 persons, who were confined for debts not exceeding, on an average 2*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.* per head; and those poor prisoners had depending on them, 500 wives, and 1400 children! On the feelings and justice of their creditors, he thought all comment superfluous.

Lord Ellenborough said, that even that circumstance was only an alloy of evil, attached to a much greater good. The number of 1100 so imprisoned, for small debts, bore no proportion to the multitudes of those who were relieved by credit; and if credit was to be taken away, he would expect to see 100 times as many people, absolutely starving. He was, in general, no friend to those

those kind of bills. Many fraudulently entered the prisons, to take the benefit of them.

The lord chancellor, having expressed an opinion similar to that of lord Ellenborough, lord Moira, after a short reply, consented to withdraw the bill for the present session.

The agitation of the public mind at the period to which we have brought down the proceedings of parliament, was great beyond all precedent. The information which might lead to a proper estimate of its real situation, had been constantly denied by ministers to the country; and the indecision and want of firmness which they had shewn on every trying occasion, left little room to hope for an honorable termination of the pending discussions with France. The character of our adversary, at once rapacious and subtile, was contrasted with the timid and wavering policy adopted by the British councils, and the most unfavorable conclusions were thence deduced. No circumstance had tended so much to deprive Mr. Addington of that public confidence and esteem, so essential to the very existence of a minister, as his retreat (to say the least of it, not a very honourable one,) from his confident assertion delivered in parliament on the 2d of December of the last year, namely, "that in case of emergency, fifty sail of the line could be prepared for sea within one month; and even a larger number, were there an exigency sufficiently pressing." When that exigency did occur; two months after the king's message had

declared the necessity of arming, in consequence of the preparations on the coasts of France and Holland; and, that alarm of invasion was universally excited; on being urged in the house of commons, on the state of our naval preparations, on the 4th of May; he was obliged to own, we had but thirty-two ships of the line in commission, (*not fit for sea*) and, that when he had asserted that we could equip fifty ships ready for sea, he only meant *rigged and fitted out*, but not *manned and ready for service!!!* What the real situation of the navy was at the moment here alluded to, it will be the subject of another portion of our history to state; suffice it, that it was such as to open the eyes of all ranks of people to its gross mal-administration.

Nor did the very strange declaration of one of the lords of the admiralty, in parliament, on the same occasion, tend to lessen the inquietude of the people, respecting the critical situation of the country. Our warlike preparations both naval and military, and the embodying of the militia force, had originated, as were stated in the usual official communications to the legislation, on the grounds of the "preparations going on in the ports of France and Holland, and for the repelling a contemplated invasion on the part of France." Much indeed then, were parliament and the country surprized, in the course of the debate, on Sir Henry Mildmay's motion for naval enquiry, to hear from a person whose ministerial functions gave him the most accurate means of information, that



that "he desired to be understood, "that in all parts of the world, we "had a naval force much more "than adequate to cope with the "force of any power in Europe; "and, that at home, it was amply "sufficient to meet any French "force; which indeed, consisted of "nothing better than fishing boats, "and existed only in the minds of "a few gentlemen on the other "side of the house\*!" Thus, in the face of the nation and of all Europe, was made a specific declaration, by a minister, which left the public to conclude, that the alleged causes of our arming did not exist; and that they were simulated by the king's government, for the purpose of covering the real grounds of our hostile preparation, which were such as would not, or could not be avowed! it is but justice to state, that the same person who had made this extraordinary acknowledgment, † endeavoured by an entire and immediate retraction, to explain it away, and give it the semblance of a mere professional boast; but it was too late, the assertion remained in its full force, and subsequent facts abundantly confirmed the impression it had made.

During the painful and agitating suspense in which the nation was held pending the negotiation with France, one of the most daring and infamous frauds ever attempted to be put into execution, was practised on the public credulity, though not with all the success, with which the contrivers of it had flattered themselves. At the moment when the

anxiety of the nation was highest, on the fifth of May between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, a person, habited like a government messenger, in a travelling dress, and in vast haste, delivered a letter at the mansion house, purporting to have come from the office of lord Hawkesbury, secretary of state for foreign affairs, and directed to the lord mayor of the city of London. To it a seal resembling that of office, was artfully affixed, and his lordship, having no doubt of the authenticity, lost no time in communicating its contents to the city with the usual publicity: they announced, the joyful intelligence of an amicable adjustment, of all matters in dispute between England and France, in the usual forms of official communication. The news spread with the rapidity of lightning, throughout all parts of the city; and the satisfaction and joy of every class of the people, were excessive. At the stock exchange, the funds rose above five per cent; nor was it till nearly three hours had elapsed, that the whole was discovered to have been a fabrication, doubtless for the purpose of taking advantage of the public delusion, by the sale of stock either real or fictitious, at the advanced prices it had created! The consternation and confusion which followed upon the discovery of the imposition, it is impossible to describe; business of every kind was suspended: and the elation it had inspired, now fell into the opposite point of dismay and apprehension. It is not our object

\* Alluding to the bench on which sat what was called the new opposition,

† Captain Markham, one of the Lords of the Admiralty.



to detail with minuteness, the commercial inconveniences which were the consequences of this impudent fraud; we have here given it insertion, solely as a criterion, by which the bent of the wishes and hopes of the people may be decided upon; how averse they were from war; and as a proof into what complete security the nation had

been lulled by the assurances of ministers, that peace could be maintained on the basis of the treaty of Amiens alone, when it fell so easily and completely into the shallow snare of some interested adventurer, whose contrivance had flattered them into a belief, that it was yet attainable!

## CHAP. XI.

*Communication by Lord Pelham, to the House of Lords.—Motion for adjournment—Opposed.—Carried on a Division.—To the House of Commons, by Mr. Addington—And similar Motion—Division upon it—Carried.—Proceedings in the House of Lords, pursuant to adjournment.—Further adjournment—And in the Commons.—Bill of Indemnity, for the Export of Corn by the order of Ministers, brought in and carried.—Debate on Lord King's Motion, in the House of Lords, for financial Inquiry.—Able Speech of Lord Grenville.—Observations.—Repeated adjournments, in both Houses.—King's Message to Parliament, announcing the Recall of Lord Whitworth.—All hopes of Peace at an end.—Copies of the Correspondence with France, laid before Parliament.—Motion for farther Information, in both Houses—Deferred.—Conversation on Malta—And on the conquered Colonies in the West Indies.—Day appointed to take the King's Message, and the Correspondence, into consideration, in both Houses.*

IN the house of lords, lord Pelham, on the 6th of May, arose, to make an important communication to the house. His majesty had given orders to lord Whitworth, that if he could not, against a certain period, bring the negotiations, now pending, to a close, in such case he should immediately quit Paris. General Andreossi, the French ambassador, had also applied for a passport to be ready, to enable him to quit London, as soon as he should be informed of lord Whitworth having left Paris. There were now grounds to suppose his lordship was on his return, and might be soon expected; he therefore proposed adjourning, till Monday next, as he did not expect his arrival the next day (Saturday).

Lord Darnley thought, that under  
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such circumstances, it would be improper to adjourn over till Monday; but, that their lordships should continue at their posts; he declared, that he should persist in the motion of which he had given notice for Monday, respecting the state of the nation.

Lord Spencer moved, as an amendment to lord Pelham's motion, that the word "to-morrow" be substituted for Monday.

Lord Carlisle supported the amendment, as he thought it necessary to allay, as speedily as possible, the great anxiety of the public mind.

The lord chancellor, saw no good purpose in meeting to-morrow, as no communication could be expected to be made so soon.

The house divided, on lord  
K Pelham's

Pelham's motion, for adjournment till Monday, which was agreed to by a considerable majority.

On the same day, in the house of commons,

The chancellor of the exchequer, made a similar communication, and moved, that the house should, at its rising, adjourn to Monday.

Mr. Fox, thought the adjournment too long, under the present circumstances, as news might arrive in the course of the next day, which would make a farther communication proper: he thought, in an hour of so much danger, the members should keep as much as possible, at their post.

Lord Hawkesbury, did not think it probable, that lord Whitworth could arrive before Sunday; and therefore, no communication was to be expected, until his arrival should put the government in possession of the official papers, with respect to the points in dispute.

Mr. Grey said, that every moment of time, was now of the utmost consequence, as the house might be detained, from giving that advice to his majesty, which might, perhaps, be the means of rescuing this country from ruin. He then moved, as an amendment, that the house should be adjourned till to-morrow, instead of Monday.

Mr. Canning wished, that the house should meet to-morrow: not that he expected that it was possible for ministers to lay full information before the house, by that time; but nevertheless, he thought it possible, that they might have some additional communication to make. He thought, the house of commons ought, on this occasion, to sympa-

thize with the public anxiety; and not delay a single day, for the purpose of enjoying a holiday. He therefore supported the amendment.

The secretary at war, thought it would be departing from their dignity, were the house to sit, at unusual times, merely because the French ambassador had demanded his passports: as no apparent good seemed likely to result from the amendment, he should therefore oppose it.

Mr. Whitbread, was then entering pretty fully into the question, when Mr. Pole Carew, thinking the discussion might lead to mischievous consequences, moved the standing order, that strangers should be excluded.

After some hours, spent in private debate, the house divided, and resolved, by a majority of 90, to adjourn, till the Monday following.

On the ensuing Monday, there was an unusual full attendance, in both houses, as a communication was expected.

In the house of lords, lord Pelham acquainted their lordships, that in consequence of a new proposal, made by the French government, to lord Whitworth, his lordship had resolved to continue his stay in Paris, until an answer should arrive from this country. The proposal was not, however, of such a nature, as could be now communicated to the house; and he could not hold out any expectation, that any consequences would result from it, save a short delay, in waiting for its answer.

The earl of Darnley, expressed his sense of the candor, which the noble



noble secretary had shewn, and, for the present, withdrew his motion.

Earl Spencer, approved of the motion being withdrawn, under these circumstances, especially as the whole of the negotiation, was likely soon to come under the consideration of their lordships.

The same day, the chancellor of the exchequer, made a similar apology, for not making a communication, as was expected: unfavourable circumstances had prevented his being able to do so; but, he expected, he should, in a day or two, as the differences between the two countries, must soon be brought to a decisive result.

Although there were above 450 members present; yet not a single observation was made, on what fell from the chancellor of the exchequer; and the members immediately retired.

The next day, and the following, the house made some farther progress in the clergy bill.

On the 12th, the attorney general, moved for leave to bring in a bill, to indemnify all persons, concerned in executing two orders of council: the one for allowing the exportation of seed-corn to Norway; and the other, for preventing the exportation of naval and military stores to France, Spain, and the Batavian republic. The first order was made, in consequence of an application from the Danish government; which stated, that, from the failure of the last harvest, Norway was in danger of a famine, if it could not import seed-corn. As to the second, government having received intelligence, on the 31st of March last, that thirty-three tons

of salt-petre and gunpowder, were preparing, to be exported to Amsterdam and Antwerp, sent orders to prohibit the exportation, with as little noise and publicity as possible. From the situation of this country, with respect to those powers, the measure was necessary; but still a bill of indemnity was wanting.

Mr. Coke (of Norfolk), did not object to the first order of council, but still he considered the bill, as a bill of patronage, as ministers had selected certain persons, to send the barley and oats over to Norway, instead of leaving it to fair competition at the market. He never yet knew a minister, of this country, who attended, as he ought, to the landed interest.

The chancellor of the exchequer, in reply, said, that government knew nothing of the persons, who were to export this corn.

Mr. Fox thought, if a communication had been made to parliament before, the competition would have been more fair and open.

Leave was then given, to bring in the bill.

The following day, lord King moved, in the house of lords, "that a committee should be appointed, to inquire into the state of the finances of the country." The accounts, which had been presented with so much exultation, appeared to him very defective, and materially fallacious; and he thought, at the present times, the most mischievous consequences might result, from the entertaining a false idea of the financial situation of the country. After a variety of statements, in which he compared our revenue and expenditure; he

endeavoured to prove, that instead of a million surplus of revenue, as had been stated in another place, there was, in fact, a *deficit* of nearly double that amount!

Lord Auckland, defended the accounts, which he had before presented, and justified the conduct of the minister, who was incapable of such an imposition, as he seemed charged with. The total revenue of the last year, was above 34 millions, being considerably more than our expenditure; and the surplus of the consolidated fund, was above seven millions. This was a situation which, he thought, might justly be spoken of, with some exultation.

The earl of Moira asserted, that even from the noble lord's statement, it appeared, that there was a considerable *deficit*; for it only allowed an excess of nine millions, to meet an expenditure of thirteen. He thought it was most preposterous, to enter into a comparison of the revenues of the country now, with what they were in 1787; every body knew they had much increased, but he, for one, did not consider that increase, as a subject of much exultation. We knew the numerous additional taxes, which had been the fruitful sources of this increase; it was, indeed, somewhat consolatory to find, that the wonderful and unceasing skill and industry of the people of this great country, pushes forward its commerce, in spite of all its burdens. He never heard those very florid descriptions of our financial prosperity, without considering them as the forerunners of fresh expences and calamities. He did not wish false statements to be made, but he

had a high opinion of the real strength and resources of this country, if it should become absolutely necessary to exert them to the utmost, against our ambitious and implacable enemy.

Lord Grenville observed, that he should proceed to call their lordships' attention to the subject upon which the noble lord had grounded his motion, though he, in some degree, differed from that noble lord in what he had advanced; his object, however, in so coming forward, was not to place himself in opposition to any of the noble lords who had delivered their sentiments, but impelled by considerations of public duty, to shew, as far as he was able, and which, he thought, was the bounden duty of all, the country its true situation, by a fair and manly statement of the circumstances under which it was placed. That system of concealment, which had prevailed so much of late, had been carried too far, and particularly upon a subject, the most interesting of all others to the country. He thought no member of that or the other house of parliament, had need to apologize for bringing forward a subject of such vital importance, fairly to the view of the country. There must, however, be persons conscious of not having thus come forward to serve the country; but with respect to parliament generally, it was necessary they should open the eyes of the people, and particularly in such a momentous crisis as the present, shew them their real situation: it ought to be made clear to the country, whether or not its finances were in that state, that there existed a large disposable surplus

surplus, or a *real alarming deficiency*? In contemplating the circumstance of a deficiency, it should be farther inquired into, whether there really existed a necessity of supplying those deficiencies, by that most ruinous of all financial measures, a system of peace-loans? He acknowledged the utility of the various accounts which had been laid before the house; however, in the important, but perhaps rather general view, which he then meant to take of the subject, he was saved the trouble of adverting to them in detail; a casual reference would be sufficient for his purpose. Those which he should have occasion to refer to, were of unquestionable authenticity, being signed by the secretary to the treasury; and the result of these, he meant to contrast with the statements made by the chancellor of the exchequer himself, taken from a publication, issued by authority into the world, and with a view to the full information of the public; and statements, which he could not refrain from observing, had been totally, to a certain degree, credited and acted upon by the monied interest of the country. In considering the subject before them, he disclaimed the least idea whatever, of exciting any sensation of despondency. On a subject of this particular nature, he knew a speaker was more liable to misrepresentation, than on any other, and in that view he felt himself called upon distinctly to state his firm conviction, that instead of there existing any real cause for despondency or dismay, the country had upon every account, just reason to be confident of the strength, and adequacy of its own resources.

The country was able to cover the existence of much greater deficiencies, and this he was perfectly able to prove; and farther, that it was not only equal to maintain its existence and independence, but even to repel aggression, and take ample vengeance on the authors of that aggression: the parliament under such circumstances should not shrink from its duty, but fairly call these resources into action, and provide a revenue fully adequate to meet the occasions of the country. It was in the recollection of their lordships, that, a short time before the Christmas recess, the finance minister of the country, at an unusual period of the session, and in circumstances of extraordinary moment, anticipated the customary statement of the finances of the present year. The reason assigned for this proceeding was, the necessity of laying before the country, a true picture of its finances; he was relieved from much trouble on the score of reference, as his statements respecting that display of the finances, was authenticated by the publication he had before alluded to, which he had reason to believe was ushered to public notice, under the authority of ministers; and therefore it could not be conceived to contain a false account of those statements. Notwithstanding the specious advantages there held out, the effect of this publication was to delude every monied man who placed confidence in it. On this head he could say much; but the consideration of the subject, in the view he alluded to, had better be left until the real budget of the present year should come forward, which in the course of a few weeks



might be found necessary. Among other points of finance, that statement exhibited the melancholy expedient of a loan; but the question was, whether that was the last time such a measure would be resorted to? That publication contained also a statement of the revenue and expenditure of the country, and laid before the public, the comfortable view of a surplus of even a million sterling! What the effect of such a statement must be, on the public at large, and on the metropolis, may be easily conceived. It was not long, however, before doubts were entertained of the accuracy of these statements, and they had fallen nearly into complete discredit, when a noble lord (Auckland) was pleased to step forth, and contend, that the calculations in question, far from being exaggerated, were below the truth. In considering the real state of the question, he would undertake to prove, that the actual revenue at that very time, instead of yielding a surplus, was in fact more than two millions below the expenditure; which therefore, as the result of that statement, exhibited a gross and inexcusable error of at least three millions sterling! In another point of view, he contended, that the actual revenue would be found to fall even four million short of the peace establishment, as voted by the other house of parliament, in November last. In calculating those points, he should take the year as ending the 5th of January, and he had no hesitation in taking his statements from the documents he had before specified; and that the statement made by the financial minister, on the 19th of De-

cember, abounded in the grossest fallacy! His first reference would be to the 29th page of the publication alluded to, and there the supposed expenditure was stated to be in the aggregate, 11,350,000*l.* from which were to be deducted 2-17ths for the Irish proportion, and also the Irish charges upon the consolidated fund: but afterwards was to be added a charge of 500,000*l.* which would make the total expenditure of the navy, army, ordnance, and miscellaneous services to amount to 10,533,000*l.* for Great Britain. In this part of the calculation, he had to observe, that one material article of expense was entirely overlooked, namely, the extra buildings in the navy, which this year amounted to 900,000*l.* The average amount of this most necessary expense during the last peace, was about 500,000*l.* per annum, but allowing for the various differences which had taken place since that period, he thought the average expense of that department, could not in future be estimated at less than 700,000*l.* per annum, which, added to the other articles of expenditure, would form a total of 11,233,000*l.* This would be the aggregate, when the expenses could be reduced to the amount stated in the speech. In considering the amount of the revenue, as set forth in the same publication, the noble lord argued, that certain heads thereof were not accurately discussed. He alluded principally to the consideration of the land and malt taxes. He then passed to a review of the statements in the consolidated fund, and described the real free revenue, to be only that

that which was disposable after the payment of the interest of the national debt, and charges of the sinking fund : this was stated as amounting to 10,599,000*l.* to which was added, after the produce of the lottery (in calculating which, there was an egregious mistake) — the expected contribution of 500,000*l.* from the revenues of India. In this part of his speech, his lordship took occasion to panegyryze the administration, and the abilities of the noble marquis, at the head of the government of India, whose talents great as they were in negotiation, war, and civil government, were exceeded perhaps by those he possessed for matters of finance, a ground upon which his enemies had unaccountably strove to calumniate him : but this reference, his lordship observed, materially depended upon the continuance of peace in India : this and other points made the supposed total of the ways and means to be 11,595,000*l.* which after deducting the hypothetical expenditure, as set forth in the same document, left an imaginary surplus of 1,082,000*l.* In controverting these statements, his lordship entered into a variety of detailed calculations, drawn, as he had before observed, from the accounts signed by the secretary to the treasury. He first adverted to the different heads of proposed reduction, upon which the foregoing calculations were drawn, and which, it would be superfluous to observe, were, in the present circumstances of this country totally out of the question. He would consider what the actual situation of the country now would be, were the proposed reductions carried into effect. Under the head of the army, to reduce the expenses

in the sum proposed, a number of about 25,000 men should be reduced, which, according to the plan of disposing the forces, would, at about the period of the delivery of the king's message, not have left one foot soldier in Great Britain ! In the head of reduction proposed for the navy, about 1,540,000*l.* was intended to be saved, and to do this, he calculated about 18,000 men must be dismissed : " this, according to the newly broached doctrine, that ships might be ready for sea without men, might be practicable enough, but were the reduction actually made, we should now have no navy fit for service !" After shewing the impracticability of those intended reductions, and calculating upon the indispensable expenses of the actual establishment, as arranged even in November last, it would be 13,436,000*l.* A diminution was a consideration of possibility ; but a considerable increase, one of great probability. His lordship then proceeded to the consideration of the real income of the nation, and after touching upon the various sources from whence it was derived, and the absolutely necessary charges to be made thereon, he calculated the total of the ways and means to meet the real expenditure at not more than 9,682,000*l.* He then adverted to the Austrian loan ; upon which, after commenting on its origin, and the important circumstances connected with that measure, he declared it his opinion, that it behoved parliament to make provision for the interest of it, which he stated at about 497,000*l.* Pursuing the line of general calculation farther, he stated that the free revenue amounted to about 9,185,000*l.* which calculated to-

gether with the heads of the genuine state he had given of the supplies and ways and means, would evince the deficiency he had set out with stating, of more than two millions sterling! His lordship then proceeded to calculate the different heads of revenue and expenditure, upon a more enlarged scale, and to demonstrate deficits to a more considerable amount. He then expatiated on the conduct of ministers, in having concealed the true financial circumstances of the country; and condemned the system of the political conduct of ministers, as equally censurable with the other part of their conduct; at the same time disclaiming all ideas of personal animosity; so far from it, that for several of them he entertained the warmest feelings of friendship and regard. The great object of his argument was to shew, that they had not met the financial difficulties of the country in any one instance. He adverted to the salutary expedient of their predecessors of raising part of the supplies within the year, which he thought they acted unwisely, as well as weakly, in not following up. Their abandonment of the system of finance laid down by the present ministers had reduced them to the miserable expedient of peace loans, measures which would eventually palsy the operations of the sinking fund, and check effectually, the gradual extinction of the public debt; he principally condemned the financial system pursued by ministers, which at the end of two years, left them with a real deficiency of four millions, instead of the boasted surplus of a million sterling. And he insisted, that no financial minister, in the present

circumstances of the country, would do his duty, if he shrunk from the project of equalizing the actual revenue with the necessary expenditure of the country.

Lord Westmoreland, defended the statement of the minister, and thought it unfair to expect an exact balance of revenue and expenditure in the first year after a war. If peace should continue, he had no doubt, but that the estimates would be found correct.

Lord Pelham defended the ministerial statement of the finances, but considered this as a question which according to established usage, ought rather to be discussed in the other house of legislature.

The bishop of St. Asaph, thought this was no time for invidious and warm discussion of such a nature. Parliament ought rather now to shew itself perfectly united against the foreign foe.

The question was then put on lord King's motion, and negatived.

The question of adjournment to Monday the 16th was then put and carried, after a few observations from lords Darnley, Spencer, and a short reply from the lord chancellor.

However the opinion of the public respecting the political abilities of the minister, might have hitherto oscillated; certain it is, that previously to the discussion of lord King's motion in the house of lords on the 13th of May, it inclined strongly in favour of his financial science and administration.

The pompous and laboured statement which had been given of the resources of the country, when contrasted with its expenditure, in the month of December, and which had been re-echoed through the medium of a publication, avowedly  
under



under the auspices of, and circulated by the treasury; had flattered the nation into a belief of great and increasing prosperity, and the public naturally looked to Mr. Addington with gratitude and admiration, as the restorer of its credit, and its finances.

The voluntary confirmation of the accuracy of these statements in the house of peers, by a nobleman whose experience in matters of finance and calculation was highly rated, still farther confirmed them in the public mind; nor was it till the period of the debate, to which we have given more than ordinary room and attention, that the veil was removed, which had hitherto completely obscured the real state of things from the view of the country; and that a prospect abundantly mortifying, whether considered with respect to the resources of the country, or the abilities and integrity of those to whom they were entrusted, presented itself. It is probable, that the extraordinary and unprecedented circumstance of the public accounts having been tendered to the examination of parliament and the public, at a time considerably prior to the usual period of their being presented; the industrious eagerness, with which they were obtruded upon the public in the pamphlet we have already alluded to; and above all, the extreme probability of exaggeration in the alleged million surplus, induced the minute and critical inquiry of those who were not to be imposed upon by confident assertion, nor apt to give implicit credit to the interested egotism of the minister. But when it was, in the course of the investigation, seen, that the parliamentary statement of Mr. Addington; the official documents

of the secretary to the treasury, and the gratuitous corroboration of lord Auckland, all differed materially from each other, it was not difficult to infer, that some of these assertions certainly, most probably, all, differed in the same degree from truth; and it was too fair an opportunity, for those who wished to possess the country with the real state of its resources at the eve of the serious contest, in which it was about to be engaged, and who thought meanly of the capacity of administration, not to embrace this opportunity of rescuing it from the effects of the most dangerous delusion; and point out the errors, or the want of integrity of his majesty's counsellors. The result was what might have been expected; the most thorough refutation and exposure, of the splendid fallacies of the minister.

The young nobleman on whose motion for financial inquiry, the debate arose, in tracing the outlines of the deception, which had been practised on the public, evinced the united force of perspicuity and talent; and gave to the public, in a speech of uncommon merit, the fairest promise of future excellence. The earl of Moira, (whose abilities can only be measured by his integrity,) deprecated that system of financial juggling which had been constantly practised on the people by the present administration, and owned himself deceived in their characters, as well as in the treaty of Amiens. But it was reserved for lord Grenville, who, on this occasion, as far transcended all competition, as indeed he almost surpassed himself, in an effusion of oratory, as perfect perhaps as had ever been witnessed by a popular assembly, to explore, step

step by step, the labyrinth; in the recesses of which, imposition had been concealed, and drag it into the face of day, to meet merited contempt and ignominy. It had already been his lot, since in opposition, to expose the errors of administration, in their great measures of the Russian convention, and the definitive treaty, with irresistible argument; but it was now seen, that this consummate statesman, was as well versed in the minutest detail of domestic economy, as he was acknowledged, almost without a rival, in the science of universal politics. In a speech, in which nervous language, lucid arrangement, and convincing argument, were equally conspicuous, he proved, by the most incontrovertible evidence, that instead of a *surplus* of a million, there actually existed a *deficit* of four, making in the whole; a difference between the reality, and the estimates of the minister, of five millions!!! So complete was the effect, which this disclosure,

either of the grossest ignorance, or the most wilful deception on the part of government, produced, that what could be called a defence or a reply, was not attempted on the part of the ministry, though all the peers in official situation, were then present. Some murmurs were indeed heard, at the bringing forward a motion of this nature in the upper house of parliament; on a principle which it would be a waste of time to refute; but it must have been forgotten by those who uttered them, that the discussion was provoked by the boasts (made by a noble lord in that assembly, attached to Mr. Addington's government, and himself high in office) of the "magnificent receipts" and brilliant state of the resources of the country; and that they likewise betrayed the lamentable weakness of an administration, which could be attacked on finance with impunity in the house of peers, for want of any minister there, capable of defending their measures!!!\*

\* The following statement, which appeared in a daily paper, professes to give Lord Grenville's calculation, and which, in order to make the admirable speech we have given so much in detail, perfectly intelligible, we here subjoin.

| No. I.                                         |            |
|------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <i>Expenditure, (supposed)</i>                 |            |
| By Mr. Addington.                              |            |
| Army,                                          | £5,200,000 |
| Navy,                                          | 4,230,000  |
| Ordnance,                                      | 800,000    |
| Miscella. services                             | 1,300,000  |
| <hr/>                                          |            |
| Total joint contrib.                           | 11,530,000 |
| Deduct { 2-17ths, 1,356,000 }                  |            |
| { Cops. fund, 141,000 }                        | 1,497,000  |
| <hr/>                                          |            |
| Remains, British proportion,                   | 10,033,000 |
| Add England's separate charge                  | 500,000    |
| <hr/>                                          |            |
|                                                | 10,533,000 |
| Add navy buildings, omitted by Mr. Addington,  | 700,000    |
| <hr/>                                          |            |
| Real expence of Mr. Addington's establishment, | 11,233,000 |

| No. II.                                                                    |            |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <i>Expenditure, (actual).</i>                                              |            |
| Mr. Addington's supposed reductions not effected.                          |            |
| Army, (25,000 men)                                                         | 800,000    |
| Navy, (16,000 men)                                                         | 1,540,000  |
| Total, (43,000 men)                                                        | 2,340,000  |
| Deduct 2-17ths,                                                            | 137,000    |
| <hr/>                                                                      |            |
|                                                                            | 2,203,000  |
| Add to this navy buildings,                                                | 700,000    |
| <hr/>                                                                      |            |
|                                                                            | 2,903,000  |
| Which, added to Mr. Addington's estimated expence of                       | 10,533,000 |
| <hr/>                                                                      |            |
| Makes the total annual expenditure, on the establishment of November last, | 13,436,000 |
| Deduct actual income,                                                      | 9,185,000  |
| <hr/>                                                                      |            |
| Deficiency,                                                                | £4,251,000 |

In the house of commons on the same day,

Lord Granville Levison Gower moved that the adjournment should be till the next day, and not till Monday, as was customary. The statement made by the minister on Friday last, of lord Whitworth's

having left Paris, had been since contradicted; and he thought it very possible, that such intelligence might arrive in the course of to-morrow, as would be a fit subject for a communication.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, this motion was inadmissible

## No. III.

### *Income, (supposed)*

By Mr. Addington.

|                                                          |                   |
|----------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Annual taxes,                                            | 2,750,000         |
| Surplus of consolidated fund,                            | 7,845,000         |
| <b>Total free revenue,</b>                               | <b>10,595,000</b> |
| Add lottery, as stated by Mr. Addington,                 | 500,000           |
| Indian contribution                                      | 500,000           |
|                                                          | <u>1,000,000</u>  |
| <b>Total of Mr. Addington's supposed ways and means,</b> | <b>11,595,000</b> |
| Deduct his supposed expenditure                          | 10,533,000        |
|                                                          | <u>1,062,000</u>  |
| <b>Leaving his supposed surplus</b>                      | <b>1,062,000</b>  |

## No. IV.

### *Income, (actual).*

|                                     |                   |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Total revenue                       | 33,444,000        |
| Permanent charge                    | 24,632,000        |
|                                     | <u>8,812,000</u>  |
| Add lottery (real amount)           | 370,000           |
| Indian contribution                 | 500,000           |
|                                     | <u>870,000</u>    |
| <b>Total,</b>                       | <b>9,682,000</b>  |
| Deduct interest, &c. Austrian loan, | 497,000           |
|                                     | <u>497,000</u>    |
| <b>Total actual ways and means,</b> | <b>£9,185,000</b> |

## RESULTS.

|                                                                               |                   |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Real expence of Mr. Addington's <i>supposed</i> establishments, (No. I.)      | £11,233,000       |
| Actual income, (No. IV.)                                                      | 9,185,000         |
|                                                                               | <u>2,048,000</u>  |
| Deficiency,                                                                   | 2,048,000         |
| Add estimated surplus, (No. III.)                                             | 1,062,000         |
|                                                                               | <u>3,110,000</u>  |
| Total error in this view,                                                     | 3,110,000         |
| <b>BUT</b>                                                                    |                   |
| Expences of <i>actual</i> establishments, (No. II.)                           | 13,436,000        |
| Actual income, (No. IV.)                                                      | 9,185,000         |
|                                                                               | <u>4,251,000</u>  |
| Add supposed surplus, (No. III.)                                              | 1,062,000         |
|                                                                               | <u>5,313,000</u>  |
| <b>Total difference between the actual and supposed state of the finances</b> | <b>5,313,000</b>  |
| Allow for imports, &c. omitted by lord Auckland,                              | 150,000           |
| Deficiency of malt, doubtful,                                                 | 130,000           |
|                                                                               | <u>280,000</u>    |
| Say                                                                           | 313,000           |
|                                                                               | <u>£5,000,000</u> |
| <b>Remains actual difference,</b>                                             | <b>5,000,000</b>  |

Subject only to future increase of revenue, or reduction of expence.

in



in form, even if he could agree to it in substance: in point of form, such a motion could only be made as an amendment on a motion, proposing to adjourn to a longer time; but his principal objection was, to the substance of the motion. He had not stated last Friday, that lord Whitworth had quitted Paris, although he had reason to apprehend it; nor could he now express whether he was, or was not, on his way from thence. He had no communication to make, and should move, the house to adjourn till Monday.

Mr. Canning wished the minister expressly to declare, whether or not he expected to be able to make any communication to the house by the next day.

The chancellor of the exchequer answered, that he saw no probability of his Majesty being enabled to make a communication by to-morrow.

Mr. Grey felt some doubts upon the subject: he had himself received intelligence last Friday, when the house was sitting, that lord Whitworth had not left Paris; and possibly, this night or to-morrow morning, the decisive result of the negotiation might arrive. He thought any information was better than the present state of suspense. The noble lord's motion was then withdrawn, on the speaker's declaring it to be informal, and

The chancellor of the exchequer then moved, that the house should adjourn till Monday.

Mr. H. Lascelles thought, it would be better to adjourn till to-morrow; but as, on Friday last, he found, that he had voted with men who were the systematic opposers of administration, he should not

now give a vote, lest he should seem to pre-judge the question.

Mr. Fox ironically lamented the awkward predicament of the last speaker, who was afraid to vote at all, for fear the systematic opposers might vote on the same side. He did not however seem in so much dread of the systematic supporters of ministers, in his fears of being thought to pre-judge the question; but he wished to know, what question it was supposed, he had intended to pre-judge. Was it in favor of peace? Although he (Mr. Fox) and his friends were known to be attached to peace, yet there was another set of gentlemen who had been called "the blood-hounds," who were certainly not supposed to be very favorable to that system, and yet they had also voted with him on that occasion. Supposing accounts should be received of a favorable issue to this negotiation, it would be better that the house should know it to-morrow than on Monday: or, if any decisive result was known, that house was the proper medium of communication, between the king and his subjects. He did not wish, however, to divide the house upon the question.

Lord Hawkesbury was for the adjournment to Monday, because, he conceived it inconsistent with the dignity of that house to sit at unusual times, merely for the chance of hearing an oral communication; and because it was impossible for his majesty to give any other by to-morrow, even if the accounts should arrive.

After a few words from Mr. Martin and Dr. Lawrence, the motion of adjournment till Monday was agreed to.

On the 16th of May, a message was presented from his majesty, to both houses of parliament, which put a final stop to every hope of peace, by informing them, that he had recalled his ambassador from Paris, and that the French ambassador had left London! In consequence,

Lord Pelham moved, in the house of lords, that the message should be taken into consideration on that day se'nnight: it would take two or three days before the necessary papers could be got ready, and it would also take some time for their lordships to consider their contents.

Earl Stanhope rejoiced, that time was given for considering these papers, and for resolving whether this country should be plunged in another calamitous war, the end of which, no person could foresee. His lordship then mentioned a plan, that he had heard was presented to the French government by an American gentleman, by which the navy of England might be completely destroyed, and the channel of the river Thames stopped up! He could not consent to the going to war, unless he had information from ministers, whether they had directed their attention to that specific point.

No answer was given by ministers to lord Stanhope's question, and the consideration of the message was fixed for the ensuing Monday.

In the house of commons on the same day,

Lord Hawkesbury, on similar grounds, moved, that his majesty's message should be considered on the next Monday.

Mr. Grey made no objection to

the motion, which he thought perfectly proper; but wished to be informed, whether it was true, that letters of marque and of reprisal had been ordered.

Lord Hawkesbury answered, that such orders had been given; and if they were not stated in the message, it was not from any wish of concealing the fact, but because it was not usual so to do.

After a few words from Mr. Fox, and Mr. T. Grenville, the motion was unanimously agreed to.

May the 18th, lord Pelham presented to the lords, as did the chancellor of the exchequer to the house of commons, copies of the letters and state-papers, forming the correspondence between Great-Britain and France, since the period of the peace of Amiens.

The following day, Mr. Grey moved for certain papers, which he thought would be necessary to throw a light on some parts of his majesty's declaration, and that were not in the papers presented yesterday. The papers that he moved for, were, first, those respecting the violence that had been stated to have been offered to British subjects and property, in the French ports. 2dly, as to the commercial consuls appointed by France; with the remonstrances, if any, made by his majesty's ministers on those subjects. 3dly, the remonstrances, if any, and the answers of the French government respecting the continuance of the French troops in Holland, and the occupation of Switzerland. 4thly, the orders last sent for the evacuating the Cape of Good Hope. And lastly, he wished to have some information about the nature of the preparations in France and

and Holland, at the date of his majesty's message, as the French government positively denied, that there existed any such preparation, and that there were only two frigates fitting out in Holland, and two corvettes in France at that time! Mr. Grey concluded, by proposing his first motion, for papers respecting violence committed to British subjects and property in the ports of France.

Lord Hawkesbury in reply said, that it was not insisted, that any of those particular grounds, was of itself a cause of war; but all together amounted, in his opinion, to a mass of aggression, which would completely justify the conduct of his majesty's ministers. He thought the honorable gentleman had taken an exaggerated view of those points on which he grounded his motion. It was not necessary that France should positively deny satisfaction; if she constantly evaded it, it was evidence of a hostile disposition: he therefore opposed the motion.

Mr. Whitbread thought the motions proper; in all events, he thought, it would be incumbent on ministers to prove in their justification, that they had acted cautiously, as well as zealously; and that it was not through their fault, that grievances had been allowed to accumulate, when that accumulation was now made the ground of actual hostility.

Lord Castlereagh, thought ministers had given every degree of information, that their duty allowed them; and, that they had exposed themselves to a severe ordeal, by laying before the house, the whole history of their conduct since the treaty of Amiens.

Mr. Windham supported the motion, and thought information was necessary on all these points which Mr. Grey had mentioned: he censured the conduct of ministers in wrapping themselves up in affected mystery, when all that was wanted, was, the substance of the information in their power.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that there was only one of the many motions made by Mr. Grey, that he should feel himself bound in duty to resist; that was, the motion with respect to the armaments going on in France and Holland at the time of his majesty's message: he would however say, that Mr. Liston had informed government, that there was a body of 10,000 troops encamped in Holland; and the house would recollect, that the first consul had himself told all Europe in his *exposé*, that he should keep 500,000 troops ready to support his negociation with England; and that only a fortnight before the message, when France was at peace with the continent, a new and extraordinary levy had been made by conscription.

After some observations from the secretary at war, and the master of the rolls, on the impolicy of producing those documents, Mr. Grey made a very able and animated reply.

The question being put on his motions, they were all carried, excepting those which related to the armaments, and those respecting the remonstrances concerning the affairs of Holland and Switzerland.

On the 20th, Lord Borringdon in the house of lords, moved also for further



further papers, with respect to the violence committed on British shipping, with respect to captain D'Auvergne, and to the *contre projet*, which, it was understood, that the French government had presented.

Lord Pelham, had no objection to the first motion. As to that respecting captain D'Auvergne, he should enquire whether any written documents existed; but, as to the third, no official communication could be laid before the house, as there existed only a proposition, which was not official, but had been made in confidence; he professed, however, every desire of giving information, on the other points.

Lord Borringdon, then withdrew his motion: being content to leave it to the noble secretary, to bring forward his motion at his own time.

Earl Fitzwilliam, moved for papers exactly similar to those moved the day before, in the house of commons, with an addition of a motion, with respect to the interference of France in the Ionian republic.

Lord Pelham, replied to those different motions, in a manner nearly similar, to what had been done in the other house, by lord Hawkesbury. As to the Ionian republic, sufficient information was already given; and it would be both unnecessary and impolitic, to give any more detailed information of the armaments in France and Holland.

After some observations, from lords Carlisle and Hobart,

Earl Fitzwilliam, declared him-

self satisfied with the explanations of lord Pelham; he felt no fear of French preparations, unless they could come *under* the sea, to invade this country.

Earl Stanhope denied, that he had ever stated the possibility of such a scheme; but that he considered, with great alarm, a secret for destroying our ships, communicated to the first consul, by an American gentleman, of the name of Fulton.

Lord Borringdon, called his lordship to order, as departing wholly from the question; and lord Fitzwilliam's motion was then withdrawn.

On the same day, in the house of commons,

Lord Hawkesbury laid before the house, several papers, which had been voted by different addresses from that house.

Mr. Sheridan, thought the papers of such importance, and being so voluminous, that he wished the discussion to be put off, for some days longer.

Mr. Grey, wished for the utmost possible information, to enable the house to judge, whether, even now, war might not be prevented?

Lord Hawkesbury, required some time to consider, whether he could, with propriety, bring forward any farther information.

Mr. Sheridan, then moved for papers, respecting the remonstrances made, in consequence of the French troops continuing in Holland; and Mr. Johnstone, wished to know, whether Russia had refused to garrison Malta, for herself. Both these gentlemen, however, agreed to withdraw their motions.

General

General Gascoyne, moved for a great variety of papers, the principal of which were relating to the island of Malta; the assumption of the isle of Elba, and the Italian republic by France; and the annexation of Piedmont; and also with respect to the cession of the colonies in the West Indies, and elsewhere, which ought to have been retained, as well as Malta.

Lord Hawkesbury, agreed to the motion, respecting the cession of the West Indian colonies, but found it his duty to move the previous question on the others.

Mr. Windham censured, in the strongest terms, the conduct, which it was generally supposed, that ministers had pursued, with respect to the deputies from the island of Malta. Those deputies, as it was said, were not suffered to wait on lord Hobart, at his office, for fear of giving offence to the French government.

The chancellor of the exchequer denied, that any indignity had been

offered to the Maltese deputies; they had received every mark of respect and kindness, while they staid in this country; and when they went, a ship was specially provided for them. They had testified, in a letter, of which lord Hawkesbury had read an extract, their satisfaction at the arrangements which had been made.

After some observations, from Dr. Lawrence, Colonel Graham, and Mr. Ward,

Mr. Canning consented to vote for the previous question, on the assurance of the noble secretary (lord Hawkesbury), that, at a future time, there would be no objection to entering into the discussion of the conduct of Government, with respect to those Maltese deputies.

After several mutual explanations, the previous question was carried, on all the motions, excepting that which related to the cession of the conquered colonies, in the West Indies.

## CHAP. XII.

*Important Debates in Parliament on the Negotiation, and Correspondence.*  
*—In the House of Lords, Speeches of Lord Pelham—Duke of Cumberland—of Clarence—Lord Mulgrave—Melville—Duke of Richmond—Marquis of Lansdowne—Duke of Norfolk—Lord King—Ellenborough.—Earl of Moira—of Rosslyn—Spencer—Marquis of Sligo—Lord Grenville.—Division.—Great Majority on the part of Government.—In the House of Commons,—Public anxiety to witness the Debate.—Deficiency in the Reports thereof.—Why.—Mr. Pitt's sentiments.—Amendment to the address moved by Mr. Grey.—Debate adjourned.—Speeches of Mr. T. Grenville—Whitbread—Dallas—Elliot—Serjeant Best—Canning—Fox—Addington—Attorney General—Mr. Windham—W. Smith.—Division.—Address carried by a great Majority.—Message from the King to Parliament.—Supplementary Militia embodied.—Clergy residence Bill carried.—Motion by Mr. Fox on the Russian Mediation.—Opposed by Lord Hawkesbury, and Mr. Pitt.—Withdrawn.—Observations.*

**M**ONDAY the 23d of May was the day appointed for the discussion of the causes of the war, and the whole conduct of ministers in the negotiation. The subject was of such uncommon interest, that there was perhaps never before exhibited so much anxiety in the public to be present at any debate. All the avenues to the house of commons were crowded at a very early hour.

The discussion was begun in the house of lords by

Lord Pelham, who rose to move the address. He wished that in this discussion, the support that he trusted would be given to the proposed address, would be kept separate from the consideration of the general conduct of ministers, which

might be solemnly discussed on a future day. He wished the only question to be now considered should be, whether, from a perusal of all the papers laid upon the table, a just and legitimate ground of war had not been established. He then traced an outline of the conduct of the two governments since the peace of Amiens: first, as to Malta, which was the prominent feature in discussion, the British government had taken the necessary steps for carrying the treaty into execution; when, about the 27th of January last, the evacuation of Malta was pressed in a peremptory manner by the French government. About the same time, ministers felt it their duty to demand an explanation of the pretensions advanced, and the



views disclosed by the French government. It was then necessary to review the whole conduct of that government since the signing of that peace, which proved that they did not sincerely wish to maintain it. His lordship then went over the various acts of aggression, committed by France, as stated in his majesty's declaration; and justified the conduct of ministers, on all the several points. As to the possession of Malta, he thought it absolutely necessary for this country, as a security against the designs of France upon Egypt, since, by the destruction of the order of Malta, it had been impossible to fulfil exactly the treaty, in this respect. His lordship, after having dwelt at considerable length, on the many acts of aggression and insult, on the part of France, concluded, by moving an address to his majesty, expressive of the sense the house entertained of the anxious desire, shewn by his majesty, for the preservation of the peace; their regret that France had not manifested the same principles; their indignation at the spirit of encroachment, exhibited by France; and the reliance which his majesty might place in their support and assistance.

The duke of Cumberland seconded the motion, in a very elegant and impressive speech. He considered the question, arising out of the papers on the table, was nothing less, than whether this country, which had so long held a proud and distinguished rank among the nations; should, or should not, cease to be an independent country? Or whether we must now descend from that rank, and take our place among the vanquished and feeble

nations, which have been plundered and insulted by France. The country now, was again called to war, to repel the most unwarrantable system of encroachment and aggression, that ever sprang from Gallic ambition. The first consul of France had endeavoured to subdue all the nations of Europe, and reduce them to the most abject vassalage. Holland, Italy, and Switzerland, lay now subdued, at the proud foot of France, after being plundered of all the wealth, which the industry of ages had acquired; and now France, in the vanity of conquest, has ventured to say, that "England could not contend with her, single handed." He then went over the whole conduct of the French government, during the peace, and shewed, that it was an uniform system of insult, aggression, and hostility. His royal highness concluded, by expressing his firm persuasion, that if this war was prosecuted with vigour, it would be crowned with success, and that we should be able to convince the world, that this nation has not degenerated from the spirit of their ancestors, and that there is still in Europe, a powerful and unconquered nation, always ready to defend its own dignity, and to oppose lawless ambition.

Earl Stanhope said, that it appeared to him, that the only serious difference between the French government and our's, was in consequence of our insisting upon keeping Malta for ten years, in spite of the treaty of Amiens. In his opinion, we were bound to restore it; nor could he grant that France had so much increased her dominions, since the peace. At the peace, she

she was in possession of Italy and Holland; she was also in possession of St. Domingo, which she has since lost, and which, if she possessed, our West India colonies would be in great danger. As Bonaparte offered to give up Malta in perpetuity, for an adequate consideration, he thought our ministers should, at all events, have negotiated with respect to the consideration which might have satisfied the French government.

The duke of Clarence, went over the history of the last war, and traced the anxiety and clamour for peace, to the failure of so many of our expeditions. It was from perceiving the wishes of the public so strong for peace, that he gave his consent to the preliminary articles. He took an able review of the hostile conduct of the French government, from the day they had signed the preliminaries. He more particularly dwelt on the conversation of Bonaparte, with lord Whitworth, in which the first consul declares his views upon Egypt, and considers the possession of Piedmont and Switzerland, as "*des bagatelles*," trifles not worth considering, and which must have been foreseen, while the treaty was pending. At the time of the treaty, it was considered a primary object to guarantee the independence of Malta; but the destruction of that order, to which it was to have been restored, and the change in the relative situation of France, since the treaty, made it more necessary than ever, not to restore Malta, till its independence could be perfectly secured.

Lord Mulgrave, thought the oppressions exercised by France, over other powers, to aggrandize her

empire, was a sufficient reason for us to refuse to surrender Malta; but by the letter of the treaty, we were bound to surrender Malta to the order, who were to be restored to their ancient privileges; instead of that, the order had been stripped by France, both of its property and privileges. A grand master had been chosen, by the pope, who was himself a vassal of France, and therefore to restore it now, would be only giving it into the hands of France, as a key to the possession of Egypt. If ministers were to bear longer the insolence of the French government, they might have Napper Tandy sent over to them, as a commercial agent; or Arthur O'Connor, as proconsul of Britain. He therefore approved of the conduct of ministers on this occasion.

Lord Melville, was glad to find, that the importance of Malta, as a key to Egypt, was universally admitted; and also that we had a right to secure its independence, against the ambition of France. In the actual state of Europe, Great Britain and Russia were the only powers capable of giving security to Malta. He felt rejoiced, that the negotiation, as respecting Malta, was at an end, and that the treaty had, on this point, become a dead letter, by the act of France, who had made the execution of it impossible. The order of St. John of Jerusalem, is now no more, and we must keep Malta, not for them, but for ourselves. He was content to say, that we went to war; to keep Malta; and to support the address to his majesty, for his gracious communication on this ground alone.

The duke of Richmond, did not consider the question of Malta, as

a sufficient ground for war. He declared, that until the late negotiation, he had never heard of the island of Lampedosa, and whether it had springs or rivers, and whether it was or was not capable of being fortified, he was entirely ignorant; and yet this island, such as it was, would have contented ministers, with a ten years possession of Malta: he really did not think the difference worth going to war about.

The marquis of Lansdown said, that in the experience of a long life, he had always found, that when ministers chose to go to war, they also endeavoured to mingle among their alleged causes, some of the popular topics of the times. He had often before now, heard "the liberty of the press" held forward, by ministers, as an object of the first importance. As to the aggressions of France in Switzerland, and upon the continent, he thought those subjects rather belonged to Austria and the continental powers, than to us, and yet, they did not think them sufficient causes for a war. For his part, in the present war, or in the American war, he thought that the spirit of reconciliation would do more than force of arms.

The duke of Norfolk, could not think of calling on ministers to give up Malta to the possession of France; but he hoped that the benefits of peace would not be lightly thrown away on the provocation of the moment. He hoped that the guarantee of Russia might still be obtained, upon this head. He wished that it should be the recommendation of this house to his majesty, that no mediation should be refused, that would hold out a hope of securing the peace of Europe; but

if the independence of Europe, and the honor of the country, could no otherwise be obtained, then he must agree to meet again, the miseries and difficulties of war.

Lord King, expressed his concern, that we were again to be involved in war with France, for the reasons set forth in his majesty's declaration. He could not see what we were to expect, from a new conflict with France; we could make no impression on that country: she had no colonies, that could be affected by our attacks: and at home, she was invulnerable. He did not think Malta a sufficient ground for war, much less did he consider it right to correct the errors of a treaty, by a breach of treaty. Although, as far as war was necessary, the house would support his majesty; yet he did not like unnecessarily hurling defiance at France. He then moved, as an amendment to the address, that those expressions should be expunged, which so warmly imputed to France, the guilt of breaking the treaties.

The question being put, on the amendment,

Lord Ellenborough opposed it. He thought it evident, that we went to war, not for the island of Lampedosa (as stated by the duke of Richmond), but for our independence, our liberties, and our commerce. It was most evident, that some new arrangements were necessary, respecting the island of Malta, as we had neither the order to restore it to, nor the guarantees to secure its independence. This country was never situated so, as that any just claim could be made on her for the surrender of Malta; and



and the house must recollect the threats which had been held out, by the first consul personally, of his intention of possessing himself of Egypt, sooner or later.

The earl of Moira, considered war so serious a calamity, both to the government and the people, that he was not surprized, that the noble lord (lord King), had proposed the amendment, although, for his part, he could not agree to it. The evils of war, fell not upon their lordships, but upon the poor, in the first instance; it was therefore humanity to give them the fullest consideration. He hoped, however, that there might be no division upon the question, as it was a time that the greatest unanimity should be found in the councils of the nation. He did not consider Malta as the only ground, or the principal ground of the war; the many insults and aggressions of France were such, that, for his part, he did not consider Malta a sufficient satisfaction. The state of Holland, Switzerland, and Italy, were grounds still stronger, than that of Malta. The possessions of France were now enormous, and were employed in wounding and injuring us. He considered that the country was never engaged in a war more necessary than the present; nor was it ever more necessary to prosecute a war, with vigour and decision. If we carried it on well, he had no doubt of success; but if we carried it on badly, he thought the country would *never be troubled* with managing another war.

Earl Spencer, considered the war unavoidable, under the present circumstances. He did not wish the house to run away with the

idea, that this was to be but a short war, as it might well turn out to be otherwise. He wished the country to understand its danger, and the house to keep that jealous superintendence of the management of the resources of this country, without which we could not hope for any important success.

The earl of Rosslyn, although he agreed with a noble lord (lord Melville), that Malta alone would be a sufficient ground of war, yet thought it evident, that the whole system of France, since the peace, and her many breaches of good faith, amounted to an abundant cause of war, on our part. He considered the menacing language, held forth by Bonaparte to lord Whitworth, as a sufficient cause of war. He considered his whole conduct, since he signed the treaty, as an uniform system of arrogance, insult, and injury. His views against the Turkish empire, which he did not take the trouble to conceal, were contrary to the letter of the treaty of Amiens, and therefore a ground of war. He wished that this should not be considered as a war likely to be short, but as one so absolutely necessary, that our only wish should be, to carry it on with vigour and success.

The marquis of Sligo, thought, the provocations, given to England, were such as made war inevitable. He hoped we should always retain Malta.

After a few observations, from some other noble lords,

Lord Grenville expressed his approbation of the address, which he thought was drawn up in terms, congenial with those sentiments of national honor and personal pride,

which formed the best securities for the country. He did not wish to be considered an advocate for war. No man felt more strongly than he did the calamities of war, or the care that ought to be taken to avert so great an evil. But it was often the best way to avoid it, not to appear too much afraid of it. It was from this conviction that he had always recommended to ministers a system contrary to what they had chosen to pursue, but which he firmly believed, would have been more effectual even for avoiding the war. As to the non-execution of the article of the treaty respecting Malta, he saw and stated, that from the commencement, it was an article not capable of being carried into execution. Without dwelling much, however, upon the ground of Malta, he thought it clear that the present war was just, necessary, and expedient; inasmuch as it was a resistance to a series of violence, aggression, and insult, that could not be endured, without sinking the country to the lowest state of degradation. It was better to begin the contest now, than wait till we should be forced to engage in it, with diminished means, and against increased forces. The designs of Bonaparte on the Turkish empire, were in direct violation of the letter and the spirit of the treaty of Amiens. The first consul was not a man to be conciliated to the practice of justice by the appearance of submission: all the energies of this country must therefore be called forward: we must expose ourselves to dangers, and reconcile our-

selves to burdens; and prevent, by temporary sacrifices, the total sacrifice of our country and ourselves.

Lord Darnley supported the original address, as did also lord Gwidir.

The house then divided on lord King's amendment. For it 10; against it 142; majority 132 for the original address.\*

On the same day there was a very animated debate in the house of commons, but the public curiosity was so great, that the galleries were filled at an early hour, by persons admitted in an unusual manner, and none of those persons who are accustomed to report the parliamentary proceedings, could gain admission: a very imperfect sketch, therefore, is all that can be presented to the public of the very interesting discussion, on the first day of the consideration of the subject.

After some animated observations from Mr. Erskine,

Mr. Pitt rose, and expressed a strong hope, that upon the great and important question now at issue between this country and France; all parties would be unanimous. There had been such evident proofs of hostility on the part of France, as justified this country in retaining Malta for its security. The report of Sebastiani, the circumstances of his mission, and the express and deliberate avowal of Bonaparte himself, proved the intention of the first consul to renew his hostile attempts against Egypt, which would be undeniably an act of hostility against this country, and its most important interests, and a direct

\* The minority were, the dukes of Bedford and Leinster, the earls of Derby, Cowper, Besborough, Thanet, Albemarle, Stanhope, Guildford, and lord King.

violation of the treaty of Amiens. He then commented at length upon the report of Sebastiani, and his mission, which he thought was most evidently of a hostile nature: as to the pretence of his being sent to answer and refute assertions in sir Robert Wilson's book, that was ridiculous, inasmuch as his mission was antecedent to the appearance of that book; and in fact, sir Rob. Wilson's statements had not been at all contradicted by the report of Sebastiani. Bonaparte, in his conversation with lord Whitworth, only disowned the intention of siezing Egypt at present; as he declared, "that sooner or later it must belong to France; and yet, although it was thus confest to be a favorite object of the consular ambition, still the only security that France would give, was this, "that the French ambassador at Constantino-ple *should be charged to give assurances to the Porte, of the disposition of France to strengthen instead of weaken the Turkish government.*" He would not disbelieve this assertion, when he recollected, that it had been the new policy of France, ever since the revolution, to disclose the most daring designs, long before their execution, in order that the first feelings of indignation, which would lead to vigorous resistance, might have passed away, and given place to neglect and indifference. He therefore did believe the first consul and his minister, when they declared their views upon Egypt; and thought our ministers would have been most blameable, if when such designs were avowed, they should surrender Malta without sufficient security. He thought the annexation of Piedmont, the arro-

gant conduct of France with respect to the German indemnities; and above all, the violence offered to Switzerland; were sufficient causes of war at any time, if we had had such continental co-operation, as to afford any prospect of success. The various aggressions stated in his Majesty's declaration, were all grounds sufficient to prove the necessity and justice of the war. He concluded by calling upon ministers in a very impressive manner, to prepare without delay such vigorous measures of finance and national defence, as would convince our enemies that they were neither able to diminish our spirit by threatened invasions, nor to exhaust our resources by a long protracted war. Great and unexampled as were our efforts during the last war, those of the present war should still exceed them. He lamented the necessity of those painful exertions, as much as any man; but we had no option between the blessings of peace and the dangers of war: from the fatality of the times, and the general state of mankind, we must consider our lot as cast in a time of trouble and peril, and must now rouse our national spirit, to meet the dangers, and discharge the duties, of the situation we find ourselves placed in.

Mr. Grey moved an amendment to the address, and a discussion took place, which, from the circumstance already stated, we were unable accurately to learn. The debate however was adjourned till the next day, when it was resumed by

Mr. T. Grenville, who was decidedly of opinion, that the conduct of France upon all the principal points, stated in his Majesty's declaration,



declaration, amply justified this country in retaining Malta. He should not have considered a mere abstract wish of the first consul, to possess himself of Egypt, as a sufficient ground of war: but the conduct of Sebastiani, and the avowal of the French minister, made it clear that a hostile attack was meditated, not only on Egypt, but on the Ionian isles, in direct violation of the treaty of Amiens: he knew no period, in which so many and invincible grounds of war on the part of this country, were so clearly and distinctly made out. He preferred the original address to the amendment, because he thought it necessary to shew the greatest unanimity.

Mr. Whitbread said, he also wished for unanimity: he put it however, to the last speaker, to Mr. Pitt, and other gentlemen, whether they could, with a safe conscience, vote an address, which would be a direct approbation of the conduct of his majesty's ministers. The right hon. gentleman had distinctly admitted, that ministers had committed the honor of the country. It appeared to him, that the best mode of obtaining unanimity, was, by supporting the amendment of Mr. Grey, which, while it pledged the house to the support of the war, did not approve of the conduct of ministers. Whatever aggravated circumstance might have occurred since the peace of Amiens, he considered that the only thing we were at war for now, was the terms of our *ultimatum* delivered to the French court. If we had been suffered to retain Malta, all would have been well, and we would now enjoy peace. After taking a review

of the whole conduct of ministers, both before and after the treaty of Amiens, he felt convinced, that they had no right to declare those to be reasons for going to war, which were no reasons for preventing the peace being signed at Amiens: he concluded by expressing a hope, that his majesty's ministers might now avail themselves of the interference of Russia, and that the peace might be preserved.

Mr. Dallas wished the attention of the house to be now confined to the question immediately before their consideration, namely, whether the war was just or unjust? As to the abilities of ministers, and their general conduct, that was a separate question, which might be discussed at another time. He thought there was no doubt, but that, in this quarrel, the country was in the right; ministers had made every cession, required by the treaty of Amiens, excepting Malta alone, and in that instance, they had done every thing in their power to obtain the guarantees that were stipulated in the treaty. On the other hand, the conduct of France, with respect to Switzerland, Holland, and Italy, justified the jealousy of our government. The first consul himself had avowed his designs upon Egypt; he therefore should answer the last speaker, who asked, "What we are at war for?" by saying, "We were at war for Malta, but not for Malta only, but for Egypt; not for Egypt only, but for India; not for India alone, but for the integrity of the British empire, and the cause of justice, good faith, and freedom all over the world."

Mr. Elliot agreed in the justice and

and necessity of the war, and on that ground, and that alone, supported the address. He considered the mission of Sebastiani, as an act incapable of explanation or reparation: He had always reprobated the late unfortunate truce, and wished now, that the contest should be continued, until real peace and tranquillity could be restored.

Mr. Serjeant Best thought, that not only Malta, but the smallest island upon earth, would be sufficient ground for war; if demanded in the peremptory manner in which France demanded Malta. Although he admitted that France had given many other just causes for war, yet he did not blame ministers for not being too ready to seize them.

Mr. Canning, supported the address, but by no means conceived himself to be precluded, by so doing, from expressing his opinion fully, upon a future occasion, of the whole of the conduct of ministers. As to the justice and necessity of the present war, he thought it was altogether obvious; and whether ministers ought, or ought not, sooner to have made their stand against France; yet he had no doubt, but that, under the circumstances which then existed, they were right, in refusing to give up Malta. The importance of Malta had been proved by this, that both the English and French expeditions, bound for Egypt, found it most convenient to touch at Malta, in their passage. It was evident that, in the present state of Europe, Russia is the only neutral power, which could sufficiently protect Malta, but Russia had shewn no

disposition, either to garrison or guarantee it.

Mr. Fox, felt it to be his duty to the people of England, to endeavour to rescue them from a situation of great danger, and certain misery, whatever might be the success of the war. He differed from those who had divided the question, as he thought the justice or injustice of the war must, in a great measure, depend upon the circumstances of the conduct of ministers. He thought it was much better to vote for the amendment, respecting which there could be no difference of opinion, than for the original address, which certainly required much explanation. The hon. member took a review of the whole of the correspondence, in which, he thought, there was a great deal of shuffling, on both sides. He very much disapproved of the application of the first consul, to remove those emigrants, who had obtained the protection of this country; as also that for abridging the freedom of our press; he thought, however, too much stress had been laid on the expressions, used by him, in the conversation with lord Whitworth, which being given from memory, could not be supposed to be exact. He however saw no great pride or haughtiness in the consul, speaking of the invasion, and confessing that the chances were an hundred to one against him; and that he almost despaired of being able to accomplish his purpose. The desire of Bonaparte to be possessed of Egypt, was not, in itself, a sufficient ground of war, or we should never have been at peace with the house of Bourbon. As to their general system of aggrandizement,

ment, we had no more right to complain of it in France, than France would have to complain of our aggrandizement in India. To excuse ourselves from possessing this spirit, we must say as the lady did, who was accused of frequent disregards of virtue: "Never before, upon my honor, on this side of the cape of Good Hope." As to Egypt, at the time that Vergennes, the minister to Louis the XVIth, had an expedition ready for Egypt, instead of war, we made a commercial treaty with France. As to Malta, it was known that Russia would have guaranteed it upon certain conditions; but we rather chose to keep it to ourselves, for ten years. He did not consider the mission of Sebastiani, as a sufficient cause for war. There had been hardly a year of peace, since the treaty of Utrecht, in which the old French government had not some such missionary at work. Europe would never know a single year of peace, if war was necessary on such a ground. He blamed ministers, for allowing an accumulation of insults, without demanding satisfaction; and for finally going to war, on a sordid principle, for which it was impossible that we could find any allies. He was alarmed, when he heard of the unusual exertions that should be made this war, and that from an old member (Mr. Pitt), who had already so much increased the burdens of the nation. That gentleman seemed to threaten us with an increase of two or three hundred millions to our debt, and that purely for Malta, unconnected with any great, general, generous interest of Europe. He had, in his

life time, heard plenty of philippics, such as Demosthenes might have envied; but whenever he heard members indulging the house with luxurious treats of eloquence, full-dressed speeches, and high-toned declamations; he pitied the people, whose lot it was to pay dearly for all this. It put him in mind of the French proverb, "*Le cout ote le gout*;" and certainly, it must be admitted, that the fine speeches in the American war, and in the last, cost the country dear enough. After strongly recommending an alliance with Russia, if possible, Mr. Fox concluded, by saying, that, in his opinion, the best way to obtain unanimity, was to support the amended address, which every body must approve of, rather than the original address, which no one could assent to, without some qualification.

The chancellor of the exchequer, lamented that the effusions of the honourable gentleman's great and exalted mind, should have been employed for the purpose for which they were then applied. He considered the war, as one of obvious necessity, and justified the conduct of his majesty's ministers, from the imputation of want of sincerity in their endeavours to procure peace. The honorable gentleman had not done justice to ministers, when he charged them with not having made the proper remonstrances, as it had appeared from the papers on the table, that they had remonstrated upon almost every topic mentioned in the declaration. He avowed, that it was the intention of this country to assist Switzerland, if, by any means, it could have been done. He then proceeded to take a general



ral view of the conduct of France, since the treaty, which evinced a constant design of injuring, and insulting this country. He dwelt particularly on the report of Sebastiani, and the conversation of Bonaparte with lord Whitworth. As to the interference of Russia, respecting Malta, he should say, that if Russia, or any other great power, should interfere, with friendly intentions, and make any proposition of a practical nature, by which peace might be restored, no man would be more glad to attend to it than himself. At present, however, he thought it necessary to prepare the country for an arduous contest, and to be ready to make great sacrifices in support of it. The cause in which we were now engaged, was that of justice, against insult and aggression; a cause which had left to his majesty or parliament no alternative.

The attorney general, supported the address, and highly disapproved of the tendency of Mr. Fox's speech, whose arguments went, as he thought, to justify the conduct of Bonaparte. He conceived that this country had never been engaged in a contest before, on more honorable principles, or more absolutely necessary, than the present war.

Mr. Windham, in very strong terms, condemned the arguments of Mr. Fox, which, he thought, not only fallacious, but *wicked*. His speech was like a quiver of *poisoned* arrows, aimed at the hearts of his hearers. The honorable gentleman had made himself a *pandur* to all the base and illiberal passions of the people, by supporting selfishness against patriotism, and op-

posing private considerations to the grand views of national policy. If he stooped so low, he was not to be envied for the triumph of eloquence. He then drew a comparison, between his conduct and that of Mr. Pitt, who had employed his great talents in kindling the flame of patriotism; and in calling forth the energies of the country.

Mr. W. Smith, condemned the severe epithets which had been applied, by Mr. Windham, to the speech of Mr. Fox. He thought, when the heat of the moment had subsided, he must feel remorse, for the expressions he had used.

Mr. Windham, in explanation, allowed that he did not wish the words that had fallen from him, in the heat of debate, to be understood in the strict literal meaning.

Mr. Fox said, he excused the warmth of the right hon. gentleman; and, as for himself, he had a foible, of not easily and slightly quarrelling with an old acquaintance.

The house then divided, on the amendment, when there appeared 67 for it; 398 against it. The original question was then put and carried.

On the next day, the chancellor of the exchequer brought up a message, from his majesty, informing the house that his majesty had judged it necessary, for the security of the kingdom, to call out the supplementary militia; and the secretary at war moved a corresponding address.

Upon the report being brought up, of the address voted the night before,

Sir Robert Peel, though strongly adverse

adverse to wars in general, yet considered this war, as one that could not be avoided. He did not think it was so much the rock of Malta, that was the question, as the rock of the British constitution, which the first consul meant to attack.

Mr. Lascelles, expressed his conviction, that this war was brought on by no fault of our own, and that the conduct of France, ever since the peace, had been atrocious in the extreme.

Sir W. Pulteney, agreed with him in opinion, and felt convinced, from a perusal of the papers on the table, that ministers had neglected no moderate means, to secure the blessings of peace.

On the 26th, upon sir W. Scott's moving the third reading of the clergy bill,

Sir Francis Burdett, opposed the bill, as he thought, it threw the body of the clergy, at the mercy of the bishops, and also at the mercy of the minister of the day, inasmuch as many of the clergy voted for members of parliament, and could be acted on by the influence the bishops obtained by this bill. It was well known, that the bishop of St. David's had, previously to an election, sent circular letters round to his clergy, to influence their votes. He thought the bishops required regulation themselves, as well as any other description of the clergy; for instance, the bishop of Landaff, was regius professor at Cambridge, had a living in Huntingdonshire, an archdeaconry somewhere else, and resided himself in Cumberland.

After a few observations from

other members, the bill was passed, by a majority of 50 to 5.

On the 27th day of May, in the house of commons,

Mr. Fox rose, to make his promised motion, relative to the mediation of the emperor of Russia. He had, on a former day, stated his opinions very fully, on the general question, and a great majority of the house had differed from him; to the decision of that majority, it was his duty to bow, and as the country was now actually at war, he should give that war the best support in his power. But, at the same time, he thought no body would deny, that it was desirable to bring that war to an honorable conclusion, as soon as possible. The proposition which he then intended to submit to the house, had that object only in view. It having been understood, that the emperor of Russia had offered his mediation, he wished to persuade the house, to advise his majesty, to avail himself of the friendly disposition so manifested. Nothing could be more respectable, or likely to be more efficacious, than the mediation of a sovereign so powerful, and universally respected, as the emperor of Russia. Should such a mediation be accepted by us, but fail from the unjust pretensions of France, then, in the prosecution of a war evidently necessary, we might reckon upon the support of the great mediating power, and the public opinion of Europe and the world, would be in our favour. It might also be supposed, that a power, so great as Russia, might be able to mediate on all the points at issue, between this country and France,

France, and not only on those points, but that it would also be the fittest protector and guarantee of the rights of all independent nations, and the general interests of Europe. Besides, the power of the emperor of Russia, his character, and his love of justice, together with his pacific disposition, rendered him a fit person for the office of mediator. He considered that, at all events, a connexion with Russia, was the most desirable, which, under the present circumstances of the world, was open to this country. The emperor of Russia had given a striking proof of his moderation, in rejecting a proposition of France, which went to the dismemberment of the Turkish empire. Mr. Fox then dwelt, at considerable length, and with much animation, on the great advantages that might be derived from a connexion with Russia, without whose assistance, although this country possessed sufficient means of self-defence, yet it wanted means, which could be brought to bear upon those great continental interests, which are of such infinite importance in settling our disputes with France; he should not propose the interference of Russia, if he had supposed that power at all partial to France, but believing her sentiments to be quite the other way, he thought nothing more desirable. He concluded, by moving an address to his majesty, to the import stated in his speech.

Lord Hawkesbury, thought no fair parliamentary grounds had been laid for the motion, and that it was one which might do much harm, but could do no good. He thought no case had been made out, which would warrant the interfer-

ence of parliament, in the exercise of the kingly prerogative. He declared, most expressly, that since the signing of the peace of Amiens, no efforts had been wanting, to endeavour to establish such a concord among the continental powers, as might best secure their peace and independence; this was done, without any design of going to war, for the purpose of setting the continent to rights, but merely for defensive operations, and to preserve the peace of the continent. He considered, that the proposal of making use of the Russian ambassador, as an intermediary in the discussions with France, could not be productive of any advantage, while France positively refused to accede to the only terms which his majesty could listen to. He wished that the negotiation might again be renewed, and peace restored, if it could be done with honour; but, in the mean time, he could not consent to cripple our exertions, and paralyze our strength. He objected to the motion, not so much upon the principle of it, as because it appeared to him unnecessary, and that it conveyed an unfounded distrust of the sincerity of ministers, in their desire of peace.

Mr. Fox, in explanation, denied that this was his intention.

Mr. Pitt, concurred in all the general principles, upon which the motion was grounded. He had heard that speech, with infinite satisfaction, as the sentiments of it were those which, in the best times of this country, enabled it to contribute to the general liberty and independence of Europe; to support the rights, and redress the wrongs of the lesser powers, and successfully



successfully to resist the encroachments of ambition. These were the principles which had been contended for, in the last war, and which had founded the honor of this country. He was glad to hear these principles admitted by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fox), who formerly differed so widely from him in the application of them. As to interfering in the affairs of the continent, he did think it was the policy of this country not to be too ready to involve itself in war, upon every slight movement; but that it should oppose any great convulsion on the continent, which, by destroying the independence of other nations, materially affected the interests of this country. It would be a weak policy, to throw away entirely the assistance to be derived from continental connections. After again expressing his perfect approbation of the principles on which the motion was grounded, he still hoped, that Mr. Fox would not persist in it, as there appeared no reason to doubt, but that his majesty's ministers would act in conformity with those general principles.

Mr. Fox, in explanation, vindicated the consistency of his principles now, with those he had formerly expressed. The right hon. gentleman (Mr. Pitt), had confessed, that he had only abandoned them last war, by the untoward events which rendered the further prosecution of it hopeless. He had considered the war in that light, long before, and the only great difference between him and Mr. Pitt, upon the subject was, that what that right hon. gentleman had seen at the latter end of the war, he had

foreseen many years sooner. He did not wish to press his motion to a division, if the noble lord would give the house that information for which he sought, whether it was the intention of his majesty's ministers to avail themselves of the dispositions manifested by the emperor of Russia, or whether the court of Russia had offered its mediation on a large and general scale?

Lord Hawkesbury said, the offer of Russia was made in a very loose and general way, and just at the time when lord Whitworth was on the point of leaving Paris. Our ultimatum had been rejected, and the negotiations were then at an end. The British government was ready to accept the mediation of Russia, both with respect to our own disputes with France, and to the general interests of the empire; but at the same time, until those disputes could be settled, ministers could not advise his majesty to suspend, in any degree, his exertions for the continuance of the war.

Mr. Fox admitted this declaration to be a sufficient pledge of the conduct of government in this respect; and therefore consented to withdraw his motion.

Such was the issue of the solitary attempt made by the "old opposition" to direct the current of the public opinion, respecting the possibility of evading a rupture with France. What effect the proffered mediation of Russia might have had in the present circumstances; of the principle on which it was tendered; and of the wisdom of its rejection; it will be the province of a distinct portion of this volume to investigate,

investigate. In a parliamentary point of view, the debate was worthy of remark, as it afforded the first instance of Mr. Pitt's coincidence in opinion, with those who disapproved of the measures of the minister, at least so far as related to the hostile system now about to be adopted; and which, though it was not urged with all that strength and pertinacity, which on most occasions, distinguished his public conduct; yet it sufficiently evinced that there existed no longer that union of sentiment, and harmony of opinion, which prevailed during the early period of the present administration, between him and Mr. Addington. On this occasion too, it is to be observed, that though Mr. Grenville, Mr. Windham, and the strength and talent of those who had always decried the definitive treaty, and predicted its inevitable consequences, were in the house; they took no part whatever upon this motion of Mr. Fox's, which it is probable they considered, as in itself inefficient or nugatory; or which, if adopted, would lead to that sluggish and temporizing system, which ministers seemed for a moment to have shaken off; a conduct, in which it was too much the interest of the empire, not to wish them to persevere; and consequently not the object of the "new opposition" to retard or embarrass.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Debates in both Houses of Parliament on the conduct of Ministers—In the Lords,—Speeches of Earl Fitzwilliam—Limerick—Grosvenor—Lord Mulgrave—Earl of Caernarvon.—Lord Ellenborough—Melville—Hobart—Grenville.—Resolutions for the censure of Ministers negatived by a great Majority.—Debates the following day in the Commons, on similar resolutions, moved by Colonel Patten.—Colonel Bastard, and Mr. Hawkins Browne, vindicate the conduct of Ministers.—Lord Kensington—Earl Temple—Mr. Hobhouse—Mr. C. W. Wynne—Mr. Courtenay—Mr. T. Grenville—Chancellor of the Exchequer—Mr. Pitt—Lord Hackesbury—Mr. Canning.—Resolutions negatived by a great Majority.—In the Lords,—Earl Fitzwilliam moves for censure on the Ministers.—Supported by Lord Minto, and Lord Grenville.—Opposed by the Duke of Clarence,—The Lord Chancellor, and Lord Hobart.—Motion lost.—Observations,*

THE country having been, by his majesty's declaration; by the rejection of Russian interference; and the irretrievable errors of administration; fully committed in warfare with France and her dependencies, Holland and the Italian republic; it was not to be supposed, that that portion of the legislature, whose exposition of the weakness and misconduct of ministers had been as unceasing, as their predictions of their calamitous consequences were prophetic, could look on with acquiescence and complacency, at the conduct of public affairs being committed to the identical hands of those, who had first signed and sealed to the dishonor of their country; and who still aspired to the task of extricating her from the difficulties and dangers incurred solely by their want

of experience, political science, and steadiness of principle. Accordingly, in both the chambers of parliament, resolutions of the strongest and most decided tendency towards the inculcation of ministers, were brought forward, by personages of the most distinguished integrity, rank in society, and temperance in political discussion.

In consequence, on the second day of June,

Earl Fitzwilliam, in the house of lords, brought forward certain resolutions, condemning the general conduct of ministers, in having held forward to the nation a confident expectation of a permanent peace, during the time that France was pursuing a hostile system towards this country. His lordship prefaced his motion by a long and able



able speech, in which he first pointed the attention of the house to the conduct of our ministers and of France; at the time of the treaty of Amiens. During the negotiation, the first consul, in contempt of decency, pursued his constant system of aggression. It was then that he made himself president of the Italian republic: changed Piedmont into a military *arrondissement*; annexed Parma and Placentia to France; and it was after France had thus aggrandized herself, that our ministers consented to cede the conquered colonies also. When the consul next seized upon Switzerland, our ministers sent a person over to that country with offers of assistance, which could evidently be productive of no advantage to the Swiss. Numerous insults and aggressions had been passed over, without any spirited remonstrance, until, at length, the report of colonel Sebastiani forced government to retain Malta. He considered the uniform conduct of the present ministry to be such, as neither to command respect at home, nor abroad, and that they had proved themselves utterly unworthy of the confidence of the public. He then moved his first resolution, which described the conduct of France in nearly the same terms as had been expressed in his Majesty's declaration.

The earl of Limerick vindicated the conduct of administration, in the several points which had been alluded to by the noble mover.—As to their conduct with respect to the treaty of Amiens, it had been so fully discussed, both at the moment that the preliminary and definitive treaties were considered, that it would be a waste

of time to discuss it over again.—As to their conduct with respect to Switzerland, it was not their fault, that the continental powers would not interfere to save it. In the negotiation which had ended in war, he thought they deserved approbation instead of censure; they had avoided war as long as it was possible to avoid it with honor. He concluded by dwelling, with great animation, on the rooted hostility of the first consul towards this empire, and his desire to remove from the neighbourhood and eyes of the French people, the image of a free country.

Earl Grosvenor defended the conduct of ministers, and moved the previous question on Lord Fitzwilliam's resolutions.

Lord Mulgrave, thought the present time improper for such discussions, as the greatest unanimity was now required; he therefore moved the question of adjournment.

The earl of Caernarvon deprecated an adjournment, and condemned with the utmost severity, the conduct of Ministers. They had found the country at the time they had the presumption to undertake its government, in the possession of many valuable acquisitions, which had been the fruit of former victories. These they had abandoned to France! Whatever private virtues ministers might possess, he considered the want of talents to be as highly criminal in those who have the direction of state affairs, as he did the want of courage to be in an officer.

Lord Ellenborough said, he could not sit still in his place, when he heard the capacity of mi-

nisters arraigned by those who were themselves most incapable, and when he saw ignorance itself, pretending to decide on the knowledge possessed by others. He warmly vindicated the firmness and ability displayed by ministers in the whole of the negotiation, and during the whole course of their administration.

Lord Melville, supported the question of adjournment, as he thought it was better not to discuss the question, than to discuss it partially. He expressed a strong disapprobation of many parts of the conduct of ministers, but thought it would be a dangerous time to address his majesty to remove them, as this was not a season in which the country could bear to be any time without an administration; and there might be a considerable difficulty in agreeing who should be the new ministers, even were the present now removed.

Lord Hobart, complained of the manner in which ministers had been treated. It would be evident that the adjournment would be an indirect censure upon ministers.

Lord Grenville, although he disapproved in a variety of instances of the conduct of ministers, said, that he had hitherto abstained from expressing his disapprobation, for fear we might appear to the enemy, not so firmly united as we ought be. Of all the various acts of misconduct of the present administration, there were none which he condemned more severely, than their uniform system of withholding the

necessary information from parliament.

At half past four, in the morning, the question of adjournment and the previous question were put and negatived by a majority of 86 to 17. Some of the original resolutions were then put and negatived also.\*

The next day, in the house of commons, a set of resolutions of a similar tendency, were brought forward by colonel Patten. The principal charges he urged against ministers, were, that they had not only withheld from parliament the information they ought to have given, but had deceived it by giving false statements of the situation of the country, and in no instance more remarkably so, than in his majesty's message, which stated great preparations in the ports of France, which were not known to lord Whitworth.

He then dwelt with considerable force on the situation of Holland and Switzerland, in which he thought we were deeply implicated. He concluded, by expressing strongly his opinion, that, in the present crisis, the best talents of the nation, ought to be called forward for its defence: and that a feeble administration was not suited to the character of the times. He then moved his resolutions.

After the first resolution was read from the chair,

Colonel Bastard and Mr. Hawkins Browne briefly vindicated the conduct of ministers; and lord Kensington defended that of the late administration, which he thought

\* For a copy of the resolutions, *vide* state papers.

attacked by the observations of the gentleman who preceded him in debate.

Lord Temple then spoke as follows: "With regard to the first resolution, little remains to be said. His majesty's declaration speaks for itself, and, in this house, is only to be considered as the language of his majesty's ministers. They have observed, and they have lamented, 'that the system of aggression, violence, and aggrandizement, which characterize the different governments of France, during the war, has been continued, with as little disguise, since its termination.' At length, then, we have a bold avowal of the opinion which his majesty's ministers have held respecting the conduct of the French government, during the peace. At length, we are told, that every species of fraud, of violence, and of rapine, upon which the different sanguinary governments have acted, at the different periods of the revolution, have been at all times the rule of conduct of him who now holds in his hands the reins of power in that country. We are told that the same detestable system of policy, which dictated that ambitious and boastful menace, that France and England should never exist together in the same hemisphere; which sent Bonaparte to seize, by force of arms, a country, the possessions of a power, then in amity with France, for the avowed purpose of striking a blow at the Indian interests of this country; who secured his entrance into that country, by disavowing his faith, by boasting that he had been the means of overturning its altars, and dispersing the

ministers of his religion; by trampling on the bible, and swearing by the koran; who secured his retreat from that country, by destroying, in cold and deliberate cruelty, the miserable prisoners who had fallen into his hands, and by poisoning his own wounded and defenceless soldiers. The same feelings which dictated, and the same revenge which prompted the execution, of every act of hostility, of rapine, and of horror, against this country and the world, during the different periods of his power, have existed at every moment since the peace. How his majesty's ministers can justify this tardy avowal; how they can presume to come down to this house, with the declarations in their hands, with the confessions unwillingly drawn from them, of the existence of proceedings which they now say they have seen and felt ever since the peace was signed; how they came to tell us *now*, that nothing but hostility and aggression existed at periods when they told us that nothing but harmony and profound peace prevailed; remains for their farther ingenuity to explain. A reference to their parliamentary conduct ever since the treaty of Amiens, will shew, that instead of putting us upon our guard against dangers, which we now find, they knew, existed; instead of stimulating our watchfulness, and encouraging our vigilance; they have universally, at the different periods I allude to, tried to lull the country into a security, which they now tell us was not warranted by the fact, and inspire us with hopes, which they now declare, they knew to be fallacious. Nov. 23d, 1802, the chancellor of the exchequer



declared in this house, 'that there was nothing that indicated the renewal of hostilities with France.' Look to the events of that period, as collected in your papers upon your table; recollect the public circumstances of Europe at that time; and then say whether ministers were justified in what they asserted. At that very moment, there is scarce a circumstance which is now declared to be a cause of war, or collectively, with others, to form a cause of war, which did not exist in its full force. Not one of the articles of the treaty of Amiens, had been executed by France.—Parma was annexed to her dominions by public proclamation, dated the 23d of Oct. The system of commercial agents which has justly been made a cause of war, existed in full force, at the period I allude to. With the exception of one only, every instance of aggression, complained of, as being committed by France against the commerce of this country, had occurred long before the 23d Nov. It appears from the printed papers, that from June, to Oct. 1802. Mr. Merry repeatedly informed ministers of the different acts of violence committed against our merchants and their ships. On the 25th of Oct. Mr. Merry informed government of the most violent and flagrant breach of treaty that ever existed, the case of the ship *George*; when the ship was condemned with all her cargo, because her captain had on board, for his own private use, knives, forks, and plates, of British manufacture. October the 13th is the date of Mr. Liston's first dispatch on a subject which is made another ground for war—

the occupation of Holland by French troops. On October the 29th, his second dispatch is sent, notifying that the French troops had begun their march out of the Batavian territories; but that, instead of evacuating them, they had halted on the frontiers, and occupied Breda, Bois-le-Duc, and Bergen-op-zoom. This was all that appeared upon the subject, in the papers first laid upon your table; but the noble secretary of state, finding that more information was wanting, produced, after much search among the pigeon-holes of his bureau, another dispatch from Mr. Liston, dated a few days after the last, in which he says, that the Batavian minister at Paris had made a remonstrance on the subject of the occupation of his country by the French, and that he had written a most able letter to the French minister for foreign affairs; that in consequence of this most persuasive and most argumentative letter, the first consul has been pleased to do—what? To cause the French troops to evacuate the country? No! but to direct them to remain where they were, in the occupation of the barrier towns of Holland, in possession of the strongest fortresses on the frontier, by which means they had the key of the country in their hands; and this at a period, when both the Batavian and the English governments, as well as Mr. Liston, knew, that the project of France at that instant, was to seize upon those towns, for the purpose of ultimately making Holland an integral part of the French republic. And Mr. Liston concludes by saying, that, upon this occasion it was thought adviseable to *humour*  
the.

*the wishes of the first consul.* All this happened in October. Long before this time, ministers knew, that the execution of the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens, relative to Malta, had become utterly impossible. The declaration very justly states, that the treaty of Amiens, and every part of that treaty, was founded on the assumption of the state of possession, and engagements actually subsisting at the moment of the signature of the treaty. The practice of ministers forms a singular contrast with their theory. On that very principle, they knew that the articles respecting Malta could not be executed. The revenues of that order, the independence of which, it was the professed object of the treaty to secure; and on the existence of which revenues, that independence existed; were known to be confiscated, in fact, before the conclusion of the peace, or immediately after. In the Madrid Gazette, of the 27th of April, 1802, it is stated, that the king of Spain had annexed to the royal domain the Langues and possessions of the order of Malta, within his dominions: and yet, with this fact known, and avowed in every newspaper in Europe, we see ministers, from the May following, down to the breaking off the negotiation, pestering every power on the continent with applications to guarantee the execution of an article, which they knew could not be executed. Nay, on the 23d of August, lord Hawkesbury writes to M. Otto, to inform him, that his majesty is ready to carry into effect the article respecting Malta, the moment the other powers of Europe had guaranteed its execution: an article which

had been framed with a view to the actual possessions and situation of the power, whose interest that treaty was to provide for, and which possessions and situation were completely changed since the conclusion of that treaty. That change ministers use as an excuse for their not evacuating Malta; but it also was a fair excuse for the other powers not to guarantee the treaty. It was a fair reason for forming a new arrangement for Malta; but it could not be a reason for employing a whole summer in persuading other powers to do what you had refused to do, because subsequent events had rendered it impossible. As to Switzerland, the ambitious projects of France with respect to that country were well known before November: all that happened which made it necessary for this country to interfere in its fate, had happened before November; nay, at the very time ministers were gravely assuring the country, that they saw no prospect whatever of a renewal of hostilities, Mr. Moore was engaged at Constance in negotiations, which, if the situation of Europe had allowed of their being carried to the extent, his instructions authorized, must have ended in a renewal of hostilities, prior to the time to which I have so often alluded; and every complaint which we now urge as a cause of war against France, for its insolent and hostile interference in the administration of our laws, and its audacious attack on the liberty of our press, existed in its full force. On the 7th of August M. Otto writes that insulting letter to lord Hawkesbury, in which, in the name of the first consul, he insists upon a stop

being put to publications hostile to France; the removal of the emigrant noblesse and clergy out of the country; and the 'deportation' of other emigrants to Canada. All this, and much more on the same subject, happened long before the 23d of November. In August it was, that captain D'Auvergne was seized contrary to every principle of justice, and in violation of the treaty of Amiens. Long before November, it was well known, and universally acknowledged, that France did not mean to indemnify the stadtholder, according to the spirit of the treaty of Amiens. In short, almost every case, that is now made, either of itself or conjointly, a cause of war; almost every insult of which we so justly complain; almost every aggression which we are now called upon to resent; had occurred before the 23d of November: and yet, on that day, the minister comes down to this house, and states, 'that he sees no prospect of a renewal of hostilities.' We are now confirmed in our researches, to this period; for the same declaration, more strongly marked, was made on the 23d of February following, in the reason assigned for increasing the establishment of his royal highness the prince of Wales, which was, that it was a moment of 'profound peace;' that the measure was one, which, though equally necessary in a time of war, the difficulties of such time rendered improper to bring forward; and therefore a moment of 'profound peace' was chosen by the chancellor of the exchequer as the auspicious moment. Thus, sir, every argument that held good on the 23d of November came

with redoubled force, when held on the 23d of February; every insult was then aggravated, every aggression which had begun to shew itself at the former period, had completed and formed itself by the latter. By that period one would have supposed the ministers began to doubt the truth of their former speculations. One would think their spirit of prophecy would have been a little damped by perverse experience. Careless, however, of the lessons of experience, and heedless of future fame, they boldly state, on the 23d of February, that the country is in *profound peace*, and that no discussions existed at that moment between the two countries. Dates and facts are the witnesses I call to the veracity of the king's ministers. On the 9th of Feb. lord Hawkesbury directs lord Whitworth to remonstrate against the publication of Sebastiani's report. On the 17th that remonstrance is made. On the 21st of Feb. lord Whitworth had the famous audience of Bonaparte, which ministers declare was a decisive proof of the hostile views of the first consul; the measure of the insult was full; aggressions had followed aggressions; the views of France upon Egypt, upon the Turkish empire, upon Switzerland, upon Holland, and upon this country, were known and avowed. Every feeling which animates us as Englishmen, had been insulted; we were told by our insolent enemy, your press must be made subservient to my views, you must transport the nobles and the priesthood who have sought refuge in your hospitality, you must import commercial agents, whom, as my right hon.



hon. relative (Mr. Pitt) has justly observed, you would have been bound to have hanged as spies in time of war; you must stand aloof whilst I seize, with a giant's grasp, the whole of Europe; you must give up all connexion with the continent; the treaty of Amiens provides for every thing, and settles every thing. On the 23d Feb. we had been told all this; on the 23d Feb. the minister comes here and tells us that we are in profound peace, and that there are no adverse discussions existing between the two countries; and on the 8th of March, the same minister comes and tells us to prepare for war!—We are prepared for war. I trust there is not a man in this country, whose breast does not glow with indignation, at the insults we have suffered, and with a determination to support the honor, and avenge the injured cause, of his country. Ministers lulled the country into an unreal belief of security; they cherished her by false hopes; they asked unlimited confidence, and have reposed none in return; they deluded the people with glittering visions of peace, knowing that when they awoke, they would awake to the reality of a war. The next point is, have ministers done all that it became them to do, to avert the calamity which has come upon us? Now, whether they have submitted enough, God knows the country has seen enough of submission! It is not therefore whether they have sufficiently given way to the views of France. The question is, whether they remonstrated in such a manner as became the ministers of a great and powerful nation; whether they interfered in such a manner as to make their interference

effective; whether they mediated in such a manner as to aid those in whose favor they mediated; whether they repelled aggressions with firmness, and opposed dignified moderation to violent and presuming demands? I do not hesitate to say, that in all these points they have completely failed: when they have conceded most, they have conceded with least dignity; when they resisted most, they resisted with least effect. They have urged in their declaration, as one of these causes, which in the aggregate, made the great cause of the war, that France has enforced ever since the peace, with inexcusable strictness and severity, the prohibitions which had been placed upon the subjects of his majesty; that violence has been offered to their vessels and their property. Let us look to the papers before us, and how stands the fact? Sir, in the first collection of papers presented to us, not one word is mentioned of what constitutes this part of their declaration; in one solitary instance only, is the subject alluded to.— In the 2d collection of papers, we see notification after notification from Mr. Merry, of insult upon insult offered to our flags and commerce, but in no one instance does any remonstrance appear from his majesty's government; no instruction to Mr. Merry to remonstrate; and in the case of the ship *George*, to which I before alluded, no answer of any kind appears to have been given to Mr. Merry. The second cause of war is, the introduction by France, into this country, of her privileged spies, the commercial agents. To this insulting act of aggression, no remonstrance is made by ministers, and, except in the one case, no steps

appear to have been taken for sending them out of the country.— Once, indeed, lord Hawkesbury informed the French minister, that the agents would not be acknowledged as such, and that if any attempts were made to send them to their place of destination, they would receive orders to quit the country. In London, however, the whole corps *d'espionage* were permitted to remain unmolested.— The agents were not sent to their destinations, but in London they remained till general Andreossi left the country! The next cause of war is, the occupation of Holland by the French troops. To this violent act of aggression, to this breach of the letter 'of three solemn treaties,' not only no remonstrance appears to have been made; but we have the assurance of the noble secretary of state, that in fact, no written remonstrance was made by the ministers; and though, in consequence of Mr. Liston's dispatch of the 13th of October, orders were sent out on the 17th to retain the Cape and the West India islands, on the receipt of his dispatch of the 29th, stating the seizure by the French troops of the frontier towns of Holland, orders are sent out on the 16th of November to evacuate the Cape and the West India islands, which we had before ordered to be retained, notwithstanding the cause of that order remained the same. The 4th cause of war is the seizure of Switzerland by France. I will not here inquire, whether it was fitting that this country should have interfered in its fate. Upon that subject I entertain a decided opinion, which it is not now necessary to avow. We have interfered; and

it is enough for me to ascertain, whether that interference was made in the manner most likely to answer the purpose for which it was intended; how stands the fact? and how is that fact supported by dates? As early as the 13th of July, 1802, the deputies of almost all the Swiss cantons remonstrated publicly against the constitution forced upon them by Bonaparte. From that time it was evident, that the Swiss only waited for the moment most propitious to make another struggle for their liberties. France saw the blow that was impending, and during the whole summer made preparations for maintaining the seizure of Switzerland. At length, on the 21st of September, the flame burst forth; all Switzerland appeared in arms against her taskmasters. During this whole interval, did this country stir one step to aid the rising spirit of the Swiss, or assist their daring efforts? Of their interference, we hear nothing till the 3d of October. On that day, Mr. Merry writes word, that the Swiss had an agent in Paris, who was directed to apply to the foreign ministers there, to interfere with the first consul in their favour. After having in vain tried to interest the feelings of all Europe in his behalf; after having in vain solicited the good offices of Austria, Prussia, Russia, and the king of Etruria: having been refused by all the ministers of those powers; he comes at last to the English minister, and tells the piteous story of his country's wrongs. On England he places his last, his firm reliance; to England his country looks for protection and assistance. Mr. Merry writes for instructions; he receives

receives none; no answer is ever given to the Swiss agent; and he is left to cool his heels in the antichamber of Mr. Merry. In this instance, however, an English minister ventures to make a written remonstrance, and no answer is given to it. On the 10th of October the remonstrance is sent to M. Otto; but it appears that no answer was made to it. Rumour indeed, says, that one was made, but in such offensive terms, so broadly declaring that we had no right to interfere in the affairs of the continent, and referring us with such insolent pedantry to the treaty of Amiens, as to the book in which alone we were to read our destinies; that it would have justified immediate war, instead of being followed by the pusillanimous surrender of the Cape and our West India conquests. On the same day are dated the instructions to Mr. Moore, directing him to proceed to Constance, where he arrives Oct. 31st; and the first news he receives is, that the struggle is over, and the Diet of Schweitz is dissolved. He writes home to inquire what he is to do; on the 25th of November lord Hawkesbury tells him that he may return. During all this time, is any effort made to back our remonstrance at Paris? Is our minister there directed to support our interference? Is any answer given to the Swiss agent, which he might shew to the ministers of other courts, and which would have encouraged those courts to give that assistance? The want of which, ministers urge as the reason for not interfering farther, but which, it appears, we never asked for.—Mr. Moore's instructions are to as-

certain whether any Austrians or other continental troops are ready to enter Switzerland, in case it was found necessary to support, by force of arms, the pretensions of the Swiss. From July to November, ministers could find no other time proper for their interference, but that in which no troops could enter, much less act in Switzerland, in consequence of the severity of the season! The next cause of war, is the non-execution on the part of France, of that part of the treaty of Amiens, respecting Malta; and upon this point the negociation appears to have been conducted with the same firmness and dignity which so strongly characterised its whole course. In May, the Spanish revenues of the order were confiscated. In October, by the annexation of Parma more were confiscated; still the literal execution of the 10th article is insisted upon by England. During the whole time no new arrangement is heard of.—The 10th article is constantly rung in our ears, the whole 10th article, nothing but the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens, till at last the farce can be carried on no longer, and the necessity of a new arrangement begins to be talked of. How is that negociation supported by our ministers? On the 21st of July, Bonaparte tells lord Whitworth, that on Malta depends the question of peace or war, that on no terms shall England be permitted to retain Malta; that he had rather she should have the Fauxbourg St. Antoine than Malta.—On the 11th of March, Talleyrand tells lord Whitworth that the first consul will look upon the non- evacuation of Malta, as the commencement



mencement of hostilities ; not as a cause of war, but as an act of war. Here all discussion about Malta should have ended. Lord Whitworth had said, the occupation of Malta by England, in some shape or other, was necessary ; and Talleyrand had said such occupation would be deemed the commencement of hostilities. Ultimatum is sent after ultimatum ; and at last you give up the idea of retaining Malta for ever, on the dignified and honorable condition, that France agreed to your reserving it for ten years only, and secured your possession in full sovereignty of the island of Lampedosa. Your last ultimatum, (for however absurd may be the expression, there is no way of stating the proceedings of this negotiation, but by talking of the 1st, 2d, 3d, and last ultimatum) by which you, of course, pledge yourself to abide ; and which, if it had been agreed to, would have brought the negotiation to a favourable issue ; proposed, that in consideration of the immense accessions of strength obtained by France, upon the continent, she should give up Malta for ten years, and steal Lampedosa for you for ever ! You therefore gravely state, that at the end of ten years, the vast accession of force to France, confirmed by ten years possession ; the immense increase of her resources, ripened to ten years maturity ; her possession of Italy, her influence in Germany, in Spain, and in Portugal, and her command of Holland, will be counterbalanced by the enormous acquisition of a barren rock, of an island without an inhabitant, of that nursery of gulls, Lampedosa ! The next cause of war is

the attack upon the liberty of the press, and the requisition to transport the emigrants to Canada or elsewhere. I call upon ministers to point out to me, in any part of the correspondence, which lays upon your table, one remonstrance against the insolent attack upon the liberty of the press. Lord Hawkesbury writes very prettily on the subject, and lord Whitworth assures M. Talleyrand that it is impossible for lord Hawkesbury to controul the licence of the press here, because he could not influence a single newspaper for his own objects. He trusts, therefore, that the first consul will not be so unreasonable as to insist upon his controlling the language of the news writers and pamphleteers in this country.— But have we one word of remonstrance against the insolent language, or the insulting tone of the French government ? Can ministers point out one instance in which they directed lord Whitworth to ask satisfaction for the outrage, and to say, in distinct terms, that unless interference in our own concerns, by France, was distinctly and openly disavowed, he would leave the country ? No ; in proportion as France increased in insolence, we multiplied concession ; and the more revolting and violent became her demands, the weaker and the more inefficient became our remonstrances. When we look to the subject, relating to the French emigrants, disgraceful indeed, is the tale we have to tell, and disgusting the scene of humiliation which his majesty's ministers have acted. The first attack made by the French government is a remonstrance from Talleyrand to Mr. Merry,

Merry, against the conduct of the French princes, in publicly wearing the insignia of their orders, which Talleyrand describes as insulting to his government. The tame and disgraceful answer which ministers make to this childish and impertinent complaint is, that 'it would be more proper if they (the French princes and nobles) abstained from it. But how could ministers help it, or prevent it?' Was that the language for his majesty's ministers to hold in reply to such a remonstrance? I ask them, if ever the chastising hand of providence were to plunge this country into the same misfortunes which have overwhelmed France, if ever our nobles were sent to seek refuge in a foreign land, how they would brook the idea of our nobility surrendering the badges of their rank, and the insignia of their honors, because they no longer dared to wear them? Yet this is the conduct which ministers think it would have been more proper if the French nobles had followed.—The next demand the French government makes, is that the French superior clergy and noblesse, who were emigrants in England, should be removed from the kingdom, to Canada! These august, these venerable characters, who, true to their religion, and faithful to their sovereign, gave up even the means of subsistence, and left their friends, relatives, and dearest connexions, rather than remain in the land where that sovereign had been murdered, and that religion profaned; who, encouraged by the general voice of England, sought that refuge here, which almost every other country refused them.

We are called upon by the authors of their miseries, who are at this moment revelling in their spoils, and exulting in their misfortunes, to remove them from the refuge we gave them, and thus to violate that hospitality, on the faith of which they came. Those gallant men, who so sacrificing every consideration of personal risque, made an unavailing, but glorious attempt, to restore the throne of their kings, and to establish the altars of their faith, whose exertions we animated, and whose arms we assisted; who engaged in this memorable struggle on the faith of British promises, and in the confidence of British assistance; we are called upon by the very men against whom they fought, and against whom we once made common cause with them, to '*deporter*' to Canada. Let gentlemen recollect the meaning attached to that word by the present rulers of France, let them recollect the horrors of the former deportation to Cayenne, as described by the miserable survivors of it; let them recollect, that to a deportation of this kind, the French government wished to doom the loyal and persecuted emigrants of France, and then let them turn to the answer which his majesty's ministers chose to give to this CRUEL, this INFERNAL proposal. 'His majesty is very desirous to obviate any cause of complaint or uneasiness with respect to their persons, and measures are in contemplation, and will be taken; for the purpose of removing them out of his majesty's European dominions.' I shut the book in disgust, in horror, and in shame.—In disgust and in horror at the barbarity

barity which could dictate this sentence, and in shame and in confusion at the eternal stain and blot which it will fix upon this page of our history. I have thus gone through the different points which appear to me to bear upon the subject before you, and to justify the resolutions which are submitted to the House. From these extracts, which I have made from the papers on your table, from the facts which they avow, and from the dates which confirm these facts, thence deductions are to be made. The first is, that from the moment the treaty of Amiens was signed, his majesty's ministers were aware of the hostility avowed and expressed by the government of France towards this country; secondly, that being so aware of them, they concealed that conviction from the country, and encouraged the people with hopes of permanent peace and tranquillity, knowing at the moment they held out these hopes, that they were false and illusory; and thirdly, that on many points, which they now make, either distinctively or collectively, causes of war, they made no remonstrance, or such remonstrances only, as were degrading to the dignity of the nation; and that when they interfered or mediated, they interfered without firmness, they mediated without honor."

Mr. Hobhouse defended, at some length, the conduct of ministers, against the accusations which had been brought against them. He did not recollect, that ministers had made declarations, in the forms mentioned by lord Temple.

Mr. Charles W. Wynne, condemned ministers, for submitting to

so many insults from France. He considered, that this submission to insult was, whether in a state, or in an individual, the surest way to have them repeated.

Mr. Courtenay, compared the conduct of ministers, in breaking the peace which they had made, to the doctrine of Hippocrates, who advised, in case a limb was broken, and badly set, that it should be broken over again, and take the chance of setting it better.

Mr. T. Grenville, re-stated the various objections, which had before been made to the conduct of ministers, during the short interval of peace. He dwelt particularly on their interference in Switzerland, at a time when it was too late for their interference to do any good.

The chancellor of the exchequer then rose, in vindication of the conduct of ministers. As to the peace of Amiens, he now entertained the same opinion, that he did at the conclusion of it: namely, that in the then existing circumstances, it was a wise and necessary measure. As it was deemed right to enter into that treaty, ministers had, after the conclusion of it, done every thing in their power to maintain it. He was proud to attribute to the forbearance of ministers, that spirit, which now so universally animated the nation. Upon the signing of the peace, ministers did not calculate upon a very friendly disposition, on the part of the French government, and therefore they had prepared considerable establishments, both military and naval. He admitted, that in perusing the documents on the table, many acts of forbearance might be found, on the part of ministers; but nothing dis-



dishonorable or disgraceful would appear. The house was in possession of every document that could be produced, and all that ministers now asked, was their decision.

Mr. Pitt then rose, and addressed the house, in nearly the following terms: "If I possessed a full and clear opinion, on the merits of the case, to the extent of either directly negating or adopting the resolutions, which have been proposed, I should, following the unbiased dictates of my conscience, give my vote on that side to which my judgment inclined. If I agreed with my right hon. friend (Mr. Grenville), in thinking, that the first steps we ought to take, in duty to the public, were, by a retrospective survey of the conduct of ministers, to judge of their fitness to exercise the functions to which they are called; and if, upon that result, I were forced to conclude, that the papers, on the table, afforded evidence of criminality, of incapacity, of misconduct; then, however painful the sacrifice of private feelings might be, in taking such a part in the case of individuals, whom I respect, I should feel myself bound to concur in an address to his majesty, for the removal of his ministers. On the other hand, if I were one of those, who considered the explanation, afforded by ministers upon general points, so clear as to justify a decided negative of the propositions, moved by the hon. gentleman over the way; a negative which would imply approbation—for in such a matter, to avoid ground of censure, may be considered the same as to have deserved applause—I should

feel myself happy, in joining in a decisive negative to the motion; but to this extent, either of approbation or of censure, I am unable to go. I cannot concur in the latter, or in the extent of charges involved in the propositions, which have been moved. Besides, I am aware of the inconveniencies that would result, from supporting any measure which has the tendency of the present motion, unless the clearest necessity exists for it. Though I do not dispute the right of this house, to address the king for the removal of ministers, yet, nothing is more mischievous than a parliamentary interference, by declared censure, rendering the continuance of ministers in office impossible, unless that interference is justified by extraordinary exigency of affairs. Not disputing the right of the house, I contend, that the right is to be governed by a sound discretion, and by the public interest: we must look to considerations of public expediency, of public safety. There are some questions, in the discussion of which gentlemen must feel more than they can well express; and this, with regard to the interference of parliament for removing ministers, is one of them. Admitting even, that there were considerable grounds of dissatisfaction at the conduct of ministers, would it tend to promote those exertions, to encourage those sacrifices, which the difficulty and danger of our situation required? Would our means of sustaining the struggle, in which we are engaged, and of calling forth those resources necessary for our defence, by cutting short the date of administration, and unsettling the whole system of govern-

government? To displace one administration, and to introduce a new one, is not the work of a day. With all the functions of executive power suspended, with the regular means of communication between parliament and the throne interrupted; weeks, nay months, wasted in doubt, uncertainty, and inaction; how could the public safety consist, with a state of things so violent and unnatural, as would result from parliament rendering one administration incapable of exercising any public functions, without any other efficient government being obtained in its stead? I will venture to hint also, that after such a step, any administration that should succeed, be it what it might, and what it would be, must still depend upon the crown; and would therefore feel itself placed in a most delicate situation. To put the matter, as conscientiously and delicately as possible; would any set of men feel their introduction to power, in these circumstances, to be such as to enable them to discharge, in a manner satisfactory to themselves, the duties which so eventful a period must impose? These are considerations for the crown and the public; and they outweigh all those which present themselves, on the partial view of the advantages which could be hoped, from a prosecution of that censure and dissolution of administration, to which the propositions tend. I am aware, that the right hon. gentleman, on the floor, and my friends on the same bench, with him, must feel their situation irksome, under the weight of a question so important, in which they are personally involved, remaining undecided. Nevertheless,

when other sacrifices are demanded, for the public interest, personal feelings must be overlooked. Those who, with me, have not made up their minds to the extent of censuring ministers, by the adoption of propositions; or approving their conduct, by agreeing to a direct negative, must pursue some middle course. Those who, on the examination of the papers, from any feeling of regret for the steps which ministers took in the negotiation, must consult their conscience on the vote they are to give. They cannot do that which implies approbation, when they do not find, from the case made out, that approbation has been deserved; neither can they vote severe censure, leading to an address for removal, when they do not consider the charges made, as completely sustained. Having stated the opposite lines of conduct, which present themselves in deciding upon the propositions, I do not intend to enter into any detailed discussion of the papers. I wish, if good cannot be obtained by continuing to discuss them, comparable to the evil of interrupting the course of our parliamentary duty, to suspend them altogether. Since things more urgent, and more important, demand our care, let us keep the parliamentary pledge we have given. I shall behold, with much greater satisfaction, as first proofs of our determination to support his majesty, with our lives and fortunes, you, presenting a strong bill of supply, providing resources, not merely for every demand of public service, but adequate to every scale of execution; a measure that will display and call forth the means of sustaining the struggle,

struggle, not merely for one year, but till we shall have brought it to a successful issue; some measure, by which we shall be enabled to complete our army; and to call into action the national strength, and give activity to all the military skill, discipline, and experience we possess. I do not know if gentlemen feel, as I do, upon this occasion, or if I have been successful in making my feelings understood. Impressed, as I am, with those feelings, and unprepared for the decisive vote, which is offered in the direct negative or affirmative, of the propositions before the house, I move that the other orders of the day be now read."

Lord Hawkesbury said, that never before, had he risen in parliament, with such feelings as those that now oppressed him. With every wish to do justice to the feelings of his right hon. friend, in making the motion with which he had concluded his speech; he and his colleagues should be shrinking from their duty to themselves, if they could accept the compromise offered between a direct censure, and a total acquittal. A charge of crimination, founded upon papers laid upon the table, had been brought forward. He asked, if there was an instance, in which propositions, founded on such documents, and involving the conduct of ministers, had not been met either with a direct negative or affirmative? A motion of inquiry might be got rid of, by a previous question; but, when a direct charge was made, grounded on facts, rising out of public documents, a previous question was not the fit way of disposing of the subject. No

man was more ready than he was, to acknowledge the prerogative of the crown to choose its own ministers; but, on the other hand, ministers were responsible to parliament for the exercise of their functions; and when parliament saw sufficient grounds of censure, they ought to state it; and then ministers, no longer able usefully to serve the public, ought to retire. Independently of private considerations, he must contend, that the credit of the government ought to be maintained, particularly at such a crisis as the present. But he had no difficulty in saying, that those who wished to destroy the administration, ought to vote for the resolutions, because that was their obvious tendency, while the vote, which his right hon. friend had proposed, would have the effect to discredit government, to leave them discredited, in possession of functions, which they could not exercise with honor to themselves, or advantage to the public. His right hon. friend (Mr. Pitt) had declined going into details. He wished, however, that he had afforded some details; that he had pointed out those parts of the conduct of ministers, which he could not approve, that they might have an opportunity of meeting any charge, or explaining what was deemed exceptionable. It was possible, that in a long and arduous course of conduct, some points might be liable to objection. In a country like this, however, he always considered it to be the fair principle, both of support and of opposition to ministers, that those who agreed or disagreed with them, should do so on a general system. It was not to be expected



expected, that all should approve every particular point. They were to overlook minor differences, for the sake of giving effect to the general scheme of measures and conduct which they approved. These, he had always understood, were the general principles, and he regretted that Mr. Pitt had not made up his mind to act upon them. He asked whether, after surveying the conduct of ministers, during a period of unexampled difficulty, he was not now prepared to say yes, or no, directly to a motion of censure?—On the Russian armament, he well remembered, that his right hon. friend, and himself, had not thought it sufficient to get rid of a motion of censure, by a previous question; but, in circumstances, when the government in one point had given up, yet the charges were met boldly, and directly negatived. He wished, that on the present occasion, ministers might either be acquitted or condemned. He was sure, from what he knew of his right hon. friend, that his motives, in bringing forward a previous question, were pure and upright; but ministers could not acquiesce in the discredit of a suspended censure. If it were the desire of ministers to retain their places, at all hazards, they might accept the compromise which had been offered; but he could not say for himself and his colleagues, that they had no desire to remain in office, longer than they could be useful to their country. If he felt himself reduced to that situation, in which he could not serve it with advantage, he would carry the seals to the feet of his gracious sovereign, and intreat him to appoint a successor

more worthy. — It was that they might not remain in office discredited and useless, that he must oppose the previous question; for he could not think of remaining an hour in office, after having forfeited the confidence of the house, and the good opinion of the country.

Mr. Canning rose, with equal difficulty of expressing his feelings, to vote, for the first time in his life, against the opinion of his right hon. friend (Mr. Pitt); he had, however, no doubt, upon this subject; his mind had been long made up, and as he perfectly agreed in the resolutions brought forward to-night, he should vote for them, whatever censure they might imply against his majesty's ministers.

The debate, upon Mr. Pitt's motion of adjournment, continued till half past three in the morning; when the question was put, and there appeared for it 56, against it 333; being a majority of 277 against Mr. Pitt! The original question was then put upon the resolutions, and negatived by a great majority.

Mr. Fox, and several of his friends, retired without voting.

On the 6th of June, earl Fitzwilliam, after a variety of observations, on the conduct of ministers, since the treaty of Amiens, concluded by moving several resolutions expressive of censure on ministers.

The duke of Clarence, in an animated speech, vindicated the conduct of the present ministers, and imputed to the late administration the embarrassments under which the present had acted. It was from the war having been badly conducted, that it became neces-

sary

sary to sign a peace to the advantage of France.

Lord Minto, supported the resolutions, with considerable force; lord Grenville thought ministers might have avoided the war altogether, by accepting the proffered mediation of Russia; on the other hand, the lord chancellor and lord Hobart defended the conduct of ministers.

The house divided upon the first resolution, there being 17 peers for it, and 86 against it, leaving a majority of 69 in favour of Government.

We have seen, in the course of the highly interesting debates, in both houses of parliament, on the question of attaching censure to the conduct of administration, that it was, by great majorities, acquitted of all blame, in the progress of its hostile discussions, on various subjects with France, since the period of the treaty of Amiens. Whether this solemn acquittal was a sufficient testimony to, and proof of, their impeccability, we shall hereafter take occasion to discuss at length; yet, even in this moment of triumph and exultation, was it apparent to the acute and wary observer of political attachments and combinations, that, at the moment, when the conduct of ministers, seemed to have received the most ample countenance and support from the legislation; their credit and character, both within and without the walls of parliament, were shaken to the centre, and that what appeared to be the flush of health and vigour, did but conceal the rapid progress of vital dissolution.

It had already been rumoured,  
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and indeed engaged universal belief that Mr. Addington, justly aware of the critical situation of the country at large, and of his own as minister, unsupported as he was, by any of the talent and public virtue of the empire, (which were exclusively found, either ranged in the phalanx of decided hostility to his measures, or hovered around in inauspicious neutrality,\*) had endeavoured to attach to himself, in this moment of pressure, the great name and abilities of his predecessor in office, as the securest prop to the tottering reputation of the existing government. It was also known, that in this negociation, he had totally failed. The origin, the progress, and the termination of this important affair, involving circumstances both of present and future interest, of too momentous a nature, not to afford matter of separate consideration, we shall hereafter fully develop; suffice it at present to state, that from the period of this transaction, the support of Mr. Pitt, feverish as it had of late been, was no longer looked to as the shield and safeguard of the present administration; and that even decided opposition, on the part of that gentleman and his adherents towards it, might be fully expected.

In these opinions were the public fully confirmed, when the acceptance, by Mr. Tierney, of the high and lucrative office of treasurer of the navy, with the rank of privy counsellor, was announced in the Gazette, within the short space of two months, from the period of that abortive attempt to strengthen the hands of government,

to which we have already alluded. Conscious of the reception overtures from him, to detach any of the members of the "new opposition" from those principles which had led them so repeatedly to express their decided contempt for the character and conduct of administration, would meet; and alarmed at the prospect of supporting, by numbers alone, those unpalatable, though perhaps necessary measures, inevitable hostilities had rendered necessary; in an evil hour, for the reputation of his public and private character, he turned towards the "old opposition," as the only quarter whence he could derive that assistance, his irresolution and feebleness in the conduct of public affairs, had rendered indispensable: to the astonishment of all, and grief of those few who still continued to think highly of Mr. Addington's administration, he chose from its ranks that person as his colleague, with whom, from every motive that might be supposed to operate on his mind or feelings, a connexion was utterly impracticable, if not impossible.

Of all those individuals, who, during the long period of Mr. Pitt's ardent struggle to preserve the British government and constitution free and unpolluted from the contamination of French principles, opposed, with scarcely an exception, the whole of those salutary measures, to which we, at this moment owe our name and existence as a free people; the most zealous, active, and pertinacious, was the gentleman now advanced by the minister to high rank in office, and a place in the councils of

his sovereign. During the period of the government of his predecessor, in which Mr. Addington was distinguished, not only by dignity of situation, but by the personal and unlimited confidence of Mr. Pitt, it was the object of its adherents, with what justice it does not now become us to investigate, to hold up to public notice and animadversion, the character and conduct of this active partizan of opposition, as dangerous in the extreme; as the decided foe to the principles on which monarchy and the British constitution were founded, and as the champion and bulwark of English republicanism.

It is not to be questioned, but that, under all the advantages which Mr. Pitt's administration possessed; the popularity of the cause it upheld, and its long continuance; impressions should have been made much to the prejudice of any individual, against whom its unceasing efforts had been urged, to produce such effect. The surprize, therefore, of those who knew that the present chancellor of the exchequer must have been a party, doubtless a conscientious one, to this species of proscription, and who, however slightly they might appreciate his abilities, thought highly of the purity and goodness of his intentions, exceeded all bounds, at finding him the instrument of advancing this very individual, to one of the most lucrative and honourable situations in the patronage of the crown!

But however strongly this dereliction of public principle might operate to the prejudice of the minister, some considerations of a more



more private nature, mixed themselves with the general reflections on his conduct, in this instance, which, in their effect on the feelings of Englishmen, tended still more to its depreciation. If it were matter of universal notoriety, that to the hereditary friendship of Mr. Pitt, to his powerful protection, and unwearied solicitude for his interest, that the present minister owed his existence as a statesman, and even his present elevation; it was equally so, that in the course of that opposition, we have already described, the personal rancour of Mr. Tierney to the late minister, was, on all occasions, perceptible, and a species of opposition to the man was as apparent as that to his measures, which on one occasion (now recalled most forcibly to recollection) had proceeded to such lengths, as to induce Mr. Pitt to lose the consideration of his great responsibility to his country, and the dignity of his situation, in his personal feelings; and reduced him to the necessity of challenging the aggressor to the field. (The friend, whom he chose on that occasion, as him most worthy to be the guardian of his life and honor, was Mr. Ryder.) \* Whether this appointment therefore was considered as galling and repugnant to Mr. Pitt, or as the gage of contempt and defiance, thrown down by Mr. Addington, it was equally considered by the world, as conduct at once ungrateful and unwise, and became the theme of universal reprobation. In all events unwise, for supposing, for a moment, that the minister had not been swayed by any other

motives than the necessity of the case, it was such an admission of the great weakness and disparity of talent in the existing administration, as must have been the most convincing mode, by which its real character could be impressed upon the mind of the public.

Such was the situation of party, when the discussions, on earl Fitzwilliam's motion, in the house of lords, and that of colonel Patten, in the commons, gave a decided tone to the hitherto unsettled and wavering politics, of the late minister and his friends. It is true, that on both occasions, Mr. Pitt, and the majority of his adherents, chose a middle course, and refused to join in the censure, loudly and loftily demanded by the new opposition, on the conduct of ministers; but it was evident, that it was not from motives of personal consideration for Mr. Addington, that the late minister thought proper to adopt this line of conduct; in fact, his moving the previous question, was in him, equivalent to the severest expression of disapprobation (and as such it was considered by the minister), but arose from anxiety to preserve that consistency, which he would otherwise have forfeited, had he voted for resolutions, which in strong and unqualified terms, discredited the treaty of Amiens, a measure which had heretofore met with his strenuous support. In both houses this species of half-measure, placed him in, for the first time of his life, a mortifying minority. Still, however, his conduct tended to discredit Mr.

\* Now Lord Harrowby.

Addington's administration with those who only valued it in proportion, as they considered it possessing his countenance, as it clearly evinced incipient, if not confirmed hostility; while the masterly display of eloquence, on the part of those who attacked, contrasted with the feeble defence made by ministers, clearly proved the latter depended less on argument than on numbers, and awakened the country to a sense of the dangers to which it was exposed, by having the perilous condition of warfare entrusted to the hands of those, who had found, even in this short interval of peace, too frequent opportunities to expose their incapacity.

As specimens of the mode of argument made use of on those important debates, we have selected and given, at more than our usual length, the masterly speech of earl Temple, and those of Mr. Pitt and lord Hawkesbury, as indicative of the expression of the feelings of the different interests, and the parts which each took upon the subject; and it is but justice to say, that the manly and spirited manner in which the latter rejected the species of compromise, recommended by Mr. Pitt, heretofore his great friend and patron; and his calling on the senate for either direct acquittal or condemnation, gained, as it deserved, considerable respect and applause. The friends of Mr. Fox, in both houses, declined giving any opinion, or dividing on this occasion, with the exception of the person, we have already mentioned, now a minister; and of Mr. Hobhouse, heretofore held up, as equally obnoxious but with infinitely inferior abilities to that gentleman,

and who from speaking, as well as voting with administration in this hour of trial, was supposed to be, as indeed it afterwards appeared, a convert, upon the same principles, and by proportionate means, to the antigallican opinions and measures of Mr. Addington.

Yet, although the old opposition stood aloof, in the present instance, from the new, as the latter had from co-operation with the former, on the motions severally made, by lord King and Mr. Fox, in their respective houses, tending to the disapprobation of the conduct of ministers, (the fate of which we have already seen) there was a similarity of feeling, a spontaneous concurrence of sentiment, which approximated towards a perfect coincidence of public conduct. Mr. Pitt, and his friends, had also taken their ground, if not in declared hostility, at least in the most threatening position. Here then were three parties, confessedly including a vast proportion of the property, the abilities, and the patriotism of the nation, who required but one common principle of action, and a mutual understanding to bear down every thing which could oppose them, and establish such a government as the most enlightened statesman and sanguine politician could hardly, in any contingency, dare to have hoped for, or even imagine.

What was here wanting, proved the safety of administration. In this disunion, Mr. Addington triumphed. And though, as we have already stated, the credit of his administration, and its future existence, were points on which the minds

minds of all, both within and without the walls of parliament, were very generally decided; yet the actual period of its termination, was completely suspended, and he proceeded, in confidence and security, to provide for the exi-

gencies of the war, on systems of defence and finance, sufficiently novel, at least, to cause the strongest difference of opinion in, and a very unusual protraction of, the session of parliament.



## CHAP. XIV.

*Secretary at War brings forward the Army Estimates for the year.—Debate.—Opinions of Mr. Windham—Pitt—Addington.—Budget brought forward by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.—New Taxes,—Objections by Lord Folkestone.—King's message, announcing the commencement of hostilities against the Batavian republic.—Another on the augmentation of the Means of Defence of the Country.—Thanks voted for both.—Army of Reserve Act, brought into the House of Lords, by Lord Hobart.—Speeches of the Duke of Clarence—Earl of Caernarvon—Suffolk—Maira—Lord Mulgrave—Grenville.—Address of Thanks voted unanimously. The same Measure moved in the Commons, by the Secretary at War.—Debate.—Mr. Windham—Chancellor of the Exchequer.—Address carried.—Clergy Bill read a second time in the Lords.—Army of Reserve Bill read a second time in the Commons.—Debate.—Mr. Calcraft—Sheridan—Elliot—Yorke—Pitt—Windham—Addington.—Bill re-committed.—Debate.—Colonel Crawford—Mr. M'Naughton—Windham—Chancellor of the Exchequer—Mr. Johnston—Hutchinson—Archdall—Lord de Blaquiere.—Bill finally passes the Commons, and after a debate, the Lords.—Remarks.*

ON the 6th day of June, in the house of commons, the secretary at war (Mr. Yorke) brought forward some of the estimates of the army for the year; and stated, that but a small augmentation was intended to be made in the regular force.

Mr. Windham disapproved of an idea, which had been held out, of augmenting the army by men raised for rank; he also dwelt with considerable force, on the advantages of employing regular troops in preference to militia: he thought as the French employed regular troops alone, we must employ an army composed of the same materials; it must be "diamond cut diamond."

While the militia system was kept up in its present extent, the regular army could not be kept up; as it was not to be expected men would enlist for life at a small bounty, when they could get a greater one for enlisting for a short term of years: if a stronger force was required for the defence of the country, he should prefer something like an arming *en masse*, to the militia, because that would less interfere with the regular army.—He also disapproved still more of the militia force, as being merely defensive, and not at all disposeable for offensive measures against the enemy.

Mr. Pitt seemed to consider the number of militia to bear too great a pro-

a proportion to the whole of our force. A war that should be completely defensive, would, in his opinion, be both dishonorable and ruinous. He wished to establish it as a principle, that "whatever is necessary for the defence or the honour of the country, either in men or money, must be obtained."

The chancellor of the exchequer, agreed in this sentiment, and said, that a considerable defensive force was at present necessary, on account of the extensive preparations of the enemy: the time might come when circumstances would point out the necessity of giving the war a more offensive character, and in such a case, he had no doubt, but the population and spirit of the country would furnish the means of supporting it with honor. For the present, he thought it best to direct the attention of the country, principally to the means of defence against the vast preparations of the enemy; for this purpose, he relied, not only on the militia, but on the yeomanry and volunteers also, as a subsidiary force, in aid of the regular army.

The resolutions were then agreed to.

On the 13th of June, the chancellor of the exchequer brought forward the budget: he considered it unnecessary to make many preliminary observations, as the house had already pledged itself to support his majesty in the present war. There were certain war-taxes, which he should propose, that would expire six months after the definitive treaty. He proposed to raise by an increase on the customs, duties on sugar, exports, cotton, and tonnage, above two millions annu-

ally, and by new duties on the excise of tea, wine, spirits, and malt, he calculated on six millions more. He then presented a plan of a tax upon property and income; the nett produce of which he estimated at 4,700,000*l.* making in the whole twelve millions, seven hundred thousand pounds annually for war taxes, to expire six months after a peace. Congratulating the country on the terms of the loan, and the steady operation of the sinking fund, he declared the intention of government to carry on the present war with considerable exertions; but with all possible economy.—He concluded, by expressing his hope, that the exertions of the present war, would secure the complete salvation of this country.

When the report was brought up the next day, lord Folkestone took the opportunity of objecting, not to the taxes themselves, but to the proposed application of them, which, to him, appeared to be for carrying on merely a defensive war.

Nothing farther occurred in either house worthy our notice, until the 17th, when a message from his majesty was brought up by lord Hawkesbury, to the house, informing them of his majesty having earnestly wished, to respect the neutrality of the Batavian republic; but that he felt himself compelled by the conduct of France (who refused to acknowledge its neutrality) to order letters of marque and reprisal to issue against that power and its subjects.

On the 18th, the chancellor of the exchequer, communicated a message from his majesty, acquainting the commons, that for the defence and security of the country,

against the avowed designs of the enemy, his majesty conceived it necessary, that a large additional force should be forthwith raised and assembled. Addresses of thanks were voted to his majesty for both these messages.

On the 20th, lord Hobart, in the house of lords, stated the outline of the plan, which ministers had conceived necessary for increasing the military defence of the country; which was by raising 40,000 men for England, and 10,000 for Ireland, to be officered from the half-pay list, and from the fencible officers, and which was to serve as an army of reserve, to assist the regulars and militia. The men were to be raised by ballot.

The duke of Clarence could not approve of the outline which had been so sketched out; he warmly approved of the militia system, but wished that any new force to be raised, should be not merely for defensive operations, but general service: he expressed the fullest confidence in the resources of the country, being sufficient to repel invasion. After making these observations, he concluded by supporting the address.

The earl of Caernarvon, coincided with his royal highness, that it would be extreme folly to make a war, which we ourselves had rushed into, a mere defensive war. He condemned the system of ballot, as being, in his opinion, more a species of tax for raising money, than a measure for raising men; and the money levied under it, was raised in a manner more oppressive and objectionable than any other tax, and by no means comparable to the system of rais-

ing men by bounty. Having dwelt at considerable length upon this topic, his lordship concluded by declaring, that he saw more danger to the country from the hands in which its government was placed, than from the malice and rancour of its avowed enemies.

The earl of Suffolk recommended, as the wisest measure for the military defence of the country, a central army of reserve, under one of our best generals, which should be at all times ready to proceed rapidly to whatever district should be attacked.

The earl of Moira declared, that in the defence of the country he should draw his sword with equal pleasure, as a private yeoman, as if he had been honored with the command of an army. He did not wish to oppose any plan that ministers might think necessary for the defence of the country, on the contrary, he thought no time should be lost for discussing and adopting measures for increasing the military force of the country. He must, however, agree with the noble lords, who had already spoken, in recommending offensive rather than defensive war. He lamented much the present state of Europe, when the nations who were formerly friendly and disposed to an alliance with us, were now crushed by the power of France, and compelled to become our enemies. A mere defensive war, he must repeat, was absolute defeat and ruin, and the greatest bungler that ever handled a foil would certainly, at some time or another hit the best swordsman who should stand entirely on the defensive. His Lordship then in a strain of most animated and impressive



impressive eloquence, called upon the spirit of the British nation to rise, superior to the dangers which await it; and concluded, by cordially supporting the address.

Lord Mulgrave complimented, in the highest terms, the patriotic, the manly, the soldier-like speech of the noble earl. He appeared to think the plan proposed by ministers, likely to be efficacious, and expressed the highest confidence in the strength and resources of the country.

Lord Grenville declared, that it was not his intention to give any opposition to the plan proposed, being fully convinced that some plan was absolutely necessary. He was astonished, however, that ministers had not sooner thought of some such expedient. The enemy had taken an advantage of our remissness; and had already, by the conquest of Hanover, struck a blow, which this country must feel most severely. Ministers ought to have foreseen that blow, and guarded against it. He was of opinion, that a mere defensive war, hardly deserved either the name of defence, or of war; but was as dangerous and degrading a condition, as any country could be placed in. As to the odium of recommending compulsory measures, should they be necessary, that was an odium which he was content and proud to share.

After some observations from other noble lords, the address was voted unanimously.

On the 20th of June, in the house of commons,

The secretary at war, presented the plan of government, for raising an additional force, both for the

defence of the country and for offensive operations. Our preparations, he said, must not only be referred to the strength and resources, possessed by the enemy for our annoyance; but to the singular character of that man, who wields, despotically, the immense power of France. The implacable animosity of the first consul to this country, had been so clearly evinced, and his threats of sacrificing fleet after fleet, and army after army, to accomplish the ruin of this country, were so recent, that it was undoubtedly necessary for us to make preparations suitable to the power and the malignity of our enemy. The force that government proposed to raise as an army of reserve, was 50,000 men, 34,000 of which were for England, 10,000 for Ireland, and 6000 for Scotland. Those men, though raised by ballot, as were the militia, would differ from them in this: that their services were, during the war, to extend to Great Britain, Ireland, and the islands in the channel. They would have another advantage of the militia, in being commanded by officers of experience from the line, from the half-pay list, and those who had already served, either in the East Indies, or as fencible officers. After stating that the ballot was to fall on those men between eighteen and forty-five, he proposed his first resolution, which was, that an army of reserve of 50,000 men, should be forthwith raised.

Mr. Windham, opposed the measure, as tending, in his opinion, to cut up by the roots the present system of recruiting for the regular army. He then expressed his disapprobation  
of

of the militia, and of every system which went to shut up, merely for self-defence, the greatest part of our force, and to let Europe know that we were not able to detach any succour to its relief. He then expatiated, with great ability, on the decided advantage of regular troops, for attacking an enemy, and on the necessity of our becoming an armed nation for our own defence.

The chancellor of the exchequer, defended the plan proposed, and said, that until we convinced the enemy that we were impregnable at home, no peace was to be expected.

The report was then brought up, and the address agreed to, without opposition.

On the 22d, the report of the clergy bill having been brought up, in the house of lords,

Lord Grenville, opposed the principle of the bill, as being deficient in one of the most important points, viz. by not making such a provision for the poorer clergy, as would enable them to reside on their livings. He considered this, as by far the most important point that could be established for the inferior clergy; and disapproved of the exemptions, the discretionary power vested in bishops, and, in short, of almost all the clauses of the bill.

After a few observations however, from the lord chantellor, in reply, the report was received.

The next day there was a debate in the house of commons, upon the second reading of the army of reserve bill.

Mr. Calcraft objected to the plan, and thought Government would do better, were they to complete the regular regiments, by ballot. How-

ever highly he respected the superiority of the regular troops, he could by no means think so lightly of the militia, as Mr. Windham did, as he recollected their gallant achievements in Egypt and Holland. He also bore ample testimony to the good discipline of the British army in general.

Mr. Sheridan declared, that the idea thrown out by the last speaker, of a compulsory levy of men for the regular regiments, was altogether unconstitutional; but to repel invasion, the constitution required every man to come forward, in the defence of his country.

Mr. Elliot objected, both to the composition of the force proposed, and to those who were to have the direction of it. As to the first point, he thought regular troops decidedly more advantageous than those who were levied, merely for defensive operations. He considered, that the system of recruiting the regular army by bounties, had never been fairly tried in this country; as it had always been counteracted, by bounties given to persons recruiting for a more limited service. He recommended an augmentation of the bounty-money, as he thought it the most desirable thing to augment, as speedily as possible, that force, which was not only the best fitted for encountering the enemy at their landing, but for offensive operations. After pressing strongly the superior advantages to be derived from regular troops, he concluded, by expressing his disapprobation at the slowness with which ministers brought forward their measures, at the present critical period.

The secretary at war, in reply  
to

the last speaker, observed, that there were many reasons evidently flowing from our insular situation, our commercial prosperity, and our great naval force, which prevented this country from having as large a regular establishment as many others. He agreed with Mr. Sheridan, that it would be unconstitutional to raise men by ballot for the regular army, it was therefore impossible, by bounties, to raise, in a short time, as great a number of troops of that description, as the exigency of the times might require.

Mr. Pitt, in a very long and able speech, defended the principle of the bill, which he considered the most proper expedient, to obtain the purposes intended by it. He did not consider this as merely a defensive measure, but that by enabling us to spare a greater number of our regulars, it would forward the ultimate objects of the war, by increasing our disposeable force. He declared, however, that, at the present moment, the defence of the country appeared the first and most important operation; when that should be accomplished, then it must be considered how we should best direct the spirit of the country against its implacable enemy. He yet would not say, that a mere defensive war was to be altogether despised; it was something to be safe from a power, which had conquered most of the powers of the continent; and there was no reason to fear, but that a considerable reinforcement might be obtained for the regular army, by means of the force now to be raised. It appeared to him to be essentially necessary, that a large force should be

raised, as speedily as possible; and he did not know any other measure, that would be likely to be more effectual for this purpose.

Mr. Windham said, that notwithstanding the clear statement of his friend (Mr. Pitt), he was still unconvinced of the propriety of the measure. He did not deny, that the present measure would procure a greater number of men, in a shorter period than perhaps any other; but he would by no means allow, that the value of the men so raised, would be in proportion to their number. He neither thought the men would be equal to soldiers raised in the common way, nor would they be as well officered. If the invasion was to take place at all, it would probably take place before this force was half-raised, or in any degree efficient. He thought the name of "Army of Reserve," was ill applied to such a force as this, and recommended a Vendean rising *en masse*, as a better mode of repelling invasion, than the means which the present bill held forth.

Mr. Pitt, in explanation, said, he considered the present plan, merely as a foundation for recruiting; and a part of a general system from which the most important results might hereafter flow.

Lord Castlereagh, replied to Mr. Windham, and defended both the militia system, and the measure now proposed. He thought it strange, that that right hon. gentleman, who generally preferred regular troops, so decidedly to any others, should now recommend a peasantry, armed and disciplined, like those in La Vendee.

The chancellor of the exchequer also, defended the measure. He said



said it was from a similar one, the calling out the supplementary militia, that the country was able to make those exertions last war, which decided the campaign in Egypt. He condemned the idea which had been thrown out, of fitting up our regular regiments, by a sort of conscription, which would be entirely contrary to the liberty of the subject, and the feelings of the nation:

The 27th, the secretary at war, moved the recommitment of the bill, for the purpose of introducing some amendments. He wished to have a separate bill for Scotland. The appointment of the men to be raised, would be about 84, out of every 10,000. He wished that the age, liable to the ballot, should be from 16 to 45. He then detailed the variety of circumstances, under which exemptions ought to be given from service, particularly to the volunteers, who should have entered before the 22d of June, and those who, in the large towns, were ready to do garrison duty. He concluded, by entering most minutely into the details of the plan to be brought forward.

Mr. Sheridan, wished the ballot should extend to 50 years of age, instead of 45. He thought, indeed, it would be no hardship to a man of 70 years old, if drawn; to put his hand in his pocket, like younger men, and draw out the price of a substitute. He examined, with that humour, peculiar to himself, the foundation of the different causes of exemption, which he wished rather to be narrowed than increased.

Colonel Crawford, made many observations, on the menacing force

of the enemy, whose object undoubtedly was to push up to London, and subdue the empire in its metropolis.

Mr. Macnaghten, with considerable warmth, replied, that he could never endure to hear it said, that the conquest of London was the conquest of the empire. He would have both the hon. gentleman and Bonaparte know, that the people of Great Britain, and the people of Ireland; would contest every inch of ground with an invader; and would be driven into the sea; before they would yield to the proudest armies of France. He was convinced, that an invasion of this country; would give the enemy a lesson, which would settle that speculation for ever.

[This speech was received with the most enthusiastic applause.]

Mr. Windham, expressed surprise, that, from Colonel Crawford, the suggestion of the possibility of the French getting up to London, was heard with patience, and that the argument of the last speaker, had been received with such uncommon approbation, when a similar hint from him was heard the other day, with the most marked dissatisfaction.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, the last speaker flattered himself too much, if he supposed there was any similarity between the desponding language he had held, and the animating speech of the hon. gentleman, which had excited so powerfully, the feelings and approbation of the house.

The further consideration of the report was then postponed, till Wednesday the 30th of June, when, on the motion for the third reading of

of the army of reserve bill, being put, in the commons,

Mr. Johnstone rose, and took a general review of the conduct of ministers, in beginning the present war with France. He considered the cause of the war, which, by their own allowance, was only for the possession of Malta, for ten years, as one altogether inadequate to so serious an evil. France had even offered to allow Malta to be added to Russia, which was, in his opinion, the best thing that could be done with it? as it would connect Russia more with the interests of the southern nations of Europe. France had also offered to evacuate Holland, and yet, we rejected those proposals; notwithstanding all that some gentlemen had said against wars merely defensive, yet no body had pointed out any means by which our power could be directed to the annoyance of France. He then, in a very long speech, endeavoured to prove, that we had no chance of co-operation, from the continental nations; that the resources of France were not likely to be much affected by the war; while we had no other means to support it, but by constantly raising fresh loans.

Mr. Hutchinson, bore testimony to the good disposition of the people of Ireland, for resisting the common enemy. The only contest that could arise between the two countries, was, which would stand most forward in the day of battle.

Mr. Archdale, thought that Mr. Johnstone had wandered far from the question before the house, when he discussed, at such length, the conduct of ministers, respecting Malta; a point that had been pre-

viously disposed of by the house. The mode proposed for raising the additional force, which was wanted, appeared to him to be the best for the attainment of the object.

Lord de Blaquiere thought it impossible, that France could make any serious impression on this country; on the contrary, he thought, that the state of affairs on the continent, where so many nations bore reluctantly the French yoke, was favourable to any attack which should be made by this country against France.

Colonel Crawford rose, but proceeding on a very detailed statement of the military force and situation of the country,

The secretary at war, considering that such discussions should not be public, moved that the gallery should be cleared.

This motion was, of course, agreed to, and for the rest of the debate, strangers were excluded.

The bill was, at length, passed, without farther opposition.

On being brought into the house of lords, on the 4th of July,

The duke of Cumberland, approved highly of the principle of the bill, and thought, that if ministers had judged it expedient to propose 100,000 men, instead of 50,000, it would have equally been assented to. He concluded, by proposing, as an amendment, "that every substitute, enrolled by virtue of this act, should be liable to be called upon for general service."

Lord Hobart, opposed the amendment; which, he thought, would impose a great burden and hardship indeed upon the substitutes, and entirely destroy the

good

good effects to be expected from the bill.

Lord Moira, regretted that the description of men to be raised under this system, would be much inferior to that of the regulars. He considered this as a mere contingent force, inadequate to answer the purposes or the expectations of the country, at the present crisis. A large disposable force was the only one which would enable us to contend manfully with the enemy. He seemed to prefer the regular force so decidedly to all others, as to agree in the amendment, proposed by his royal highness. His lordship concluded, by a very animated appeal to the spirit of the British nation, to come forward and make such exertions for the public defence, as would preserve this country from ages of slavery.

After a long and desultory conversation, the report was received, and the bill ordered to be read a third time the next day, the 5th of July, when, upon the question being put for the third reading,

Lord Suffolk, expressed an apprehension, that the present bill did not go far enough for the object for which it was intended. He complained of our best officers being unemployed. He paid the highest compliments to earl Moira's character, both private, political, and military; and regretted his being without situation. He also regretted that the hero of Egypt (lord Hutchinson), should have only a subordinate post assigned to him. He thought the system of granting commissions, entirely according to *routine*, was, in fact, risking the safety of the country, for the sake of forms. His lordship

expressed a strong partiality for the marines, and considered this country as not favorable to the operations of cavalry; and added, that our troops should be more practised to firing with ball; that we should set less value on German tactics, which brought such losses on Austria; and concluded by recommending a military council; a measure, to which, more than to any other cause, he attributed the successes of France.

Lord Darnley, in delivering a speech full of confidence in the strength of the country, and the spirit of the nation, reprobated severely some speeches of a contrary tendency, which had been made both in that house, and in another place.

The bill was then read a third time, and passed.

Thus, without a division in either house of parliament, was carried the first measure of government, which seemed in the slightest degree calculated to retrieve the errors, into which it had fallen. Whether its effects were commensurate to the necessity which was now allowed on all hands to exist; or whether it were not an ill-judged and inadequate mode of replacing the country on that footing, which the hour of approaching peril, rendered indispensable; it shall be our task hereafter, in the detail of the progress of the war, during the period which our annual limits embrace, to investigate. Certain it is, that its enactment fully established to the conviction even of the most prejudiced and partial admirers of the peace of Amiens, that the fabric of that gallant and triumphant army, whose prowess and march of victory

had,



had, during the late contest with France, swelled the note of British glory, to the highest pitch; and which had resounded from the capital of the Mysore to the western limits of Europe, was completely dismantled; and of whose wreck it seemed hopeless even to attempt the reparation. As however the exigency of some mode of national defence, was not disputed by any, neither was there any decided opposition to the present measure,

As the live hedge, which had inclosed in verdure, strength, and beauty, the public domain, had been plucked up improvidently, by the unskillful hands, in whose guardianship it had been placed; so, when the spoiler threatened to break in, and ravage its fertile plains, brushwood and faggots were despairingly resorted to, as the only, though confessedly inadequate, substitution.

## CHAP. XV.

*Proceedings of Parliament on the Property Tax Bill.*—Chancellor of the Exchequer moves for a Committee thereon.—Debate.—Opposed by Alderman Combe—Mr. W. Smith.—Supported by Mr. Addington—Lord Hawkesbury—Mr. Erskine.—Re-committed.—Debate on the Irish Army of Reserve Bill.—Speeches of General Gascoigne—Loftus.—House cleared.—Renewal of Debates on the Property Tax Bill—Mr. W. Smith.—Addington.—Unexpected Motion of Mr. Pitt.—Division.—Debate resumed next day.—Desultory Conversation.—Bill passed.—Additional Proceedings on the Defence of the Country.—Secretary at War proposes a Levy en Masse.—Speech.—Debate.—Mr. Windham—Lord Hawkesbury—Sir Francis Burdett—Mr. Pitt—Lord Castlereagh—Mr. Fox—Addington.—Bill read a first and second time.—Debate resumed.—Mr. Sheridan—Kinnaird.—Last Debate thereon.—Colonel Crawford—Mr. Pitt—General Tarleton.—Bill passes the Commons.—Debates thereon in the Lords.—Passes with little opposition.—Remarks.—Proceedings on the Affairs of the Prince of Orange.—Observations.

HAVING thus proceeded one step in the preparation for the defence of the country, by a species of armament, for which, by some fatality, as if foreign from the feelings and inclinations of Britons, the founders had been obliged to seek from the continent a name; the next measure to which ministers naturally had recourse to, was that pecuniary aid from the country, which a war establishment imperiously demanded. Accordingly on the 5th day of July, in the house of commons,

The chancellor of the exchequer moved that the house should go into a committee on the property tax bill.

Mr. alderman Combe said, he conceived himself bound to oppose this bill by the instructions he had

received from his constituents; who considered it a measure so unjust in its principle, and partial in its operation, that no modification of it could remove their objections. He considered this tax as merely an income tax, which he had always opposed, because it raised an equal sum upon incomes of unequal duration; upon the precarious produce of industry; and upon permanent income.

The lord mayor and sir John Anderson had also been instructed to oppose it, but considered themselves at liberty to act according to the dictates of their own conscience. They should however, watch the progress of the bill with great attention.

The chancellor of the exchequer said,

said, that he never considered the old income tax as any thing but a war tax: there was this difference, however, between that tax and the present, namely, that the proportion now demanded was not so large, and that in incomes from land or interest of money, no particular disclosure was required. As there had been already such considerable sums raised upon consumption, it was but fair that property itself should be taxed, or otherwise it would be impossible to carry into execution the resolution of the house, for raising within the year, a considerable part of the expences of the year: he wished at present to have the bill re-printed, and re-committed for future consideration.

Mr. W. Smith objected to the tax, principally on the ground, that it was in reality an income tax, and not a tax upon property; considering it in that light, he thought it unjust, that a precarious income, derived from great mental or bodily labour, should pay an equal tax with an income which was permanent, and obtained without exertion.

Lord Hawksbury replied to Mr. Smith, by stating, that the income tax was not more unequal than every other species of tax. As to the principle that had been suggested, of making a distinction between incomes of a precarious and of more permanent nature; this was a distinction which the legislature had never recognized in any case. The land tax, poors rates, &c, had been always raised from the produce of the land, without considering the tenure.

Mr. Erskine, was ready to support the present tax, not that he

approved of it in principle; but because he was convinced of the necessity of making great exertions, at so perilous a moment as the present. He felt it necessary, that great sacrifices should be made, and although he felt that his own professional income was not worth above two years purchase, he would gladly give up any part of it that could be asked, for the general service of the country.

After some farther conversation, the bill was ordered to be re-committed.

On the next day, the secretary at war (Mr. Yorke) having moved that the house of commons should go into a committee, on the Irish army of reserve act,

General Gascoyne, though he approved of the measure, depreciated a system of operations, purely defensive. He thought that an offensive war should be carried on upon a grand scale. Our garrisons at Malta and Gibraltar were, in his opinion, much stronger than was necessary for mere defence. He ridiculed the idea of invading this country in open boats, while our fleets had the command of the sea, and our shores were in a strong position of defence. He thought such an attempt so improbable, that we would be justified in turning the principal part of our attention to foreign objects. He then replied to some arguments which had been advanced by Colonel Crawford, on a former night, and which supposed a possibility of the enemy succeeding.

General Loftus, defended the conduct of ministers, in having taken all necessary precautions for the defence of the country. He

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then



then was beginning to enter into a detailed military view of the means of repelling the enemy; when

Sir Robert Buxton moved, that the gallery should be cleared, and strangers were accordingly excluded for the remainder of the debate.

There was no other discussion of much consequence, in either house, from that day to the 13th, when, on the question for the further consideration of the property tax bill,

Mr. W. Smith, objected much to the inquisitorial means, made use of to come at the amount of the incomes of tradesmen.

Mr. Pitt, defended the old income tax, during the continuance of which, the credit of the country had increased in an unexampled manner. He objected however to several of the details of the bill. The tax upon funded property, appeared to him altogether a breach of public faith, and he considered that the bill, in other instances, favoured capital, and oppressed poverty.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that however hard it might appear, that this tax should bear unequally in its operation; it would be still harder to make any tax perfectly equal. He defended the justice of taxing incomes from funded property, and again said, that equality of taxation was a thing not to be brought about by human wisdom.

Mr. Elliston censured Mr. Pitt, for attacking ministers.

Mr. Pitt, on the other hand, expressed astonishment at the accusation, as ministers had been in possession of his sentiments for three weeks. He concluded,

by moving an instruction to the committee, that "the like exemptions and abatements be extended to those who have income arising from money in the funds, or land, or money at interest, as are or may be allowed to other persons."

A long conversation ensued, in which Ministers did not conceal their surprize at Mr. Pitt's unexpected motion.

The house divided, and the numbers on the division were 50, for Mr. Pitt's motion, 150 against it!

The next day however, the house having proceeded in the further consideration of the bill,

The chancellor of the exchequer rose, and although he declared that he viewed with awe, the deficiency which the adoption of Mr. Pitt's motion of yesterday would cause in the produce of the tax, yet, as he thought the exemption demanded, was expected, by a great number of people, and as he was convinced of the necessity of reconciling even the most necessary measures, to the feelings of the public, he should, to avoid differences of opinion, when unanimity was wanting, give up that point. He was glad, however, that the description of persons, who were to be benefited by this concession, then possessing small incomes from land, had already deserved much of their country; and that this exemption would extend to the greater part of the constitutional yeomanry of the kingdom.

Mr. Pitt heard, with great satisfaction, what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman. Although their arguments were on grounds totally different, he was perfectly satisfied

satisfied at his conclusion being adopted.

Mr. Rose, then suggested a deduction for allowances to curates, but

Lord Hawksbury said, the house would not be paid for the trouble of passing the bill, if it was to be frittered away in such a manner, by numerous exemptions; some inequalities and hardships must result from this, as well as from every measure of a general nature.

After Mr. Addington had conceded, in this manner to the suggestion of Mr. Pitt, the latter gentleman made no farther serious opposition to the remaining parts of the bill, which, although they occupied a great deal of time, produced no important debate.

The rest of the session was principally taken up with considering the state of the country as to its defence.

On the 18th of July, the secretary at war, moved for leave to bring in a bill, for amending the defence bill, and for enabling his majesty to raise a levy *en masse*, in case of invasion. This, he contended, was an ancient and indispensable prerogative of the crown, and the object of the present bill, was only to facilitate the exercise of it, in case of need. By the laws of the Anglo-Saxons, this prerogative was claimed; by the assize of Henry II, and statute of Henry the III; it was legally recognized, and there could not be a doubt, but that every liege subject was bound, at the call of his sovereign, to take up arms, in case of an invasion of the realm. The most insolent of all enemies, who had now subdued the greater part of the

continent, threatened us with invasion and slavery. There never was a time, therefore, that it became more necessary to assert this ancient and undoubted prerogative of the crown. After detailing the different classes, under which the population of the country should be enrolled, for the purposes of the bill; he stated, that so late as in the reign of Henry the VIIIth, all persons, under the age of 60 years, were required to exercise themselves at shooting with the bow. The same principle required, that the Englishmen of the present day, should exercise themselves at those arms which are now in use. In case of invasion, every man should be bound to march; but the volunteers would not be required to march, except in their own corps. After mentioning the conduct of the English at Toulon, Acre, Lincelles, and Egypt, he said there was no reason to suppose the Englishmen, of the present day, unequal to those of Cressy and Agincourt. After many other observations of a similar nature, he concluded, by moving for leave to bring in that bill, generally called, the levy *en masse* bill.

Mr. Windham observed, that till very lately, ministers considered it the language of despondency, to speak of the possibility of an invasion. They were however, pleased, at present, to admit that possibility, and to take measures to repel it. He must, however, compare what was called despondency, on the part of himself and his friends, with what was called magnanimity, on the part of ministers. The magnanimity of ministers, consisted merely in telling the people, that there was no

danger, and therefore, that they must not be alarmed. The despondency of his friends, consisted in pointing out the danger, and endeavouring to rouse all the energies of the nation, to meet it. The principal fault he found with ministers was, not for bringing forward those measures now, but for not having brought them forward some months ago; he therefore considered them highly blameable, for having brought the country into danger, by their negligence and supineness. Government were also blameable, in not having given the country sufficient information of its danger; but came forward at once, with compulsory measures, before it had made a trial of the voluntary exertion of the country. After discussing these topics, in the ablest manner, and indulging pretty freely his brilliant imagination, and peculiar strain of wit; he said, he should not oppose this, or any other measure, for the defence of the country.

Lord Hawksbury said, the present bill, united as much as possible, the encouragement due to the volunteer system, with those strong measures of compulsion, which the hon. gentleman was an advocate for. As long as a sufficient number of volunteers could be found in any district, the bill ceased to operate. He concluded, by warmly defending the conduct of ministers, from the charges brought against them, and declared their fixed determination to defend, to the last extremity, every acre of British soil.

Sir Francis Burdett recommended, as the best measure of defence, to repeal all the oppressive and unconstitutional acts of parliament,

and conciliate the affections of the people!

Mr. Pitt, approved of the principal of the measure proposed, and thought that something similar was necessary, to place the country on a footing of perfect security. He considered it as adequate to any danger which might threaten us, as strictly constitutional, and agreeable to the ancient prerogative of the crown, and therefore it was necessary that the country should know its danger. He was convinced his hon. friend (Mr. Windham), had no other view, than to shew it its real situation, in using that language, which many considered as despondent. If the British nation was once completely roused, any force that the enemy could send, would operate only as a detachment acting against a nation in arms. He expressed, however, surprise and concern, that this measure was not sooner brought forward; he now wished that no time should be lost in the putting it into execution, but, at the same time, he wished to try how far the voluntary exertions of the people would go, before compulsory measures were resorted to. He concluded, by declaring his full confidence, that the people of this empire united for common defence, must be invincible, and by giving his cordial support to the bill.

Lord Castlereagh said, it was difficult for ministers to answer the charges of every individual member; but, as to the present measure, he must state, that it was impossible that it could have been brought forward with propriety, until the other measures, the calling out of the supplementary militia, and the army



of reserve, had been organized and in forwardness. These measures could only follow each other in succession. Government, in the mean time had availed themselves of as many offers of voluntary service, as they could accept of without crippling the army of reserve. His lordship spoke in very high terms of those volunteers, with whom he was best acquainted, the Irish volunteers. He then stated the object of the present bill, which was to give effect to the undoubted prerogative of the crown. The crown had now the right to call upon every liege subject, in case of invasion. The present bill was to impose a duty on the people, to receive such previous instruction in the use of arms, as alone could render that prerogative of any avail.

Mr. Fox, gave his hearty concurrence to the measure. He had not approved of the present war, but being engaged in it, he could not oppose those measures which the state of war made necessary. He could conscientiously support this measure, because it was for the defence of the country, more than for any project of offensive war. He relied principally on the armed mass of the people, to resist invasion. As to our regular force, he wished it to be as great and as good as possible; yet he would no more think of placing his entire dependance on regular forces than on our navy; both might be excellent, but yet subject to events; whereas, the mass of a great people, instructed in the use of arms, was a solid and permanent security, that did not depend on the event of one bat-

tle; nor would, by any untoward circumstance, be rendered inefficient. The invaders might have regular armies, as numerous and as well disciplined as our own, but they could not bring over that which we could command, an armed peasantry. Mr. Fox then expressed, very strongly, his opinion, that the best mode would be to try whether a general armament of this nature, might not be obtained voluntarily, and without any compulsion whatever. He allowed notwithstanding, that if compulsion was necessary, it should be resorted to.

The chancellor of the exchequer, felt the greatest satisfaction, at finding there was no opposition to the motion. He denied, however, that ministers had been tardy in their preparations, but, on the contrary, many most important steps had been taken, between the 8th of March, the date of the message, and that day. First, the militia had been called out; Secondly, the supplementary militia was ordered to be embodied; then followed the army of reserve; and, in addition to those acts, upwards of 60,000 volunteers had already offered; and it was, after all those additions to the public force, that the present measure was brought forward. He considered this measure as singularly adapted to the genius and character of the people, as it was making a common cause with them, in the defence of our common country.

The bill was then read a first and second time, committed *pro forma*, and the report was brought up, on the 20th, when

Mr. Sheridan depreciated any  
O 3 discussion,

discussion on the general principle of the bill, until the question on the third reading.

Mr. Kinnaird, however, objected to the principle of the bill, as tending to repress the voluntary exertions of the country, and as a system too complicated to be efficacious.

After a few observations, from some other gentlemen, the house went into a committee, when the bill received some amendments, which produced little or unimportant discussion.

On the 22d, upon the question being put, that the bill should pass,

Colonel Crawford rose, and said, no man could feel more highly than himself, the advantages of an armed people, acting in co-operation and support of the regular army; besides, the physical strength that would be gained by this measure, he considered, that this additional advantage would result, that government and the parliament proclaimed to the people, that the country was in danger, and thereby called upon them to rouse in its defence. The conduct, however, of ministers in proposing this measure, proved, that his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham), had not spoken the language of despondency, when he first declared the danger of the country. He had spoken but the language of truth, with a view, not of depressing the spirits of the people, but, on the contrary, to raise them proportionately to the exigency. When he himself had, a few weeks ago, supposed the possibility of the enemy's landing 70,000 men, near the metropolis; the supposition was asserted to be extravagant; but

now the secretary at war himself, was disposed to allow that 50,000 might land, which was not much short of his calculation. He objected to the idea of arming only the first class, under the enrolment. -- He thought that all ought to be armed, and that those who could not have musquets, should be supplied with pikes, of which weapon he gave a very high character, having himself been witness of the effect of it, at the battle of New Ross, in Ireland. He then dwelt, at very considerable length, on the details of what he conceived the country deficient in, both as to regular troops, and fortifications. As to the increase of the regular army, he seemed to rely principally on volunteers from the militia; as to the fortifications, he thought it possible, in the first place, to fortify the coast from Yarmouth Roads to the South Foreland; secondly, he thought defences should be thrown up, on the different roads, from the coast to London, and that London itself should be fortified. All these topics he pressed at considerable length, and with great ability and military knowledge. He also strongly recommended the appointment of a military council.

The secretary at war, replied to Colonel Crawford. As to the uncertainty in all human affairs, Old England had, in spite of that uncertainty, long borne up against all chances, and probably would continue so to do. He was decidedly averse from fortifying London. He thought, with such a fleet and army, as we now possess, it would be disgraceful to think of that measure, it would be time enough

to throw up works, when the enemy were at the mouths of our harbours. He defended the conduct of ministers generally, and concluded, by saying, that whether the hon. gentleman was satisfied or not with our preparations, he was convinced the enemy were satisfied.

Mr. Pitt asserted, from his own knowledge, that the military department of the country, was possessed of a great fund of information, on the points suggested by the hon. gentleman. His majesty's ministers, during the late war, had given every possible attention to that subject. The most minute sketches had been obtained, of every important position for resistance, between the sea coast and the metropolis. They had also considered the defence of the different detached positions, such as Newcastle, the mouth of the Humber, &c.; and of our principal ports and arsenals. He agreed with the secretary at war, that, at some future period, the military system of the country should be revised and improved. Although he considered success certain, yet he agreed with Colonel Crawford, that, in order that the victory should be purchased with as small a loss of lives as possible, fortifications were very adviseable. After dwelling upon the strength and spirit of the country, in a strain of the most animated eloquence, he concluded, by giving it, as his opinion, that the fate of the invasion, if attempted, would lay a firm foundation of eternal glory, happiness, and independence to the country; that the wreck of the conquered and fugitive army, would shake the tyrant's usurped throne; that the

news would revive the spirit of the other nations of Europe, and teach them to re-assert their rank and their independence.

General Tarleton, objected to the extensive system of fortification, recommended by Colonel Crawford; and was replied to by Mr. Windham and Dr. Lawrence.

The bill was then passed in the commons; and, on the 25th following, was brought up to the lords,

The duke of Cumberland, expressed his decided approbation of the measure, as did

Lord Mulgrave, who, however, blamed ministers extremely, for not bringing it forward sooner.

The earl of Westmorland, warmly defended government, and said, it was impossible for human exertion to do more in the same time.

Lord Hobart, also expressed surprise at the accusations thrown out by his noble friend (lord Mulgrave), against ministers, who had made every possible exertion.

The bill went through the house of lords, without any farther opposition worth detailing.

On the 25th, a message, which had been sent by his majesty, relative to the prince of Orange, was taken into consideration, in the committee of supply.

Lord Hawksbury represented, that the proposition he was to make in favour of the house of Orange, was a claim binding in gratitude and generosity. This country had, for the last century, found no more faithful ally than the illustrious, but now unfortunate house of Orange; nor could the important services, rendered by William the III<sup>d</sup>, in bringing about our glorious revolution, be ever forgotten by Englishmen,



After the peace of Amiens, the Dutch offered indemnities to the prince of Orange, only on condition, that we should restore the ships taken in his name. That was refused by this country; some indemnity was therefore due from us. What he proposed was, that a sum of 60,000*l.* should be granted for the benefit of his family, and a pension of 16,000*l.* per annum, during the pleasure of his majesty.

Mr. Canning, disapproved highly of the conduct of ministers, in the negociation. He thought they ought to have remonstrated directly with France, and to have retained in their own hands sufficient pledges for the fulfilment of this part of the treaty.

Sir Francis Burdett, severely reprobated the proposition, which he considered one of the most indecorous that could possibly be brought forward. If the prince of Orange betrayed his own country to the interests of our government, he deserved no compensation; if, on the contrary, it was for her own interests that Holland went to war, it was England that should claim compensation from Holland, and not Holland from England. If the prince of Orange was now to obtain indemnity, for his losses; perhaps the elector of Hanover would next demand compensation for the loss of that country.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that the value of the ships taken; in the name of the prince of Orange, was 150,000*l.* As we refused to restore those ships to Holland, who offered, on that condition, to give indemnity to the prince, that circumstance, certainly gave

him something of a claim, if not upon the justice, at least upon the generosity of the British nation.

Mr. W. Smith, wished to postpone the motion, thinking it was too late in the season, to propose measures of such importance.

The resolutions of lord Hawkesbury, for the sum of 60,000*l.* and the annuity of 16,000*l.* were then agreed to.

On that part of the subject matter of the present chapter, which relates to the "Army of Reserve act," and its operation, we shall have abundant room for remark, when we come to treat of the mode in which the war was carried on, from its commencement to the conclusion of the year. But we cannot avoid here noticing, the deep, though silent indignation which pervaded all ranks of people, on the passing the bill for the renumeration of the losses in dominion and property, incurred by the house of Orange, in the progress of the strict and faithful performance of its duties, as the ally of Great Britain, during the late war. In order to secure the concurrence of parliament, in the approval of the terms of the treaty of Amiens, its 18th article, professes the obtainment of "a full and adequate compensation for all the losses, of whatever nature, sustained by the prince of Orange, and his house." In the only light in which this article could fairly be considered, namely, that such compensation should be, not only adequate, but provided by that power, who had plunged it in misery and ruin, the king's first minister; the lord chancellor, who must have officially penned the treaty; and the plenipotentiary,

who

who had negotiated and signed it, formally and publicly agreed. To the indignation, therefore, we repeat, of the public, did this identical government call upon the British nation, for a sum of 60,000*l.* and an annuity of 16,000*l.* as a compensation for territorial domain, and personal property, confiscated or seized on, by the tools of gallic tyranny, without its being able to shew that the consummation of this article, so often vaunted of by ministers, in both houses of parliament, had ever been pressed, during ten months of peace, by a single remonstrance respecting its non-

performance, on the part of his majesty, to any of the contracting parties!!! The inference, therefore, was obvious, that the article in question, was a deceptive and fraudulent manœuvre; and that though the appeal now made to the justice and generosity of the country, was admitted, on the part of the house of Nassau, to its fullest extent; yet that, as coming through those to whose want of precaution, timidity, or supineness, its necessity originated, it was universally allowed to be a most barefaced and shameful transaction.

## CHAP. XVI.

*King's Message on the Irish Insurrection.—Speeches of Lord Hobart—Lord Limerick.—Address of Thanks unanimously carried.—Proceedings in the House of Commons thereon.—Bills brought into both Houses, for the Trial of Rebels and for the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.—Discussion in the Commons.—Mr. Addington—Windham—Sheridan—Hutchinson—Lord Hawkesbury—Dr. Lawrence—Lord Castlereagh—Debate closed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr. Windham.—Bills passed in both Houses on the same Night.—India Budget.—Debates on the Defence Act.—Mr. Sheridan's Motion of Thanks to the Volunteers.—And Mr. Hutchinson's on the Affairs of Ireland.—Session closed by a Speech from the Throne.—Observations.*

ON the 28th day of July a message from his majesty was brought down to both houses, stating “that a treasonable and rebellious spirit of insurrection had manifested itself in Ireland, which had been marked by circumstances of peculiar atrocity in the city of Dublin; his majesty therefore recommended to the wisdom of parliament to adopt the necessary measures for its suppression.”

This message having been read in the house of lords, by the lord Chancellor,

Lord Hobart, said it was with feelings of the utmost regret that he called the attention of their lordships to the violent and disgraceful outrages lately committed in Ireland, and particularly to the most atrocious and barbarous murder of that blameless and illustrious character, lord Kilwarden. His lordship then drew a most amiable picture of that great personage, who united every private to every pub-

lic virtue; after stating the bills that he thought would probably be sent to that house by the commons, he concluded by moving an address to his majesty, thanking him for his gracious communication.

Lord Limerick expressed, with great animation, his sorrow for the outrages which disgraced that part of the united kingdom for which he came; he approved of the strong measures which were suggested for quelling the rebellion, and said that he was ready to share any odium that might have been incurred by those who advised similar measures in the last war.

The address was carried unanimously, and the house adjourned to eight o'clock, for the purpose of passing the bills which were expected to be brought up from the commons upon this subject. Between nine and ten, the chancellor of the exchequer brought up two bills; one for trying rebels in Ireland, by martial law, the second for  
suspending



suspending the habeas corpus bill in Ireland.

The lord chancellor and lord Rosslyn agreed in opinion, that in cases of great emergency the standing orders of the house might be departed from, and instanced the bills passed at the time of the mutiny of the Nore.

The two bills were read through all their steps, and passed the same day.

In the house of commons, however, these bills occasioned some very animated discussion.

The chancellor of the exchequer moved the address: after expatiating much on the aggravated crime of treason in Ireland, at a time when that country had been so long governed with the utmost mildness, and after every effort had been made to conciliate, he still declared, that from the best information he could receive, he believed the majority of the people of Ireland were decidedly loyal.

Mr. Windham observed that it was extremely unusual to vote an address the same night that the message had been received. To give a proper attention to the objects of the message, it was usual to take at least a day to consider it, and in the present instance he thought a great deal more information was necessary than the house was at present possessed of; he could not reconcile this burst of rebellion with these conciliatory accounts of the loyalty and tranquillity of Ireland, which the house had heard so much of from ministers. It appeared as if the government of Ireland might be destroyed and its metropolis taken, before parliament was to have the slightest warning

of the state of that country: he wished therefore for the delay of a day for further information.

Mr. Sheridan said, he rose not to answer any argument, for he had heard none, but merely to express his astonishment, that any member in the house could start an objection to a measure of so much urgency. He concluded by describing eloquently, the sufferings which a delay of twenty-four hours might occasion to the loyal inhabitants of Ireland.

Mr. Hutchinson cordially supported the address, and expressed the greatest sorrow for the outrages that had disgraced the part of the united kingdom from which he came. Whatever were his feelings towards his country, he should vote for strong measures upon the present occasion.

Lord Hawkesbury replied with great warmth to Mr. Windham, he said that right hon. gentleman had formerly been troubled with no such qualms or delicate scruples as he was at present; he had frequently before voted for addresses the same day the message had been delivered. The proposition of delay was perfectly absurd in such an emergency as the present, the only tendency of his objection was to shew, that there did not exist a perfect unanimity in that house.

Dr. Lawrence, insisted that the whole system of ministers, consisted in blinding of the people, and preventing them from seeing the real state of affairs. They had constantly withheld information, and now demanded a hasty vote from passion, and not from deliberation.

Lord Castlereagh replied; and after

after some observations from Mr. Alexander and Mr. Archdall, the question on the address was put, and carried unanimously.

The chancellor of the exchequer then laid before the house, a copy of the proclamation, issued by the lord lieutenant and council of Ireland, relative to this business. He then professed, that although he felt the deepest reluctance at bringing forward any measure of rigorous severity, yet, in the present circumstances, he found it necessary. The measures he then proposed were, the empowering the executive of Ireland, to bring to a summary trial before courts martial all persons taken in rebellion; 2dly, to suspend the *habeas corpus* act in Ireland. In the course of his speech, he took occasion to pay the highest compliment to the disinterested patriotism of Mr. Sheridan, who, in every critical situation of the country, gave all his great talents to its support.

Mr. Windham shortly explained, and ironically noticed the compliments which were passing between the chancellor of the exchequer and Mr. Sheridan.

Mr. Sheridan, in reply to some insinuation of Mr. Windham, said, that he had never in his life deserted his political principles, or his political attachments; while, on the other hand, that hon. gentleman had sat on every side of the house, till at last he came, by a *diagonal* progression, from the treasury-bench to his present seat.

After a variety of explanations, both bills were brought in, went through all their different stages, and carried to the lords; where they were passed the same night.

On the 29th, lord Castlereagh opened the India budget; after stating the revenues and expenditure of the company, for the year 1802, which he compared with those of the preceeding year, he remarked, with much triumph, the augmenting prosperity of our East india possessions. After stating the affairs of the company much in detail, he mentioned the change in the Carnatic, and the treaty with the nabob of Oude, as among the principal causes of the rise in the company's income, the last year. He concluded, by moving a string of resolutions, conformable to his statements.

Mr. Francis lamented, that on a business of such national importance, as the affairs of India, there should be such a thin attendance of members. He considered the great principle of the act of parliament, for confining the limits of our territorial possessions in India, had been entirely departed from, in the recent conduct of our government in that country. Notwithstanding the increase of our territories and revenues in India, the India debt has considerably increased, and the annual surplus is not more than when our territories were smaller.

Mr. Prinsep, entered at large into the commercial situation of the company's affairs, which he contended did not warrant the statement which had been made, that the company were trading on capital borrowed on India. That their assumed profits were fallacious, and formed upon false principles. He concluded, by expressing a doubt, that a colony which had ten times the extent and population of the mother country, could be well governed by a privileged corporation.

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The resolutions were then agreed to in the committee; but upon the report being brought up, on the 2d of August,

Mr. Prinsep again rose, and repeated his former arguments, principally labouring to prove, that the surplus revenue should be applied to the reduction of Indian debt, and not to increased investments. He contended that it was to the opposite system we owed the present debt of India.

After some explanations from Lord Castlereagh, the resolutions of the committee were agreed to by the house, and the report received.

The defence bill afforded another very animated discussion in the house of commons; as did Mr. Sheridan's motion of thanks to the volunteers, on the 10th; and Mr. Hutchinson's motion, on the affairs of Ireland, on the 11th.

The debate, on the defence act, was begun by Mr. Wilberforce, disapproving of the distinction made between those who served in volunteer corps, and those who should serve in the levy *en masse*.

The secretary at war explained, that when the number of volunteers should be sufficient for the defence of the country, it had been the intention of the legislature, to empower his majesty to suspend the operation of the act.

Mr. Windham disapproved of the volunteer corps, as forming bodies of aristocracy, for the defence of the country, from which some were excluded from not being able to purchase uniforms; and others from that kind of modesty, that declined the distinction of a red coat, and prevented men from associating with those superior to

themselves in rank. His opinion on that subject, was much strengthened, by observations he had met in the public prints, in which he but seldom found any thing worthy attention.

Mr. Sheridan ridiculed this attack on the public prints, and said, that although the daily papers presented nothing worthy that gentleman's notice, yet there was a certain weekly paper (Cobbet's Register), to which he appeared more partial. For his part, he was candid enough to allow, that there was some merit in that print [Mr. W. bowed]. The hon. gentleman answered with a condescending bow, he should therefore go no farther, for fear of hurting the feelings and blushing modesty of an author; perhaps the right hon. gentleman wrote a little for that weekly register. He liked the present bill, because it went to increase the number of volunteers. Every body must allow, that the volunteers of the metropolis were much superior in discipline and efficiency to what could be expected from an equal number of men, raised by the levy *en masse*. It was, however, a very good hint to men to turn volunteers to know, that if they did not, they might, in the course of a single month, find themselves in the ranks of common soldiers; subject to be tied up to the halberd, if they were to give a saucy answer to the serjeant.

Mr. Windham said, that the hon. gentleman, who spoke last, had shewn all the zeal of a new convert, in supporting administration, and, like a raw recruit, had fired off his musquet, without ascertaining where was the enemy. He contended,  
that



that all this complicated machinery, brought forward by government, for the defence of the country, was not likely to add a single man to its effective or disposeable force. In speaking of the press, he allowed, that it now shewed some ardor and energy, but it acted like the hon. gentleman: first, it did all the mischief it could, and set the world on fire, and now it comes with its bucket of water to extinguish it. He then panegyricized Mr. Cobbet, who merited *a statue of gold* for his conduct in America, before he came to this country. That writer had resolutely opposed all the bad principles which had been propagated for these ten years, on politics, including those which Mr. Sheridan had so forcibly inculcated.

Mr. Sheridan was happy the forms of a committee allowed him a second shot, which he did not mean to fire in the air. He was neither convert nor recruit. He had always, when the country was in a critical situation, lent his support to government, to extricate it from its danger: in this support, however, he was no recruit; he would accept neither rank nor pay, but should serve as a volunteer. He wished the right hon. gentleman would publish a book called "The art of raising the spirit of a country by a late secretary at war;" for certainly the means taken by that gentleman in parliament, were the most whimsical that had ever been thought of. First, he endeavoured to persuade the people, that the country was lost, unless one specific individual was made the minister; and that all their resources must be mismanaged and ill direct-

ed by the present government: secondly that our honor is irrecoverably gone, and that our militia and volunteers are good for nothing: such are the topics which that gentleman loved to discuss in parliament. Mr. Sheridan concluded by again expressing his approbation of the Bill.

Mr. Archdall defended the bill, and replied to the observations of Mr. Windham: he said that he for one could not vote a statue of gold to Mr. Cobbet, as he had inserted in his Register, an attempt to prove that the French might send four ships of the line, which would carry over troops enough to subdue all Ireland.

The chancellor of the exchequer defended government from the charge which had been made against it of unnecessary delay. This measure could not with any propriety have been adopted, until the foundation of the army of reserve had been first laid. He considered that there never was a man who more completely misconceived the means of raising the spirit of a country, than Mr. Windham appeared to have done, in endeavouring to lead the people to their duty, by instilling groundless fears and alarms. He would have acted more regularly, by bringing forward a distinct accusation against ministers, and submitting it to parliament, whether they are deserving of their confidence.

Dr. Lawrence vindicated the consistency of his friend Mr. Windham. He had condemned the treaty of Amiens, because he foresaw no good effects that were likely to follow from it. The event justified his

his opinion, as it became evident in the course of one year, that that peace which ministers prided themselves so much in making, was insecure, and most disadvantageous to this country.

Mr. Sheridan asked Mr. Windham if he agreed in opinion with that author whom he so much praised (Mr. Cobbet) that the existence of the funds was incompatible with the existence of the monarchy?

Mr. Windham did not consider himself bound to answer such a question.

The bill then went through the committee, and the report was ordered to be received next day, when, upon the question that the bill should pass,

Dr. Lawrence said he saw with regret that the recruiting service for the regular army was declining, from the discouragement which the measures proposed held forth; and seemed to consider that it would be of great importance to have a solemn form of prayer appointed, on the occasion of the present armament.

The chancellor of the exchequer thought the country was sufficiently aware of the awful situation of affairs, and ready to implore the divine assistance. He could not help remarking, that in the last war the learned gentleman's friend (Mr. Windham) was a cabinet minister, as well as secretary at war; it was therefore then his bounden duty to have brought forward such military plans as he judged right; and if he was resisted in so doing, he might have resigned his place. He did not make these observations from any hostility to the right hon. gentleman. He regretted the line of

politics he had lately adopted, but he was convinced of the purity of his principles.

After a few observations from other gentlemen, the bill was passed.

On the 10th, Mr. Sheridan brought forward his motion of thanks to the volunteers of the united kingdom. He said that whatever difference of opinion there might be upon the volunteer system, as a measure recommended by government, he hoped there could be no difference of opinion, as to the merit due to those who came forward with such alacrity and spirit, when they were called upon. Before the session closed, he wished to direct the attention of government to some circumstances that prevented many from becoming volunteers. First, there was a confusion about the exemptions, and it was not clearly understood, whether the volunteers might not also be called into the levy en masse: secondly, the expence of the volunteer cloathing deterred many. The plainer and cheaper the dress was, the better: the finery of the uniform was of no importance; but the stuff of which the wearer's heart was made, was the only serious consideration. He would not go at large into the military state of the country, but he should observe, that whether militia or volunteers could be supposed equal to regulars or not, yet they were the best constitutional support we could have in this country. The very division of our forces was an additional security. We have seen in other countries to what bad uses a large regular army may be applied, and we have seen in France a large regular army desert its sovereign in the course of a few days.

After

After strongly recommending to gentlemen in that house to lay aside all party feelings for the summer, and to set an example of unanimity, he concluded by moving a vote of thanks, which he intended to follow by a motion for a return of the names and descriptions of all the volunteer corps, that they might be entered on the journals of the house.

General Gascoyne hoped that the motion would be unanimously adopted; he thought now that our regular army was so powerfully supported by the militia and three hundred thousand volunteers, we should remove the seat of war out of our own dominions, and learn to threaten the threatener: we ought no longer to confine ourselves merely to defensive operations.

Mr. Windham declared he had never said a word, reflecting on the spirit of the individuals, composing the volunteer army; he had merely preferred another description of force which could be turned to the service of the country more efficiently. He had spoken his real sentiments upon that occasion, as he had done of the present administration. He must repeat, that he considered our administration a weak one, that merely courted popularity, and consulted more what the people at Lloyd's, the holders of omnium and the merchants would say, than what was for the real interests of the empire. As to the volunteer service, he considered it, at present, as a mere refuge from the compulsory service, and therefore did not think there was so much merit in entering into it, as there was last war. If he was to speak, as a volunteer, he should say, for God's sake, don't thank me, merely for

being a volunteer. When I have performed any meritorious services to deserve it, then I shall gladly receive them. He then repeated the arguments he had often before urged against the volunteer force, as now organized. He should much prefer an armed peasantry; the system that he recommended was, that the regular force should be increased to the utmost possible extent, and that the auxiliary force should be completely irregular, and consist of the armed population of the country.

The secretary at war, thought it strange, that the right hon. gentleman, who was such an advocate for a regular army, should prefer a much more imperfect training, to that which the volunteers would receive. He could not help wondering, that in the last war, the public should have heard none of the right hon. gentleman's objections to the militia, and the volunteers. He was then secretary at war, and a cabinet minister; and it was his duty to have proposed those means of defence, that in his judgment appeared the best. In answer to the question, Why the thanks of parliament had not been given to those volunteers, who preserved Dublin from falling into the hands of the rebels? he should answer, Dublin never was in that dangerous situation, described by the right hon. gentleman, nor was it so much the volunteer force, as the regular army, that defeated the insurgents.

Mr. Wilberforce thought it a little premature to vote the thanks of the house to men, for merely doing what must be expected from Englishmen. He thought they ought to wait for solid services and more splendid achievements.



achievements. In giving his opinion of the volunteer force in general, he appeared to coincide with Mr. Windham's idea, that the peasantry of the country, armed and acting as an irregular force, would be more efficacious. He thought it would give more room for the exercise and display of individual energy and courage. He instanced the wonderful and gallant exploits of sir Sidney Smith at Acre, and stated that that officer had declared that if he had had any regular officers of engineers with him, he must have reported the place untenable and quitted it. He took occasion to pay a high compliment to the extraordinary achievements of that gallant officer, who, in his opinion had been but ill-requited for his services. He concluded by expressing a confidence that the country was equal to the situation it was placed in, and would finally triumph over all its difficulties.

Mr. Francis said he hoped that the hon. mover, Mr. Sheridan, had, before he pledged himself so warmly to the support of government, received sufficient satisfaction on two points about which he had been much interested. First, as to the appointment of a military council, secondly, as to the offer of service on the part of an illustrious personage (the prince of Wales.)

Colonel Crawford thought that it would be time enough to return thanks to the volunteers, when they had repelled the invasion with which this country is threatened. He did not much approve of the introduction of German tactics among our volunteers, he thought there was too much of it among the regulars, and that it was not well

suiited to such a country as this; he agreed with Mr. Windham, in preferring the people raised *en masse*, and acting as an irregular force, to our volunteers, in the way they are trained and disciplined.

Lord Hawkesbury maintained, that after the treaty of Campo Formio, in 1797, the country was in greater danger of invasion than at present. He cordially approved of the vote proposed, as he thought the record of it on the Journals, would be an encouragement to future exertions.

Mr. Sheridan made a very brilliant reply to the arguments against his motion, which he had supposed would have passed unanimously, and without much discussion. As to the questions put to him by Mr. Francis, he said, that neither the non-appointment of a military council, nor even the rejection of the offer of the prince of Wales, to whom he was so much attached, were sufficient to prevent him giving his support to the government, at a time so critical as the present. He believed the prince's feelings might be expressed in the language of lord Moira, who said he should rather serve as a private in the ranks, than divide the public opinion about his claims, when unanimity was so essentially necessary: he then animadverted, with the most pointed severity, on the tendency of the speeches which had been so often delivered in that house, by Mr. Windham and his friends.

After a short explanation from colonel Crawford, both the propositions of Mr. Sheridan were agreed to without any dissenting voice.

The next day, on the 11th of August, the last debate in the

session took place on colonel Hutchinson's motion respecting the affairs of Ireland. He began by stating, how material it was, especially at the present time, for his majesty to be enabled to avail himself of all the resources of every part of the united kingdom, and therefore it was most desirable to put Ireland into such a situation, as to make her natural strength, wealth, and population, as conducive as possible to the general security of the empire. He, therefore, called upon ministers to attend to the state of Ireland, and to reform, radically, the system by which it had been so long governed; as that appeared to him, the only means to place that country beyond the reach of foreign attack, or domestic treason. He did not mean to charge any set of men with a deliberate breach of promise, but he must say, generally, that respecting Irish affairs in general, he saw more negligence and supineness than he had ever witnessed respecting the smallest English interest. The revolution of 1688, which gave liberty to England, brought no benefit to Ireland, but, on the contrary, laid the foundation of all those unhappy differences which had so long distracted that country. Although many of the penal statutes against the Irish catholics had been done away, yet he thought the whole vicious system should be removed. It would be vain to look for harmony in a country where the minority is to lord it over the majority, and where the meanest and basest of those professing the religion of the minority, is to have more political power than the richest and most exalted of those whose religious be-

lief is different. He wished that a deputation would go from that house, to examine the miserable state of the Irish peasantry, and to report from what it saw.

From the time that the union had been past nothing had been done to improve the system of government in that country, and render its inhabitants more happy and contented. No enlightened statesman could suppose, that merely passing the act of union, was sufficient to unite the people of both countries in affection. He very strongly recommended to government, in case any commotion should happen in Ireland, during the recess, to meet it with vigour, but not to suffer such cruelties to be practised, as were done in the last rebellion. He concluded by moving an address to his majesty, for information respecting the late rebellious outrage in Ireland, and the present state of that country.

Lord Hawkesbury thought the motion highly inexpedient at the very conclusion of the session when there was no time to discuss the affairs of Ireland fully and fairly.— He objected to the motion also as not likely to be productive of any good effect in the present crisis.

Mr. Elliot thought the motion proper and necessary. He thought there had been manifestly a great remissness in the government of Ireland, and that parliament ought not to separate without having sufficient information of the state of that country. From all the intelligence which had been received from private channels, it most evidently appeared that the Irish government had suffered itself to be completely surprised. Under such circumstances







able reply, to the different objections that had been made to his motion, and dwelt particularly on the cruelties which, during the last rebellion, had been committed, under the mask of law, and covered by the act of indemnity.

The motion was then put and negatived without a division.

The next day, August the 12th, parliament was prorogued by a speech from the throne.\*

Thus terminated a session of parliament, which had been protracted to the very unusual period of nine months; and which, for the importance of the subjects brought before it;—the extent and variety of the pressure of public business;—and the vigour and ability displayed in debate, yielded to none, the proceedings of which have hitherto appeared in the annals of British history.

To the surprize, and perhaps to the disappointment of the country, the minister was left, at the prorogation, upheld by nearly the same numbers, in both houses, engaged

to the support of his administration, which he could have counted upon at the meeting of parliament. Some defections, and those individually of the utmost weight and consequence, there certainly were; nor was there to be found that union of character and ability, conjoined to numbers in the ministerial phalanx, which would have, in all events, rendered it irresistible. Still, however, a want of connecting principle prevailed among the leaders of the hostile ranks; and though, at the period to which we advert, every circumstance seemed favourable to such a coalescence of talent and character, in the country, as must, so united, have borne down every opposition; the season for political activity closed, as we have seen, without any visible decrease of the influence of the present government, or of established co-operation and harmony among those parties, who seperately professed themselves adverse from its measures.

\* Vide State Papers.

## CHAP. XVII.

*Negotiation of the Minister with Mr. Pitt.—Conditions on which the latter agrees to come into office.—Unpalatable—and why.—Rejected—and total failure thereof.—Subsequent changes in Administration.—No Acquisition in strength thereto.—Observations.*

IN the course of the month of April, in this year, some steps were taken towards effecting a change in the administration of public affairs. Of these, although they proved at the time wholly ineffectual, it naturally falls within our plan to give some account; and this the rather, as the history of such transactions is always useful, by affording some insight into the characters and views of our public men; and by developing the occasions and principles of those variations, which all free governments so frequently exhibit in the state and relation of their political parties. The frequent and unreserved discussions, which have since taken place on the subject of this particular transaction, the publications respecting it, which were supposed to be authorized by some of the parties most concerned; and the private letters of others of them, intercepted and published by the enemy, have brought the detail of this negotiation, much more forward to the public view, than is usual in similar cases. The following narrative, compiled from all these various sources of information, will, we trust, be found both fuller

and more accurate than any other that has yet appeared.

The stability of the administration, which had concluded the treaty of Amiens, was understood to depend on the experience which the country might have of the real merits of that memorable transaction. The extent of the sacrifices, by which peace had been purchased, began indeed to be more generally regretted, in proportion, as it was more fully understood; but credit was, for the most part, given to the assurances of its permanence, which were continually repeated from authority; and the country indulged itself in the most sanguine expectations of its beneficial effects on our situation, both at home and abroad. In this state of the public mind, the ministers found little difficulty in discrediting the opinions of that small body in parliament, which had, from the beginning, openly condemned the system on which that negotiation had been conducted; and had always predicted from it, the inevitable and speedy renewal of the war. An opinion began to be received, by some men, that mediocrity rather than preeminence in talent or in

knowledge, was the qualification most to be desired in the ministers of a great country. And even among many who had not yet adopted this sentiment, the continuance of the existing administration, was ardently wished for, as the best pledge for the duration of the peace; an object for which every possible effort might be expected from men, whose characters and situations were so closely connected with it.

But when it became manifest, even to the ministers themselves, that the war must immediately recommence, their own situation was as much changed as that of the country. They found that they would have to encounter the reproaches of many whom their assurances had misled into a course of public conduct, or into projects of private speculation, neither of which had been justified by the event—they would be called upon to publish the detail of negotiations, singularly defective in point of ability and knowledge: and the submissive tone of which could not but prove galling, to a great and high-spirited people—they would be required to justify the orders given for putting into the hands of the enemy, on the very eve of hostilities, those possessions, whose chief value is found in war—and, above all, they would be obliged to account to parliament for a long session, actively employed under such circumstances, not in proposing new measures of defence, but in discharging, disembodiment, and destroying the already inadequate force which before existed! In addition to these embarrassments, they would

have to encounter the usual difficulties of a burthensome and expensive war.—Difficulties much increased to them, by the continual reference which they must occasion to the errors of their past policy.

In this situation of things, it was natural that the administration should look to some means of strengthening themselves in parliament, and of retrieving the ground they had lost in the estimation of the public; among whom a sense of their insufficiency had, for some time past, been rapidly, though silently growing up. There were, in parliament, three leading descriptions of public men, unconnected with the existing ministry; from each of whom separately, ministers had much to apprehend; and whose union, even if it could be effected for that single object, would manifestly be, at any moment sufficient to overthrow the whole system of Mr. Addington's government. Of these it was generally understood that the party, at the head of which Mr. Pitt was placed, though much dissatisfied with the conduct of ministers, was however less alienated from them than those with whom either Mr. Fox or lord Grenville acted.—To Mr. Pitt, therefore, their overtures were made.

It appears not improbable, that, in a transaction of this nature, carried on in a great degree by verbal discussion, and embracing the personal situations and interests of all those persons who were parties to it, some misapprehension may, even in the very outset, have prevailed:—the actual ministers may, perhaps, have conceived themselves engaged



engaged only in a negociation for an accession of strength to the government, which already existed; while the person, with whom they treated, might believe that they had both the desire and the authority to propose to him, that he should undertake to form a new administration. The subsequent transactions render it evident, that no such desire did, in fact, exist, on their part; and it has been generally believed, that they had received no such authority from that quarter, from whence alone it could regularly have been given! Yet it appears certain, that the proposal was listened to, in that sense alone, by the person to whom it was made. Mr. Pitt's answer, as stated to the public by one of his confidential friends, was conceived in the following terms: That "he would not enter upon the question of arrangements, until he was distinctly informed, by a message from the highest authority, that his services were thought essential; that if so called upon, in spite of the precarious state of his health, he should not decline the offer of his best advice and assistance; that he was fully aware of the great and increasing difficulties of the country, and that he saw the necessity of a **STRONG, VIGOROUS, and EFFICIENT GOVERNMENT.**" To this he is said, from the same authority, to have added, that, as one important step towards the formation of such a government, he should, if called upon by his majesty, propose to include, in a new administration, lord Grenville and lord Spencer, if, on being consulted by him, they should agree to be so included; but that he should not

make their admission, or that of any other person whatever, a *sine quâ non* condition of his own acceptance, only reserving to himself the power of declining the undertaking altogether, if he could not form such a government as might afford to the country a fair probability of success.

In this state the transaction is said to have been communicated to these two noble persons, and through them to some of their friends. The answer of lord Grenville and lord Spencer is said to have been, that they could form no final judgment of the propriety of their acceding to such an arrangement, until they were informed, both with what persons it might be proposed to them to act, and on what principles the government was to be conducted; that they entirely concurred in the opinion expressed by Mr. Pitt, as to the necessity of forming a **STRONG, VIGOROUS, and EFFICIENT GOVERNMENT,** and wished to carry that principle to the full extent, of including in the new administration, whatever was most eminent in the country for talent, influence and character; that they should, under all circumstances, openly and invariably adhere to those principles, respecting the state and government of Ireland, to which they had been pledged, on the dissolution of the former government; that this point must be distinctly explained by themselves in that quarter, where it was most material, that it should be clearly understood; and that if, on this account, or from any other cause, new difficulties should arise, they earnestly intreated that no consideration personal to themselves should, for a single moment,

retard the formation of a strong and efficient government, capable of retrieving the errors of the last two years, to which alone they ascribed those dangers and distresses of the country, which had been so strongly stated by Mr. Pitt.

After this communication, it remained only that Mr. Pitt should receive the reply of the ministers to the answer, which had, as is above stated, been made by him to their proposals.—Their embarrassment upon this occasion, appears to have been extreme.—The measure, which they had reluctantly adopted, in the hope of strengthening their own hands, and of enabling them to retain, if not their actual situations, at least such a share of weight and influence in the government, as would abundantly satisfy their highest claims, appeared now to have taken a shape, tending certainly to the total subversion of their system, and probably to the dismissal of almost all the members of the cabinet.—No time was, therefore, to be lost, in putting an end to a transaction, which began to wear so unfavourable an aspect. The step, which was taken for this purpose, was no less unusual than extraordinary, in such a case. A regular meeting of the king's confidential servants was summoned, in order to lay before them, for their opinion and advice, a proposal which, if necessary or proper to be made at all, could have become so only, from the necessity or propriety of substituting in the place of the persons so assembled, others of more sufficiency for the situations which they there occupied!—The result of such a deliberation was not difficult to be foreseen.—The liberty which Mr.

Pitt claimed of submitting directly to his majesty such suggestions as he thought most conducive to the success of the government, at the head of which he was to be placed, was at once determined to be wholly inadmissible. He was immediately informed, that the sentiments of the ministers, as to his proposed arrangements, differed too widely from his, to admit of their advising that any steps should be taken for such a purpose. And here the whole affair is said to have dropped. It had, as is believed, never been authorized in the quarter from whence alone it should naturally have originated: it was therefore not followed up in that quarter; and some displeasure is even understood to have been expressed against the persons, who had treated on matters of such high moment, without obtaining such previous warrant for it, as duty and respect were supposed to require.

The ministers in the mean while rejoiced at having for a time escaped the rock on which they had so nearly split, and forgot in the joy of this escape the danger of the storm to which they remained exposed. They applied themselves with unremitting industry to impress on the public as favorable an opinion of this transaction, as its circumstances could possibly admit. They hoped to derive from it this advantage, that in proportion as the difficulties which the state of parties presented to the formation of an efficient and comprehensive government were more distinctly brought under the public view, the anxious wishes of the country for the completion of this great object, would be, if not diminished, at least in some degree

degree repressed and restrained.—The session of parliament was far advanced; and the character and opinions of Mr. Pitt on the one hand, and of Lord Grenville, Lord Spencer, and their friends on the other, were too well known to admit of any apprehension, that by them the spirit of the country would be checked, or that any endeavours would be omitted on their part, to animate and rouse the people to effectual measures of defence against the aggressions of an ambitious and implacable enemy. The event justified this expectation.—The two parties, of whom there had been question in this negotiation, those whom the ministers had been ready to admit, only as accessaries to their own power, and those whom they professed themselves determined wholly to exclude, vied with each other during the remainder of the session, not in obstructing the measures proposed by government for national defence; but in endeavouring to give to them a degree of vigour, consistency, and efficiency, which those measures were from their own nature incapable of receiving. And it was not until experience had demonstrated the impossibility of producing any public benefit by this course, that those steps were taken which led to the overthrow of the administration; and of which it will be our duty to give an account among the transactions of the ensuing year.

Having thus thought it necessary before we entered upon the detail of the causes of the renewal of war, (that great and prominent feature

of the transactions of the year) to discuss, as minutely as consisted with our means of information, and the necessary limits of our work, the political transaction, the weight and moment of which, none of our readers will estimate at a lower rate than ourselves; we shall here proceed to narrate the farther changes which took place in administration, subsequently to, and doubtless in consequence of, the failure of the negotiation, to induce Mr. Pitt's acceptance of office, which took place before the conclusion of the year.

We have already adverted to the appearance of Mr. Tierney and Mr. Hobhouse in the ranks of government, on the evening of the memorable contest of the 3d of June, when colonel Patten's motion gave rise to the animated and important discussion, on the issue of which the very existence of the present administration depended: and have also noticed the appointment of the former to high official situation, with the probability of a similar meed being extended to the latter, for the courteous and critical succour afforded on that threatening occasion. And we have also there given our opinion at length as to the probable advantages which ministers might derive from these acquisitions. We shall therefore here only add, that the now treasurer of the navy, individually considered, was rated high as a parliamentary speaker—of perspicuous and manly powers in debate—of convincing if not splendid eloquence—as a financier in-

• Vide page 177.



dustrious and well informed—And as he had shewn himself on many occasions a bitter and powerful enemy; so, from his friendship, (were his efforts on the side of government at all proportioned to his zeal when hitherto opposed to it) much valuable assistance might be expected by the minister. Of Mr. Hobhouse, it need only to be remarked, that with many, it seemed merit to have converted to the support of government, on any terms, one of those, who had hitherto in his public conduct, on all occasions, appeared as its most active and implacable opponent.

But however important this recruit (and important to a certain degree it might have proven) in the lower house of parliament; in that of the lords, where the weakness of government was eminently conspicuous, some stand it was necessary to make against the individuals of that order, who, almost without exception, included in their opposition to Mr. Addington and his measures, whatever of rank, weight in the country, (arising either from birth or fortune) or of talent, were to be found in that assembly. In vain were impression and conviction expected by ministers to be produced by the legal sophistry or imperious *dicta* of the lord chancellor and the lord chief justice of the king's Bench in defence of their measures. In vain did the lords Pelham, Hobart, and Westmoreland, aided occasionally by the financial experience of lord Auckland, expend themselves in measured, florid, and official harangues: the brilliancy and imagination of lord Moira; the experience and weight of character of earls Fitz-

william, Carlisle, Porchester, Carysfort, and Radnor; and the solid and perspicuous eloquence of earl Spencer and lord Minto, reduced them to absolute insignificance. Or if their whole strength were put forth on any signal occasion, and even when combating with the mighty aid of popular prejudice on their side, the single opposition of lord Grenville in some splendid exertion of his his oratorical powers, at once commanding the assent of all who heard him, and the conviction of those who were not so fortunate, like the day-spring gaining on the shades of night, chased away or dissipated their arguments into nothingness or merited oblivion.

In order therefore to establish some sort of equipoise in the upper house of parliament, the calling up thither of lord Hawkesbury was resorted to, as the only remedy within the reach of administration. The minister doubtless was assured to find in the abilities of his new associates, an adequate substitution for the powers of the former in the house of commons. Some other changes also took place about the same period in the government, which, at the moment that they evinced its unsteadiness, marked also its feebleness in a striking degree. Lord Pelham, a nobleman who was more distinguished for his character of integrity and uprightness of principle, than his talents, resigned the situation of one of the principal secretaries of state, and was succeeded by Mr. C. Yorke, late secretary at war: the place of the latter was filled up by Mr. Bragge, the member for Bristol, who had already resigned one situation to make room for Mr. Tierney:

and

and some of the inferior seats at the Treasury and other public boards, were allotted to Messrs. Golding, Bond, and general Maitland; the latter a seceder from the "old opposition." In this multiplicity of appointments it was generally remarked, that by the change the hands of the government were not strengthened, no acquisition of talent, rank, or character, accruing thereto; and secondly, that most of the lucrative offices thus disposed of, fell to the share of the personal connexions of the minister.

We do not pretend to enter into any investigation of the merits of administration as it now stood;

indeed, like those chiefs the companions of Æneas, no discriminating epithet could attach to them individually: but we can safely assert, that towards the end of the year, the nation seemed heartily sick and tired of an experimental government, composed of "moderate men," of moderate abilities, raised from the middling classes of society; and who, as they were avowedly without any other claim to public favor, save that of "good intentions," so did it seem, that they were determined to confine themselves to that line of conduct, which could be exactly bounded by such pretensions.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*Recapitulation of the relative circumstances of England and France previously to, and immediately after, the Treaty of Amiens.—Course of the Aggressions of France, under the heads of Commerce, the Press, Malta, Switzerland.—Report of Sebastiani.—General Insolence and Injustice.—King's Message.—Declaration of War.*

THE subject which we propose to treat of in this portion of the work, is of itself so complicated, involves so much of the history of Europe, and requires such accurate minuteness of detail, that were we to give it that scope which properly belongs to it, the whole volume would not be more than commensurate with its interest and importance.

Confined as we and every periodical writer must be, to certain limits, we necessarily claim from the indulgence of our readers, their acquiescence in the cursory mode, with which we are obliged to treat objects of apparently the greatest concern: and we beg to assure them that in tracing the causes of that great feature in the events of the present year, namely, the renewal of the war, to its source, that however brief we may be, nothing of consequence shall be omitted; and that while we endeavour to account for the causes of this awful and momentous event with impartiality, we shall not lose sight of perspicuity and lucid arrangement.

In order that the whole of the circumstances which form that sys-

tem of aggression on the part of France, which either insidiously proceeding by lowering our national credit and consequence on the continent of Europe, or by avowed menace and the most undisguised hostility, had made the peace in the opinion of the world as hollow and precarious, as its most determined opposers had predicted, should be laid before our readers, we will here recapitulate some of the leading events which preceded the definitive treaty, and a short review of the state of the powers of France and England, as they remained at its conclusion.

On the 10th of October, 1801, general Lauriston, arrived in London, amid the acclamations of the multitude, with the ratification of the preliminary articles of peace between the then belligerent powers. In our volume for that year we have recounted the mode of reception, which the rapture of the public at the welcome tidings, induced it in a manner sufficiently novel, to bestow upon the messenger: and in our succeeding one, we had the less grateful task of detailing the insolent and indecent impediments which



which were thrown in the way of the definitive treaty by the ruler of the French people, and the quiescence of the British government, in this painful interval, not only with such undisguised and contemptuous arrogance, but under the extraordinary and unprecedented circumstance of his having dispatched an immense armament to the West Indies; his assumption of the Italian republic in his own person; the annexation of Parma to his dominions; the promulgation of his private treaty with Spain, by which Louisiana was ceded to France, and his acquisition of Porto Ferrajo and the island of Elba\* in the Mediterranean, secured. Yet under all these circumstances, each or any of which were sufficient to have induced a vigorous government to break off a negotiation conducted under so many degrading

\* The following account of Porto Ferrajo, and the island of Elba, may be acceptable to our readers. It was drawn up at the period of the possession of it by the French, by an able and accurate observer:—

Porto Ferrajo, in the island of Elba, was little known and little considered, while the island belonged to Tuscany, and before the French republic had become so formidable.

The British sent a handful of troops to reinforce the garrison of natives, and under the command of lieutenant-colonel Airey, they effectually resisted the great efforts the French made to take it. At the peace of Amiens it was stipulated, that the British troops should evacuate the island, and restore it to the king of Etruria. In consequence of the treaty, the English did evacuate it, but in a few days afterwards it was occupied by the French, Bonaparte having exchanged it for a small and insignificant consideration. Certainly this was not in the terms, nor in the spirit of the treaty. A place of such vast importance it was understood was to be placed neither in the hands of Great Britain nor France, but in those of a state whose power in the Mediterranean was of no weight.

The port is capable of containing the largest fleets; and it has an advantage over that of Malta, as ships can get out more easily. It is impossible to get out of Malta with a N. E. wind, if it blow fresh.

The grand fleet of Mediterranean France might be stationed here, it is thought. It perfectly commands the coast of Italy. Its position is central in the Mediterranean, and is well situated for embarking troops for Candia, or an invasion of Turkey. Candia is always made by ships sailing for Egypt.

The French being possessed of Elba, have no occasion to occupy Malta, which will be placed in hands so as to exclude the British from the Mediterranean. By this step of the French, Malta becomes absolutely necessary to Great Britain, or we can have no communication with any country east of Sicily.

Elba is so near the coast of Italy, that its garrison can, in spite of a blockading fleet, be always supplied with provisions, and the garrison with reinforcements.

It was esteemed impregnable, and is now becoming more strong by the works the French are erecting: indeed a fort was necessary to be erected on the land opposite the town, to secure the fleet at anchor in the port.

The number of inhabitants is so small, that the garrison will be in no danger from an insurrection, as was the case at Malta.

In fine, it is a port in every respect possessing the greatest advantages to the French, and in time of war, of the most alarming nature to her enemies.

It is conveniently situated to be a magazine of naval stores, which may be obtained from the Adriatic, the Archipelago, the Black Sea, &c. It will be a most dangerous station for privateers, as well as a fleet. The British trade to Italy and to the Levant, will be wholly at the mercy of France.

marks of superiority on the part of the enemy, was the memorable treaty of Amiens at length concluded, without a single remonstrance on, or effort to impede, the immense aggrandizement of France consummated within the short period of five months, and which placed that power on a footing widely different from that in which she was at the signing the preliminary articles. And thus, by an insatiation without example, did the British government contract relations of amity with a power whose every step had marked, even pending the negotiation, its contempt of all principles of national faith; by the terms of which we sacrificed our conquests, our allies, our rank among the nations of Europe; and, by our unbounded submission to his encroachments, even of the right hereafter to complain, of any fresh infraction of its spirit, or new attempt of his on the liberties of Europe!

The succeeding pages of our last years volume have dwelt on the encroachments of France in Switzerland, Germany, the Pais de Vaud, Portugal, &c; on the contemptuous tone which she assumed when speaking of this country: on her implacable hostility manifested by her attacks upon our commerce, both with her own states and those parts of Europe over whom she had gained unbounded influence: but in so treating them we have not brought them into that one point of view, namely of settled and marked

aggression to this country; but barely as historical facts, under their several heads of our usual arrangement. It will be now our duty from the official papers laid before parliament, \* to recapitulate some, to reconsider the effects of others, and to add many new facts, which rendered war inevitable. Happy would it have been for the reputation, the honour, the dignity, and perhaps the ultimate safety of Britain, had she availed herself of the first insult she had received, to have awakened the antient spirit of her sons; and have hurled contempt and defiance in the teeth of her insolent foe, rather than have delayed the period of resentment to that, when a series of affronts had cheapened her worth in the eyes of Europe, and when she was obliged to have recourse to simulated causes for the renewal of hostilities, having unwisely, weakly, and unadvisedly passed over the hour for legitimate vengeance!

It certainly could not be presumed that the temper or the principle, (which had led to such manifest breaches of the spirit of the preliminary articles of peace,) of the first consul of France; during the space which intervened previously to the definitive treaty, was likely to become more moderate, or marked with less of pretension, at finding that "the British ministry had contented themselves solely with watching the progress of these transactions, not chusing to interfere in arrangements, *which they*

\* The whole of the official correspondence laid before parliament respecting the negotiations with France, will be found in the state papers. Notwithstanding their great extent, our duty to the public would not allow of our garbling such a body of evidence, so material to the investigation of the views of our enemy, and the conduct of those, in whose hands the government of this country was entrusted.

could not controul, and awaiting without dismay, though not without solicitude, the result of those complicated and unexpected changes:"\* accordingly we find that he executed the treaty of Amiens, without the slightest wish of renewing those relations of amity and mutual good understanding, which on similar occasions had taken place between the two countries. Having nothing to fear or to hope from a nation which had without a single remonstrance on the various measures of aggrandizement he had pursued from the cessation of hostilities; which had manifested such anxiety for peace, as to induce it to conclude the definitive treaty on worse terms, than those which had been formally agreed upon as its basis; which had suffered his armaments during the same period to stem the Atlantic in triumph, unquestioned and uncontrouled; and which had not by that instrument provided for the security or indemnity of any ally, or conditioned for the revival or renewal of any commercial arrangement whatever; Bonaparte considered Britain in the light of a conquered country; the treaty, as a system of terms conceded to the vanquished, and which it was too much the interest of France, and too gratifying to his own lust of power not strictly to enforce! In short to use a well-authenticated phrase of his, he was determined "that England should have the treaty of Amiens, and nothing but the treaty of Amiens."

With a disposition thus hostile, it may easily be conceived that matter of fretful discussion would speedily arise between the governments of Britain and France; and we shall request the patience and attention of our readers, while we endeavour to arrange the different subjects under their distinct heads, which we shall for the sake of perspicuity, seperately consider; lamenting as we must do as Britons and as men, that the recital is one tissue of violence, aggression, and injustice on the part of France: on that of the English government, of solicitation, temporizing, and submission.

During the most envenomed period of the malignity of the French nation towards Great Britain, and while governed by Robespierre, it was enacted that all vessels under one hundred tons burthen carrying British merchandize, and approaching within four leagues of France, should be forfeited. Nearly three months after the preliminary articles of peace were signed, was this cruel and highly penal law, projected during the avowed reign of terror and barbarity, put in force against an English vessel which had sailed from Southampton on the 19th of Dec. 1801; the day, ever memorable on which the French squadrons with an immense force, had been permitted by the British administration, to sail to the West Indies, for the purpose of reconquering and relieving her colonies! In a tremendous gale, this vessel arrived in the road of

\* We quote from an avowed defence of Mr. Addington and his colleagues, in many other respects a valuable and well timed work.



Cherbourg the following night; and in the belief that the pending negotiation would have allowed of his entering the place in safety, having many passengers, much incommoded and extremely ill on board, her captain entered the port. On presenting himself at the custom house, his declaration was refused, himself cited before an inferior court at Cherbourg, and all the rigour of the above mentioned law decreed, by which his ship was seized, his cargo confiscated, and himself adjudged to six months imprisonment! Before we proceed to state the farther circumstances attending this case, some obvious questions present themselves. Was not this instance of hostile conduct of sufficient notoriety and consequence, deeply to affect the negotiation at Amiens? Was it not alone sufficient to engage the English government to demand satisfaction for, or at least the repeal of, a law unjust in its principle, arbitrary in its execution, originating in tyranny, and certainly inconsistent with the duties of good neighbourhood subsisting between countries so situated as France and England must be in time of Peace? Was it not sufficiently alarming to have turned the thoughts of ministers towards the necessity of some stipulations for commercial arrangement? But no, the treaty goes on, is concluded, and the property and commerce of British subjects left exposed to the capricious tyranny and narrow policy of a despot without a single protecting condition! The consequence was as might have been foreseen; so early

as the 20th. of May 1802, not two months after the signing the definitive treaty, a dispatch from Lord Hawkesbury the minister for foreign affairs, to Mr. Merry, the English minister at Paris, requires of him the most detailed and accurate statement of the "rigorous restrictions" and "strict prohibitions" which were universally reported to be attached to British vessels entering the ports of France, and to the admission of British commodities and manufactures into that country. On the 15th of June following Mr. Merry presents an able statement to M. Talleyrand, the French minister, respecting the "Fame Packet," Captain Gruchy, (the case abovementioned) detained at Cherbourg, in which he urges "that Mr. Jackson, his predecessor at Paris, had urged repeated representations on the same subject in the month of *January* preceding: the hardship of extending the execution of a law made in the fury of war, to a case so peculiarly distressful as the present, at a time when hostilities had ceased: that the vessel was bound to an English port in Jersey with provisions and other merchandize for the use of the island; that she was forced into Cherbourg by stress of weather; that the Douane\* in deciding on this law would in case of confiscation be entitled to half the value, and that therefore there might be reason to doubt the equity of the decision; and he concludes by stating that there remained no hope to the proprietors of the ship and cargo, save in the interposition of the government, which they

\* Custom house.

begged and prayed would take upon itself the farther cognizance of the affair." After some delay M. Talleyrand, previously to the 4th of August, acquaints Mr. Merry "that the case having been reported to the first consul, and it having appeared, that the cargo in question was composed of prohibited goods, he had decided THAT JUSTICE SHOULD TAKE ITS COURSE!"

Thus after an interval of eight months, was an arbitrary decree of Robespierre, confirmed by the first consul, the object of which was in both reigns, to impede, if it could not annihilate the maritime consequence of Britain. But this is not the only case of aggressive violence which occurred of the same nature: on the 20th of September following, Mr. Merry has again to importune M. Talleyrand to interpose the hand of power between the effects of a law of the French republic (which he acknowledges is in full force) and the owners of the brig "Jennies," Capt. Muckle, freighted in England with coals for Charente, and other merchandize for Spain. On arriving at Rochefort, his ship was seized as conveying prohibited goods (under which comprehensive head every article of English goods or manufacture was comprized,) and with the cargo confiscated. In this application he was equally unsuccessful; indeed in his dispatch to Lord Hawkesbury he says, there is not the smallest ground for expecting any mitigation of the law, (in this or any other instance) which declared every vessel and cargo confiscated, where British manufacture should be found! Another extraordinary instance, however, of im-

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placable and bitter hostility to British commerce again occurs in the following detail. In the middle of the month of the July after the peace, an English vessel named the Nancy, sailed from England for Rotterdam, with a cargo composed of *foreign* goods, which had been made prize of during the war, and had been sold with the usual caution, and condition to the purchasers, that they were to be exported. In urgent distress from hard weather, and not being able to make her port, she was obliged to bear away for Flessingues, to seek that shelter and protection, which by the law of nations she was entitled to in the harbour of a power, with whom her country was not then at war. On her arrival she was boarded by a party of French soldiery, who possessed themselves of the ship and cargo! This detention was still continued on the 14th of October, when Mr. Merry made another useless representation on the subject to M. Talleyrand. And on the 25th of the same month he takes occasion to state "a new case" to the French government, with which we shall close this humiliating recital. It is that of the brig George, which arrived at Charente, in ballast, having only the necessary provisions on board, for the purpose of taking in a cargo of brandy for London. The custom-house officers, however, were not to be disappointed in their prey: some plates, glasses, knives, and forks, the property and utensils of the captain, of the original value of four pounds sterling, were declared contraband; and the ship (for there was no cargo) seized by those worthy and conscientious

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ministers



ministers of justice.—On this subject Mr. Merry's abilities are once more exerted; mingling the *argumentum ad hominem* with the loftier themes of the violation of all existing usages among civilized nations; he pathetically demands of the apostate minister, whether, for the future, English captains in approaching the shores of France, must not contrive to furnish themselves previously with knives, forks, glasses, and plates of that country? and if that precaution was impossible, must they eat off the ships' decks with their fingers? To this pleading, animated and affecting as it might be, an evasive answer was returned, and it no where appears, that in this case, or in any of the former, was there redress or satisfaction ever afforded! Will it be credited hereafter, that thus was the British flag insulted for a twelve-month with impunity, without any other remonstrance during that period; on the part of the British government? Will posterity credit the fact, that no reprisal of any nature whatever was ordered by the English government—no counter-orders issued to those which carried out the mandate for the restoration of the conquered colonies to France—no armaments set on foot, in contemplation of what should naturally have been expected, as the result of such insolent aggression? No, all was submission, with the exception of the ineffectual plaints already related: nor was the subject renewed on the part of Britain, till other accumulated insults of various natures, had made it necessary to assume somewhat of a decided and vigorous tone with France. Then indeed, lord Whitworth revives it

in the month of February of the present year, evidently in contemplation of war, and when it was necessary to make as strong a case as possible in the eyes of Europe against France—but it was too late. The national honor had been wounded in its most vulnerable part. The moment for urging those insults, which were (unredressed) abundantly a cause of war, had gone by; and after submitting to them without a writhe or a groan, for so long a period; it was weak and futile to pretend to find in them ground for renewed hostilities.—It must here also be mentioned, that so far were these injuries from being merited by any conduct of a similar nature on the part of England, that the *Moniteur* itself, the French official journal, bore honorable testimony to the conduct of the British officer commanding at Porto Ferrajo, who withdrew all protection from vessels calling themselves English privateers, committing violence on French ships, and delivered up the perpetrators of such acts to justice.

By a reference to the articles of the treaty of Amiens, it will be seen, the 14th provides, that all sequestrations imposed in France and England, on the property of their respective subjects, at the commencement of the war, should cease and be done away, on the ratification of the peace.—In the spirit of good faith, and of the anxious wish of the English government, to prove their desire of living on renewed terms of open and amicable intercourse with France; and of reviving a mutually good understanding between the two countries, punctually performed their part of the stipulation,



stipulation. So early as the 25th of May, 1802, Mr. Merry notified to the French minister, that "His majesty had, in conformity to the 14th article of the definitive treaty of peace, taken off the sequestrations upon the property of French citizens in his dominions; and expressing that he did not doubt but that the French government would be equally ready to render the same justice to such of his majesty's subjects as have property in France." The very reasonable request contained in the latter part of this notification, was reiterated twice or thrice by the same person; with what effect, we shall best learn from an extract of lord Whitworth's dispatch from Paris to lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, 10th May, 1803. "With regard to the numerous memorials and representations, which I have had to make to this government, in behalf of those of his majesty's subjects, who have suffered by the detention and confiscation of their vessels and property in French ports; and by the sequestrations which took place during the war; I have only to observe that they have, with the exception of one or two instances, *remained unanswered!*" Under circumstances at once so injurious and insulting did the British government still persist in a pacific and submissive demeanour; far from resenting such conduct, or requiring a specific satisfaction for those multiplied wrongs, it contented itself with making new efforts to conciliate; and by removing all prohibitions on the trade of France, which had been imposed during the war, and placing her people in every respect on the same footing, with regard to

commerce and intercourse, as the inhabitants of any other state in amity with his majesty; shewed a disposition which could not be mistaken, of preserving inviolable the peace it had made, under every circumstance the most humiliating!

But while every step of the French republic manifested the intention of embarrassing and straightening the commerce of England; under the pretext of a renewal of the arrangements which formerly subsisted between both countries, she devised a project, fraught with equal artifice and malignity, the object of which was to establish in every port of the united kingdom a privileged spy, under the name of a commercial agent, whose ostensible business it was to watch over the interests of her trade and navigation, but whose concealed and more important commission extended to the making inquiries into the state of the commerce of each port; the number of vessels entered and cleared out thereof; the course of exchange; the state of the neighbouring manufactures and fairs; with a variety of similar inquiries, manifestly tending towards that minute species of information so requisite to the establishment of a rivalry in commercial importance, now become the avowed object of the first consul. This however was not all: each agent was farther required to "furnish a plan of the ports of his district, with a specification of the soundings for mooring vessels;" and if no such plan could be procured, then "to point out with what wind vessels could come in and go out, and what the greatest draught of water, with which they could enter

therein deeply laden?" On such missions, although no commercial treaty existed between the two countries; notwithstanding the severity with which confiscations issued against every British vessel and cargo which approached the coasts of France; with the tacit permission of the British government, were military men and engineers selected, and dispatched from France, to their several places of destination; two of the most active, Chepy and Fauvelet, actually commenced their functions in Guernsey and Dublin, and the remainder had proceeded to London, to obtain their respective powers and instructions from M. Coquebert Montbret, who had been already named by M. Otto, the French resident in England, to lord Hawkesbury, on the 24th May, 1802, and who was recognized by him, as commissary general of the commercial relations of the French republic at London: when, by a providential accident, the private instructions of M. Talleyrand to Fauvelet at Dublin, (whence we have extracted the detail above given) fell into the hands of government, and at once revealed the views and objects of these pretended commercial agents. The minister for foreign affairs, lord Hawkesbury, immediately made a verbal representation to the French ambassador of this circumstance, to which he was authorized by his court to give a most flimsy and unsatisfactory reply. No farther remonstrance, or demand of explana-

tion, was made on the part of the British government. The remainder of the agents in London were informed, that if they proceeded to their places of destination, they should receive orders to quit the country; but the whole train of those functionaries remained in the capital, till the subsequent departure of general Andreossi; and strange as it may seem, from an official memorandum, dated June 1st, in the present year, it appears that no order to quit his majesty's dominions, was sent to any of the persons styling themselves "commissaries of commercial relations," except to M. Chepy at Guernsey!!\*

In the progress of our last volume we detailed at length the different steps by which Bonaparte achieved the sovereignty of the Italian republic, the acquisitions of Parma, Piedmont, and Louisiana; the establishment of the first consulate in his own person for life; and subsequently the making that office hereditary in his family: we have also enumerated at large the different instances of his arbitrary interference in the affairs of Europe, as well with respect to the German indemnities, as to the affairs of Switzerland; to all these subjects, as connected with those upon which we are about to treat, we must request permission to refer our readers to the volume itself. Some general recapitulation will however be occasionally necessary to shew, what effect these changes in the posture of the European states had upon the feelings of the British go-

\* The facts upon which our observations are founded, respecting the confiscation of British vessels, sequestrations, and the commercial agents, are to be found in the "additional papers" laid before parliament 20th May, 1802, but which we had not room to insert in the "state papers."



vernment, and what the nature and extent of the various discussions they produced, and which at last terminated in that most awful and important event, the renewal of war between the British and French empires.

Whether it were, that swelled with inordinate vanity at the uninterrupted train of success, which, while it gave him the greatest individual elevation, at the same time had enlarged to an enormous extent the boundaries of the country he governed; or that conceiving the most contemptible opinion of the degraded state of Great Britain, of her total renunciation of the principles of honor, and her inability to resist in the slightest degree his sovereign will, Bonaparte (not three months after the peace, and at the moment when he either passed over in contemptuous silence, or confirmed the arbitrary decisions of his courts, upon the complaints of British subjects of the infraction of its articles) commenced a series of remonstrances to the court of London, expressed in terms of the most measured insolence, complaining of the princes of the house of Bourbon, and others their adherents, continuing still to decorate themselves with the insignia of the French orders; of the countenance and support which continued to be given in England to the French bishops and emigrants who were inimical to the present government of France; and lastly of the liberty of the British press,\* which had presumed to question the justice or policy of some of the public acts of his go-

vernment. On these several grounds, repeated representations were made at Paris from M. Talleyrand, and at London by M. Otto, between the periods of the 4th of June and 17th of August, 1802; at which latter date an official note to lord Hawkesbury, distinctly reduces the causes of the dissatisfaction of the French government to their different heads; and after a preamble couched in the most dictatorial and contemptuous terms, requires by the especial direction of the first consul, that his majesty's government shall adopt the most effectual measures to put an end to the unbecoming and seditious publications, with which the newspapers and other writings printed in England, were filled. 2dly, That certain individuals, obnoxious to the French government, should be sent out of the island of Jersey. 3dly, That the former bishops of Arras, St. Pol de Leon, and all those who like them under the pretext of religion, sought to raise disturbances in the interior of France, should likewise be sent away. 4thly, That the Vendean chief Georges and his followers should be *transported* † to Canada according to the intention which M. Otto had been directed to transmit to his government at the request of lord Hawkesbury. 5thly, That the princes of the house of Bourbon at present in Great Britain be recommended to repair to Warsaw, the residence of the head of their family; and lastly, that such of the French emigrants as still thought proper to wear the orders and decorations belonging to the ancient government of

\* Vide "State Papers," Nos. 1 to 13, inclusive of the "Official Correspondence."

† *Deporter* is the word used!



France, should be required to quit the territory of the British empire!

It cannot be supposed that these requisitions, the aggregate of every thing that could insult or lower the country to whom they were made, could have been urged with such amplitude and confidence, had not the negociations which had already taken place, upon their several subjects in detail, sufficiently evinced the timid and wavering spirit which swayed the British councils. When Mr. Merry communicated on the 4th of June M. Talleyrand's conference with him, in which the latter urges the disgust M. Otto (late commissary of prisoners, but whom Bonaparte, in the prosecution of his system of humiliating as much as possible, Great Britain, elevated to the situation of resident at the court of St. James's) could not but feel and experience, at meeting at his majesty's court, and at other places, the French princes decorated with the insignia of the French orders; and that it was incumbent on the British government to remove those princes, their adherents, the French bishops, and other individuals, whose principles were adverse from the present state of things in France; Lord Hawkesbury in reply expresses no surprize or dissatisfaction at the novelty or insolence of such a demand, waives the subject of the insignia altogether, and contents himself with classing those illustrious individuals, the objects of the tyrant's hatred and fear, with other foreigners who might be resident in the kingdom, and who, so long as they should conduct them-

selves agreeably to the laws of the country, could not be thence dismissed!

On the 25th of the following month, M. Otto once more disturbs the tranquillity which ministers had so dearly purchased; and charges distinctly an émigrant of the name of Peltier with having published a libel abounding with the grossest calumnies against the French government and nation: nor does he confine himself to Peltier alone, but implicates the editor of the *Courier François de Londres*, Cobbet,\* and other writers, who resemble them, in the charge, and to whom he desires to direct the attention of his majesty's government; adding the threat, "that writers would doubtless be found in France, willing to avenge their countrymen, by filling their pages with odious reflections on the most respectable persons, and on the dearest interests of Great Britain."

To this direct attack on the liberty of the British press, and to a notification as vulgar as insolent, the secretary of state in the foreign department, in reply, eagerly expresses the displeasure of himself and his colleagues at the particular article complained of; their anxious desire to have the writer of it punished, as he so justly deserves; then laments in common with M. Otto, the license he complains of, and deplores the difficulty there is in proving the guilt of an individual so satisfactorily as to obtain the judgment of a court of law; and concludes by promising to refer the number of Peltier complained of to the king's attorney general, to

know whether or not it were a libel, and the proper object of a prosecution!\*

It can hardly be supposed that this species of forbearance and submission to insult, would tend to moderate the temper, or soften the tone of the first consul or his representative at the British court: accordingly that series of demand, which we have already given in detail, was presented by the latter on the 17th of August, and which

we do not hesitate to pronounce the climax of diplomatic insolence, the most insulting and degrading body of requisition that was ever made to a free people; and the very tender of which will be an eternal stain on the honor and character of the British nation. In vain do we, contemplating these propositions, attempt to recognize the relative situation of France and England, at the period of the preliminary conditions of peace; when the

\* Mr. Peltier who was thus proscribed, and whom the noble secretary of state, expresses his determination to punish as he deserves. was a person of great literary talents, acknowledged integrity, and the avowed enemy of republicanism; and had proved himself the most steady, zealous, attached adherent and defender of the illustrious house of Bourbon, for fifteen successive years. In the earliest period of the French revolution he had distinguished himself by a periodical work called the *Actes des Apôtres*, a production which Brissot declared had done more harm to the democratic cause, than all the armies of the allies. During the remainder of the war he was the editor of a journal under the title of *PARIS*, in which he was the unwearied and indefatigable advocate of royalty, social order and religion, in opposition to republicanism, anarchy and infidelity. Hopeless of any farther benefit to be derived from his efforts, his labours ceased with the definitive treaty: but in the three subsequent months the aggressive violence of Bonaparte in every part of Europe; the particularly good means of acquiring information of his projects with respect to Great Britain, from a personal knowledge of the commercial agents, police spies, and septembrizers who were on mission in every part of the united kingdom, and the actual publication of a series of *Letters on England* in the *Mercur de France* the productions of a jacobin named Fievée, the object of which was to vilify and degrade the British government and national character, all induced Mr. Peltier once more to commence journalist, with the intention, as the event abundantly proved, of laying bare the character of Bonaparte, and awakening the suspicions of this country, and the world to his designs. Accordingly a weekly production appeared under the appellation of *L'Ambigu*, the first number of which became the subject of the complaint of the French government.

Such was the person and such his merits, against whom the governments of both countries united in the prosecution: on the 21st of February of the present year, was he brought to trial at the suit of the king, on the information of the attorney general, for a libellous publication with intent to vilify and defame Napoleon Bonaparte (on the very day of Despard's execution) and was found guilty. The king's Message was delivered to parliament on the 8th day of March following, and judgment not being called for by the attorney general at the usual time, all farther proceedings ceased, and Mr. Peltier was restored to his place in society, with the reputation and the feelings of a martyr to his cause and principles. It is painful to add, that the news of his trial brought his aged father, and a beloved sister to the grave, the only remains of his family, within a few days of each other at Nantes; and that his patrimony was seized upon by the consular agents. "Thus," to use his own words, "might it be said with truth that he was tried in England, but punished in France."



former, despoiled of her colonies, blocked up in her ports, her commerce destroyed, and her discomfited armies obliged to relinquish their Egyptian conquest, had become the captives of an inferior force, and evinced an inferiority to the latter in the eyes of all Europe. Instead of this brilliant and proud statement, we can only find the haughty dictation of a superior power compelling a conquered country to pass under the yoke, as the just punishment of her voluntary debasement, the sacrifices of her character and reputation among the nations of Europe, her desertion of her allies, her surrender of her conquests, and her abandonment of the preeminence she had gained throughout the world by the wisdom of her statesmen and the valor of her sons. Such were the first but bitter fruits of the peace of Amiens.

It is not to be doubted, but that the first consul, in causing those propositions to be made, had estimated the submission of the peacemakers, in a descending ratio, to the extravagance of his own demands; and expected nothing less than their complete acquiescence thereto. The elevation he had attained, by his intrigues with the Italian republic; the certainty of being equally successful in France, and probably the contemplation of imperial dignity, superadded to the power, in his own person and family, at the same time that they gratified his ambition, alarmed the habitual jealousy of despotism, and led him to consider protection to the Bourbons and their adherents, in a country where they were yet out

of the reach of his power, and the freedom of the press, in the hands of a still unenslaved people, as impediments to the consummation of his views, which no time should be lost in removing.

When the caprice of the emperor Paul, established once more the relations of amity, between Russia and France; in the treaty which formed their basis, the subject of the emigrant princes, made of course no inconsiderable part of the difficulties attending its negociation: it however underwent a species of compromise; during which the first consul himself, acknowledged, that to demand from the emperor the dismissal of the count de Lille (Louis the XVIII,) and his family, from his dominions, and the protection he had hitherto conspicuously bestowed upon them, would be derogatory to his character, and inconsistent with the honor and frankness which distinguished that potentate.—How differently he estimates the honor and frankness of George the IIIrd, a monarch, whose whole life exhibits but one series of benevolence and magnanimity, the propositions we have detailed, sufficiently evince.

How far, however, the French government is to be justified, by the degree of acquiescence they expected, and indeed actually met with, our readers will be best able to decide, from the specific answers made to M. Otto's demands, by the secretary of state for foreign affairs, on the 28th day of the August following. To the requisition, that certain emigrants in Jersey should be sent out of that island, lord Hawkesbury replied, that many



of them had removed, previously to M. Otto's representation, and others of them were removing.—With respect to the venerable bishops of St. Pol de Leon, Arras, and others, accused of distributing papers on the coast of France, with a view of disturbing the government of the republic, his lordship calls for a substantiation of the facts, in which case, they should be obliged to quit the country.—The direct demand for the transportation of the Vendean royalists to Canada, agreeably to previous arrangement, next follows. Those unfortunate, but gallant men, who had, under the faith of British assurances, made a glorious, though unsuccessful struggle, to re-establish their monarch and their religion; with whom England had, for those objects, made a common cause; and who, on the failure of their efforts, sheltered themselves under her protection, sacrificing their homes, their fortunes, their families, to their principles. — This honorable body of men, to whom Great Britain was pledged, by every tie, the most sacred, and in every event bound to protect—she was now peremptorily called upon to *deporter*, to the bleak and ungenial soil of Canada! To “this CRUEL, this INFERNAL” proposal\*, his majesty's minister (repelling, however, the ground of previous arrangement) *voluntarily* concedes the point, and declares, that the king is very desirous to obviate any cause of complaint or uneasiness, with respect to these persons; and that measures are in contemplation, and will be taken *for the*

*purpose of removing them out of his European dominions!!!*—The next object of complaint, and consequent requisition, which presents itself in M. Otto's note, is, the protection afforded to the princes of the house of Bourbon, resident in England. That august house, which had for ages and generations swayed the sceptre of the most powerful monarchy in the world, and which, outliving the storm that had bereaved its chief, his consort, sister, and son of their lives; and the wretched survivors, of empire and of a country, saw itself reduced to seek, wandering and exiled, a home in the protecting kindness of the different countries in Europe, not yet subjugated to the dominion of France: that portion of the wreck which was cast upon England's hospitable shore, had excited the jealousy of the French ruler, and he now required, that its government should recommend to these illustrious personages, a removal to Warsaw, then the residence of the chief of the family. To this demand, less peremptory indeed, but assuredly the most degrading of the whole, the king's minister disclaims on the part of his royal master, all protection and hospitality towards the royal family of France; declaring, in his name, that he has no desire that the princes of the house of Bourbon should continue to reside in his country, if they are disposed, *or can be induced*, to quit it; but that otherwise, so long as they conducted themselves peaceably and quietly, the rights of hospitality could not be withdrawn from them, or, in other words, that

\* Vide Lord Temple's Speech, page 171,

they were equally within the protection of the law, with every other foreigner!—But the next article, distinctly and peremptorily demands, the expulsion of all emigrants, from the British dominions, who should continue to wear the decorations of the orders belonging to the ancient government of France. To this it was replied, on the part of the English government, in substance, that it would be inconsistent with the laws of the country, to comply with this demand, though his lordship acknowledges, that “*it might be more proper if the emigrant princes and nobles abstained from wearing the INSIGNIA complained of !!!*”

Such was the stile of demand, and such the answers of the respective governments, in the propositions made to Great Britain by France, so far as they relate to the subject of the emigrants from the latter country, residing in England. From this portion of the discussion, we turn sufficiently mortified and disgusted at the alternate arrogance and humility which it has been our painful task to display; to the more satisfactory contemplation of its only remaining part, namely, the press, which, although it form the first of the objects of M. Otto's demand, we have reserved, as unconnected with the other five, for our separate consideration.

There never probably had occurred a period, when the English press was more devotedly attached to the support of an administration, than at the precise moment, when its freedom of discussion became the object of the resentment of the first consul. To the minister, under whose auspices the treaty of Amiens

had been concluded, it was completely subservient: every act of his and his colleagues, was diurnally advocated, with a zeal and perseverance almost unexampled; while the conduct, the views, and even the personal character of the little band, which was stiled “the new opposition,” and whose hostility to that treaty, and to the measures of the government, were well known, met with the grossest, most illiberal, and (occasionally) the most wanton scurrility. It was also sufficiently ascertained, that it was the ardent desire of government, in all events and under every circumstance, to keep well with the first consul. From these premises, it might be concluded, that the influence of the ministry would have had weight enough (as the inclination certainly was not wanting) to have made use of this great lever of public opinion, as a powerful engine, to second their views of keeping Bonaparte in good humour; or, in all events, that they could have prevented those alarming and tyrannical circumstances in his conduct, with respect to his own country, or the states of Europe, from being canvassed too curiously, and discussed with that openness and candor which naturally belong to the free press of a free people. If such were the hopes of government, it was egregiously disappointed; however narrowed in its views of party at home; on the great scale of universal policy, the British press was found in the able and impartial exercise of its functions; the palladium of the liberties, not only of England, but of all Europe; the steady asserter of the rights and freedom of mankind, and the bane and obstacle to the despotic

despotic designs of insatiable and encroaching tyranny.

So early as the month of December 1801, when the sailing of the armament from Brest, during the interval between the preliminary articles of peace, and the definitive treaty, had, under such circumstances, by its novelty and the actual aspect of affairs at the moment, alarmed every English bosom, save those who had made themselves parties to the transaction; the sentiments and opinions of the public prints of England, freely expressed upon the subject, seems to have given great offence to the French government. When the personal ambition of Bonaparte placed him at the head of the Italian republic; his lust of power; the dangers to the liberties of Europe, likely to accrue therefrom; and the intrigues become public, by which Parma, Louisiana, and the island of Elba, were annexed to his dominion; when the assumption of Piedmont and the Milanese, and the general tenor of his conduct, equally aggressive and arrogant towards all Europe, became sufficiently matter of notoriety, the columns of the British journals successively detailed the facts, and elaborated the necessary consequences: nor were they silent, when the confiscations of English property, and other acts of violence and injustice, took place in the ports of France, both immediately before and after the treaty of Amiens. Individual instances of the first consul's tyranny, by his interference in

his courts of justice, to procure arbitrary sentence against those personally obnoxious to him, were exposed to general animadversion. In fine, that public career of conduct, which it was the choice of Bonaparte to run, and which not only aimed at the despotic sway of France, but to the enslaving and subjugating the rest of Europe, was, but with truth, with temper, and with impartiality, exposed by the English press, to the alarming consideration and reflections of a people, to whom freedom was yet more than an empty name.

Successful, to the height of his wishes, over the press of every part of the continent, either by public or private means, by menaces or by bribes\*, it may be easily conceived, that it was to the last degree galling to the despot, to find there existed, in the British capital, a power which he could not controul; which, although in the hands of a few obscure individuals, could yet interpose the most serious obstruction to his views, and thwart, perhaps defeat, the best devised and most promising of his schemes. Under the impulse of feelings, which no respect for the government of England could induce him to check, he made through his minister M. Otto, those requisitions respecting the licence of the British press, in conjunction with those on the subject of the emigrants, the fate of which latter we have already laid before our readers.

But however willing the English

\* Nor were the latter means neglected in London, but, to the immortal honor of those who were the proprietors of the public prints, but one individual, the obscure editor of an obscure weekly Journal, could be found venal or base enough to engage in the defence of the conduct of Bonaparte, from the treaty of Amiens to the renewal of the war.



government might be to concede to the imperious dictates of that part of the representation, which aimed at the proscription of the French princes, and had even, as we have seen, expressed the most anxious desire (when urged on this subject on a former occasion) to sacrifice M. Peltier (a foreigner) to the offended majesty of Bonaparte, the direct demand upon it, "to take effectual measures for the suppression of publications obnoxious to France, with which the *newspapers* and other writings, printed in England, were filled," gave it pause—and the tone of direct submission, was for a season suspended.

To acquiesce under the repeated insults offered to our flag and commerce; to allow of the infraction of that article of the treaty of peace, by which the sequestrations on British property in France, were to be taken off; to permit the most insulting demands on their government, respecting the unfortunate emigrants; and to have hitherto multiplied concession with eager facility, had marked progressively the line of conduct adopted by ministers, from the period of the treaty of Amiens; and it is possible they might have expected, that so much submission would have secured them from farther encroachments; but here, as in other instances, they grossly miscalculated.—And this direct measure of the ruler of France, to interfere with, and overawe Great Britain in the administration of her domestic concerns, must have been to them a galling proof, that no concession

could appease, no submission avert his insulting rapacity. But however well disposed they might have been to level this last bulwark of British liberty at his feet, it was a task far beyond their power to accomplish; they well knew, that but to touch this shrine of freedom, to violate this sacred ark, was death; and they accordingly gave a tardy and reluctant negative to the imperious demand.

In a separate division of our work, the whole of the original documents respecting this part of the negotiation, may be found\*, and on which it would be superfluous and impertinent in us here to offer any farther comment. It may however be observed, that no remonstrance was made by the English government to the French court, on this unprecedented, unauthorized, and insolent spirit of dictation.—No positive requisition of the discontinuance of such degrading demands.—No specific declaration of the inviolability of the English law and constitution, and no menace held out of avenging the insult, if again offered or repeated. At this moment, such a tone and such a remonstrance, must have had its effect, for the conquests from France and her allies were yet in the hands of Great Britain. It is, however, but justice to add, that lord Hawkesbury reasons the matter very ably and excursively, in his reply of the 28th of August; and that he allows that "M. Otto's note is by no means conciliatory."

Hitherto it must have appeared, in the view which we have taken of

\* Vide State Papers, from No. 7 to No. 13, inclusive, of The Official Correspondence.

this discussion, that aggression, if there were any, was to be found solely, or at least primarily, in the conduct of the British press; and that France, reserving to herself, as she had threatened, the right and the power of retaliation, had suspended that species of attack or defence; till acquiescence or refusal to her demand, had authorized her to put her Journalists in activity. We anticipate the surprize of our readers, when they shall be told, that in this war of words, the prelude to one of a more serious nature, the total reverse was the case: and that, at the moment when the freedom of the English press was stated by M. Otto, to have given the most serious offence to the first consul, the French Journals teemed with the foulest, most rancorous, and unqualified abuse, of the constitution, the people, and even the person of the beloved monarch of Great Britain—and here it must be recollected, that the press of Paris, was as notoriously enslaved, and under the controul and direction of the government, as that of London was unshackled and out of the power of administration: and consequently, while the lucubrations of the former might be considered as a species of authorized State Paper, the latter were merely

the effusions of independent principle.

Previously to the first representation, made by M. Otto, on the subject of the press, and since the signature of the preliminaries, no less than thirteen articles had appeared in the French official print, *The Moniteur*, directly levelled at the freedom of debate in the British parliament, denouncing those members of it, who presumed to question or comment on the actions of the first consul; and abounding in the grossest personal abuse of lord Grenville, Mr. Windham, and those, who acting with them\*, had manifested their hostility to the prevailing system, and who were therefore odious in the eyes of Bonaparte.—In the vast variety of the other Parisian Journals, those topics were insisted upon, with equal or increased virulence. But, about the period of the beginning of June, also that of M. Otto's first note, this species of warfare was organized, with all the precision of regular system. An English newspaper, named "The Argus," was set up at Paris, under the auspices of the French government, which commenced a regular series of personal attacks upon the king of Great Britain, his ministry, and his country. The constitution of England,

\* It has been urged, by a very able and respectable advocate of the conduct of ministers, that the abuse bestowed on those personages, in the French papers, was doubtless beheld by government, with indignation; we should have thought so too, had we not witnessed in the columns of those prints, notoriously attached to Mr. Addington's administration, amongst a profusion of other epithets, that little band of patriots, of whom lord Grenville and Mr. Windham were considered the leaders, stigmatized by the appellation of "sanguinary bloodhounds!!!" It ought were wanting to embalm the character of these patriots, in the memory of a grateful posterity, to whose efforts it was owing, that the vital spark of British freedom was kept alive, till subsequent events blew it into a flame; it would be, that at the same moment they were the objects of the vituperative scurrility of Bonaparte's Journalists, and of the English newspapers, devoted to the interests of the peacemakers of Amiens.



both in church and state; its nobility, and the loyal of every description, were indiscriminately attacked; and the persons (worthy indeed of their office), who were chosen for this filthy task, were the outcasts of the Irish rebellion, and some apostate English, who were found but too willing to engage in the parricide. About this time also, appeared a series of letters, in some of the daily French papers, and afterwards collected and republished, as "A Collection of Letters on the English Nation;" in which the national character, its laws, institutions, society, customs and manners, were systematically decried and villified: and whose author, on his return from his mission (for it was well known that he was employed and paid for the express purpose), was rewarded by Bonaparte, with honors and emolument.—Thus much, to shew the species of *retaliation*, meditated by France.

On the 7th of August, however, ten days before Mr Otto's propositions were made to the English minister, and three weeks nearly, before Lord Hawkesbury's reply, when the publication must have been sufficiently notorious, the *Moniteur*, which we have already described as the vehicle of the official communications of the French government, amid a variety of the grossest calumnies, asserted that the Vendean chief, Georges, was openly caressed in London, and wore his red ribbon (that of the Bath), as a reward for having constructed the infernal machine\*, which destroyed part of Paris, and put to death thirty

women; children; and peaceable citizens; and that, doubtless, had he succeeded (in destroying the first consul), he would have received the order of the garter. Thus asserting, in language not to be misunderstood, that the King of England had bestowed the highest reward of military merit, and one of the most distinguished badges of honor, on an assassin.

It doubtless became the prudence or the magnanimity of the English government; not to take any formal notice of those repeated acts of undisguised hostility; on the part of France, and to return, under all the circumstances we have detailed, that reply which we have already noticed at sufficient length in its place; and thus was this important subject of discussion left, in a state of much greater irritation than at its commencement; both parties sullenly withdrew, from a contest in which the not having entirely succeeded, and the having conceded too much, left each dissatisfied. As the subject, henceforward, becomes of minor consideration (though renewed upon two subsequent occasions†), we shall here dismiss it, with remarking; that however mortifying to a British reader, the tone of submission on the part of the English government; it should be more than balanced, by the reflection, that he can satisfactorily deduce, from the circumstances attending it, that the freedom of the British press was thereby acknowledged to be inviolable, and worthy of all the eulogies that have been bestowed upon it by successive ages. The disgrace

\* Machine Infernale.

† Vide Official Correspondence, Nos. 85 and 28.



in the first instance *may* be attended with temporary disadvantage, the good resulting from the latter *must* be eternal.

In the view which we have taken in our last volume of the definitive treaty of peace,\* we have endeavoured to point out the utter impossibility of carrying into effect its 10th article, which relates to the future situation of Malta, under a circumstance, at its conclusion, of sufficient notoriety; namely, the confiscation of the property of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, (to whose dominion the island was to be restored) in Spain, in Lombardy, in Piedmont, and in France; a measure undoubtedly originating in the policy of the first consul, who, by thus destroying the only means by which the old government could protect itself, placed it under the necessity of receiving a Neapolitan garrison—a species of protection, which he well knew he could, in his new situation of chief of the Italian republic, sufficiently controul, to suit his future views on the island. Other obstacles however, existed, in the disposition of the Maltese themselves, of which we had not at that moment a suspicion, but of which subsequent means of information have put us in possession, that would, if no other existed, have imposed an insuperable barrier to the execution of this part of the treaty.

No sooner were the preliminary articles of peace, by which the contracting parties agreed, among other things, to restore the island of Malta to the knights of St. John, become known to the inhabitants,

than they immediately determined to resist the stipulation respecting them, to the uttermost. Accordingly they dispatched a deputation, consisting of some of the most popular and respectable of their number, to England, for the purpose of presenting a most forcible, but respectful and temperate remonstrance to the English government, against the injustice and cruelty of disposing of their rights and privileges, as well as of themselves and country, without their previous knowledge and consent; and by which means they should be thrown back, after their glorious struggles for liberty, upon the good faith of a body, whose “insufferable oppression” and “sacrilegious tyranny” had rendered them odious and insupportable to their subjects. They grounded their right to become a party in whatever concerned their future destiny, on their having by force of arms conquered their island from France, as that power had previously done from the knights of the order; that the base desertion and treachery of the latter, in surrendering the island without a blow to Bonaparte, was an actual dissolution of the ties which should reciprocally bind prince and subject; that the king of Great Britain having repeatedly refused, what they had as repeatedly tendered, the sovereignty of their state, no right did exist in him, or in any other power on earth, to make an arbitrary transfer of their allegiance: and they concluded by declaring their resolution firmly to maintain these principles to the last extremity; and that in the event of

\* Annual Register for 1802, vid. page 164.

the stipulation they complained of, being confirmed, they would rather receive a garrison from France, and become the subjects of that nation, than again crouch to the despotism of their former masters.

A copy of this manly and spirited remonstrance, with which every British heart must beat in unison, was forwarded to the English government on the 22d of October, 1801, having been sanctioned by the signature of the representatives of every description of inhabitant in the island; and the deputation already mentioned, speedily followed, in order to give it every possible weight, and any explanation which might be required. On the 4th of February of the following year, they communicated officially with the proper minister, announcing their arrival in London, their mission and its objects; requesting at the same time an interview. The eagerness with which every topic, that might delay or impede the conclusion of peace, was put aside by administration, occasioned barely a verbal message to be returned, by which the deputies were informed, that "their residence in London would give cause of jealousy to France," and "that they would do well to expedite their departure from London;" refusing at the same to accredit them officially, but allowing of their being presented at his private house! Not deterred by the coldness of this reception, they waited on the secretary of state agreeably to the mode prescribed, on the 8th of February, and then in the most animated and strenuous manner, re-urged their claims and expectations. On the 1st of March they sent in a fresh memorial, re-

stating the grounds on which they prepared the former; adducing new motives for their conduct; appealing to the policy as well as justice of the king's government, for a compliance with their demands; and again earnestly praying, in the name of their fellow-citizens, to be taken under the protection of Great Britain, as the liege subjects of its monarch.

The verbal assurances of the minister "that the happiness of Malta should be taken care of," was the only satisfaction they could obtain for their constituents; but personally, they were well received, their expences paid, and were permitted, as if by chance, to see his majesty, whose kind reception of them, concurring with the other marks of attention which they met with, induced less of perseverance in the pursuit of their objects; and on the definitive treaty being signed, having had a frigate prepared to carry them home, they signified to the English government a species of acquiescence with the provisions of the 10th article, which respected their future government. When they arrived at the island, however, and had made known the detail of their negotiation, with the substance of what had been concluded upon, the resentment of the Maltese exceeded all bounds, they tore down the public notifications of the 10th article, which had been publicly posted up; protested against the conduct of Great Britain in the most violent terms, and finally agreed, that rather than submit to the arrangement which had been imposed upon them, to surrender their country to France!

Although subsequent events have happily

happily prevented the determination of this gallant people from being brought to issue, we have thought it our duty to detail a transaction so honorable to the Maltesé, who in all probability may hereafter be identified with the other parts of the British monarchy; and because it affords one more proof of the insuperable objections to that article of the treaty of Amiens; which gave rise to it: and the difficulties attending on which, (as had been foreseen, and foretold by the members of the "new opposition," and doubtless equally well known to government) would produce unsatisfactory negotiation, and ultimately a renewal of hostilities between England and France.

The definitive treaty being however concluded, notwithstanding all the dangers which its execution held forth to Britain; or those, which the utter impossibility of executing some of its terms, must have equally involved the country; it is here necessary to recapitulate so much of its tenth article, as relates to Malta; the fulfillment of which became matter of serious and angry discussion, towards the close of the year 1802, between the contracting powers; and which was ultimately the ostensible cause of that great change and convulsion in the state of affairs, which form the prominent feature of our present labours.

The principal provisions of the article in question, and which apply immediately to our purpose, are those which declare, That a grand master was to be elected in full chapter, by the knights of St. John of Jerusalem; that a Maltese langue should be established; in the room of the French and English

for ever abolished; that the British troops were to evacuate the island in three months, provided there were a grand master or commissioners fully empowered to receive the possession, and that a force, consisting of 2000 Neapolitan troops, to be furnished by his Sicilian majesty, were arrived in the island as a garrison; that Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Spain, and Prussia, should guarantee this arrangement, and the independence of the islands; that those powers should be invited to accede to it: And that the Neapolitan troops were to remain, till the knights had raised a sufficient force to protect the island.

It must assuredly be to all future times matter of wonder and indignation, that a peace which involved in it almost every consideration interesting and dear to mankind, which closed a destructive and bloody warfare of twelve years, and on which the future tranquillity of the civilized world depended, should have been left exposed to infraction from any contingency whatever; much less, be concluded upon terms, which were either impracticable from circumstances sufficiently known at the time to the contracting parties, or which depended not on the will of those parties themselves, but were subject to the election or caprice of a third power. These observations directly apply to the subject of Malta, one certainly not of minor consideration and upon which alone, a future difference must produce the most fatal consequences.

To restore the island to the knights, unless they could eventually be supposed sufficiently powerful to

R

protect



protect it, was doubtless not in the contemplation of the English government, at the moment when the treaty was concluded; yet, on the 27th of April, previously to its signature, it was publicly announced in the Madrid Gazette, that the king of Spain had annexed the property of the order within his dominions, to the royal domain: its revenues in France and Lombardy, had already been confiscated; and those in Portugal, as belonging to the Spanish *langue*, might reasonably be expected to share the same fate. Those means, therefore, by which alone its independence could be secured, no longer existed; and thus, with this insuperable obstacle to its execution (if the English government seriously meant to fulfil the condition to its letter) was the treaty concluded. With respect to the guaranty of the four great continental powers, it became evident, from subsequent events, that they had not been made parties to an agreement, in which their consent was of so much consequence, and the dissent of any one of them to which, must have rendered it insecure and invalid. To this dissent it would not have been unnatural to have looked forward; few political arrangements have ever occurred, which have been so well calculated, as to secure, on motives of common interest, the concurrence of all the great powers of Europe; still fewer, where, totally uninterested; they could be brought within a limited time, to unite in perfecting a negotiation, by which the views and objects of other states were alone to be accomplished; and least of all, where, to delay, or totally refuse

their consent, might be more consonant to the secret principles which directed their councils. Under some or other of these predicaments, may be ranked the powers whom France and England chose to fix upon as the pledges for the independence and security of the order of St. John and the island of Malta.

On what principle, or by what rule of conduct, the individuals who composed the British government were directed, in thus signing to the article in question, doubtless one of the most important of the whole treaty, it is certainly matter of difficulty to decide; independently of their knowledge of the absolute destruction of the revenues of the order, which alone could render it respectable; of the doubts which they might reasonably have, of attaining the guaranty of the great continental powers to an arrangement, which they knew could not be carried into effect; they were also well aware, that the Maltese themselves would never consent to the re-establishment of their former government, and had determined to perish, to the last man, rather than acknowledge the sovereignty of the knights of St. John. Are we then to suppose, that with an insatiation, the most extraordinary and unprecedented, they left the dearest interests of their country; the fate of all Europe; and their own reputation, as honest and conscientious statesmen, to be determined upon by the combined operations of time and chance; and looked forward solely to good fortune (hitherto their tutelary genius), for extrication from the impending difficulties and dangers? Or must

we believe that catching at a momentary popularity, and eager to secure their situations in office, that knowingly, and with their eyes open, they thus hazarded the deepest stake ever played for, by contending nations?

But for the conduct of the French government, in its part of this transaction, far other motives must be sought, in the bold, yet wary policy of Bonaparte. Equally apprized of the difficulties of executing the 10th article of the definitive treaty; he concluded it with the same eagerness, and appearance of good faith, as had been manifested on the part of England; at the moment too, when his ordinances and influence had destroyed the sources of the independence which he affected to secure. In the appointment of the powers, whose guaranty was deemed essential to the arrangement, he was doubtless influenced by the consideration, that possessing almost absolute power over Spain, and the greatest influence at the court of Berlin; he could accelerate or retard their acceptance of the trust, as best suited his purposes. Creating, therefore, all that could obstruct the fulfilment of this most important part of that system, on which the general pacification was founded; it will be necessary to consider retrospectively what were the leading principles which were known to govern his conduct, and from thence deduce the most probable causes for his formal ratification of an article, the *entire* execution of which he had taken the most effectual means of obstructing.

We shall not here enter into the variety of political considerations,

which had rendered the possession of Egypt desirable to France, for nearly a century back; it is sufficient to observe, that independently of every other, the great and increasing empire of England in Asia, had stimulated the wish to action: and that Bonaparte, sated with the plunder of Italy, and panting for fresh conquest, planned and undertook the conquest of that country. Our preceding volumes have recounted the termination of that extraordinary attempt, which evolved in its progress the desertion of their leader, the captivity of his army, and the glorious and never-fading laurels, acquired by British valour. During the temporary success, however, which marked the commencement of the expedition, Malta had been basely and treacherously surrendered to the French, by the knights of the order, and which, in the hands of the former, from its strength and means of defence, resisted, for two years and two days, the united efforts of the Maltese, the Neapolitan, and the British force. Reconquered however, it admitted an English garrison and government, in whose possession it remained, at the period of the peace of Amiens. Heavily as these calamities affected France, they must have been peculiarly mortifying to Bonaparte, whose retreat from Acre, and precipitate flight to Europe, had exhibited him to the gaze of all the world, as the baffled and discomfited deserter of his troops. By the dispensation of providence, however it was decreed, (doubtless for the humiliation of those republicans, whose impious excesses had filled the nations of the earth with woe and misery) that this stranger, the meanest and most



unworthy of the subjects of France, should be placed in the imperial seat of the illustrious family she had cast out; and he found himself, at the moment, when disgrace and infamy should have been his bitter portion, in the government of a mighty kingdom, and the arbiter of the destinies of Europe!

In this elevation it would not be consistent with his character, to suppose, that the scene of his late disasters, and the humiliation of his army, were forgotten. Every motive that might be supposed to influence the man, were now superadded to the thirst of dominion in the monarch; and the reconquest of Egypt, and its annexation to his empire, became one of the greatest objects of his ambition. Malta, in the possession of the English, opposed however an impassable barrier to his designs; and it was therefore the whole scope and tendency of the article of the treaty of peace, which provided for the future government of that island, to dispossess Great Britain thereof, and place it in such a situation as might render it an easy or certain acquisition, whenever a proper opportunity presented.

Having this clue to his conduct, on an examination of the stipulations of the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens, it will be found, that the *positive* provisions of it are, that Great Britain shall evacuate the island in three months; and shall restore it to the order, represented by the grand master, or a proper commissioner, appointed for the purpose, provided that a garrison of 2000 Neapolitan troops should have arrived to garrison the island.

Thus much of the treaty, it was the object, as it was the interest of Bonaparte, to fulfil; but that portion of it, on which so much of its future security depended, namely, the guaranty of Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Spain, was expressed *conditionally*, it being proposed by the last stipulation of the article, that those powers should be *invited* to accede to the arrangement; and this, it certainly was not, for the reason above given, the intention of France to accelerate; depending, therefore, on the difficulties which she had either caused by the alienation of the property of the order, or those she could create by her influence to protract the guaranty of Prussia and Spain; she trusted to the pacific dispositions of the English government, under all the circumstances of the case, for the execution of the former part of the treaty, which we have distinguished as *positive*; and for the deferring to future discussion, all that was conditional and secondary. How far the French government were warranted in their expectations, will appear from the negotiations which took place upon the subject, previously to the renewal of war: and a perusal of the following pages will enable our readers to decide whether it were owing to the vigour and firmness of the British councils, or to the providential coincidence of unforeseen foreign and domestic occurrences, that the French flag is not at this moment flown in triumph over the towers of Valetta.

On the 23d and 24th of May nearly two months subsequent to the signature of the treaty of peace the governments of France and England



England, interchanged the notification of the respective appointments of general Vial and sir Alexander Ball, to be their ministers to the order of St. John, for the purpose of seeing the provisions of the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens, carried into execution; and their intention of dispatching these persons to Malta without delay, to fulfil the object of their mission. The appointment of a grand master, was, however, an indispensable requisite to the proposed evacuation. The first stipulation of the article, respecting Malta, proposes, that the knights of the order, whose *langues* continue to exist, shall proceed to the election of a grand master, in Malta, to be chosen from among those nations which have preserved the property of the order.—A paragraph, not extremely respectful to the emperor of Russia, as it does not mention the proclamation issued by Alexander, on his accession to that dignity, calling the knights of the order to assemble, and proceed to the election of a grand master, at St. Petersburg. Whatever were the private views of the latter potentate, on the island of Malta, his avowed intention and determination were, to restore the order in its pure integrity, to which the introduction of a Maltese *langue* (consequently a democratic one), was an obstacle, and against which stipulation, he had constantly manifested the most marked repugnance. On the 23d of April, one month after the treaty, the English minister, at St. Petersburg, in a dispatch to his court, expresses his

belief, that the emperor will decline taking any share in the proposed guaranty.

This communication, in all probability, rendered the English government more conciliating in her conduct, and procured her formal assent to the election which had taken place in St. Petersburg, of a number of persons of the order, from whence a grand master was to be selected by the pope. Of this consent, the French minister for foreign affairs, was duly apprized, on the 16th of June, and that opportunity taken by the English government, of requiring the concert of France, in soliciting by the joint application of their ambassadors, the guaranty of the continental powers, named in the treaty. To this notification, after a short delay, M. Talleyrand replied, that his court was equally anxious with that of England, to remove every obstacle to the execution of the 10th article of the treaty; in consequence of which, he announced its assent to the election, and the pope's nomination of a grand master; promising also, the desired co-operation for the purposes already mentioned, of its ambassadors or ministers, at Berlin, Petersburg, and Vienna\*. No farther correspondence took place upon the subject, till the 21st of August following, when M. Otto (four days after the angry and insolent representation we have already adverted to), in an official note to the English government, stated, that the time allowed for the purpose of evacuating Malta had expired, and that

\* State Papers, Nos. 5 and 6, with the inclosures referred to, in the Official Correspondence.

the English minister, at Naples, had not been authorized by his government to facilitate the transport of the Neapolitan troops, who were by the treaty to compose the future garrison; and concluding, by a hope that the latter part of the stipulation, as well as the evacuation of the island, should meet with no farther delay, but that the respective plenipotentiaries might immediately execute the conditions of the article respecting Malta, without farther reference to their governments, *as the evacuation would not at all prevent the subsequent concert on other points of the treaty.* To this it was replied, by lord Hawkesbury, that the Neapolitan troops were now, most probably, on their passage for the island, or, if not, should be forwarded with all possible dispatch; and desires the French government, without delay, to give fresh instructions to its ministers at the continental courts, for the obtainment of the concluded on guaranty; but takes no notice of that part of M. Otto's note, which claims the immediate evacuation, as essential to the conditions of the treaty; the other points being to be referred to future negotiation\*.

A considerable pause again ensued, in the affairs of Malta, and the discussion was not renewed between England and France, till the commencement of the present year. In order to preserve the chain of narrative unintangled, we have not dwelt upon the extraordinary circumstances of the consent of the English government to the election of a grand master of the order of

St. John, in Petersburg, at once illegal and unconstitutional, as well with respect to its own ordinances, as in being directly contrary to the letter and spirit of the 10th article of the treaty, so often alluded to; or, its still more surprising concurrence in the permitting the individual choice to rest with the pope.—The idea of an election, at the court of Petersburg, originated in one of the chivalrous projects of the late emperor Paul, who wished to be considered the restorer, as he was the self-appointed protector, of the order; and to such a height did he carry this design, that the arms of the island were emblazoned, during the latter part of his reign, with those of Russia.—The proceeding which we advert to, was not, however, carried into effect, till the reign of his successor, when, it may be, that political views encouraged the prosecution of the design. The execution of it was, however, highly indecorous, if not ridiculous. A few refugees, from Malta, were alone present: none of the great languages of the order voted; and even the resignation of the existing grand master (baron Hompesch), had not been legally ascertained. Under these circumstances, a list of persons, decreed by this body eligible to the situation, were declared, and the final nomination vested in the Pope. To this arrangement, the courts of London and Paris, gave their consent, with the qualification, that it should be for the present appointment alone, and not serve as a precedent in future. Whether this proceeding

\* State Papers, Nos. 26 and 27.

originated in concert and good understanding between France and Russia, is a point upon which it is now difficult to determine; certain it is, that none could have taken place, more prejudicial to the real interests of Great Britain. If the object were the delay of restoring the order, or of appointing such a chief as might hereafter materially advance the views of the first consul, it was exactly that he could have wished, as his influence with the court of Rome was such, as to promise him complete success, on which ever mode he determined. Nor could the national character of Great Britain be raised, by thus submitting to a mode of election, unworthy the dignity of the order, and repugnant to every principle of the justice and good faith, which had been expressed towards it, in the stipulations of that article, which provided for its restoration.

During this period, every exertion seems to have been made by the English ministers at the courts of Vienna, Berlin, and St. Petersburg, to obtain the long protracted guarantee: at Vienna these efforts were successful; but no solicitation or entreaty could prevail on the Emperor of Russia to declare his accession; and at Berlin, the French minister not having joined in the request with that of England, that pretext was made for delay. It was now also found out, that Spain was so totally influenced by France, that no mention of her name occurs in any future portion of the discussion on this subject.

While the English government was thus employed in useless and degrading solicitation, the gigantic

views of that of France began rapidly to develope themselves. Bonaparte had acquired, in his own person, the sovereignty of the French empire, with the right of nominating his successor, and had established his legion of honour. His legalizing the Roman Catholic religion in his dominions, and his act of amnesty towards the emigrants, had quieted, in a great measure, the popular uneasiness on the former subject, and broke up the councils, and recalled vast numbers of the individuals of the latter body to their native homes. Chief of the Italian republic, his influence was unboundedly powerful throughout every part of that devoted country, in which he had seized, as appendages to his empire, the states of the king of Sardinia, and of the duchy of Parma; founded a monarchy; new modelled its republics; established one totally new; robbed and insulted the king of Naples, and finally disposed of its various provinces, as with the spoils of a conquered country. Unchecked and unquestioned in this career, he had already commenced his measures for dictating to, and dividing, under the name of indemnification, the empire of Germany; overturning its constitution; and for despoiling those states of it whom he considered his enemies, and rewarding those, at their expence, on whose subserviency he could depend: his armaments were now also preparing to take possession in the West, of Louisiana, that source of future wealth and commerce, which he had wrested from his unfortunate ally, the king of Spain.

If the continental powers beheld, with dismay and apprehension, those strides towards universal empire, and



without one contending effort, it could not be supposed that the English government, which, in concluding the peace of Amiens, had voluntarily consolidated this enormous mass of power, and had thereby even supplied fresh means and vigour to the ambition of the first consul, would now interpose any obstacle to his enormous aggrandizement; accordingly we find, that nearly six months after the definitive treaty of peace, it had quietly submitted not only to his arbitrary interference on the continent of Europe, but to the series of aggression and insult, which he had poured, with an unsparing hand, on Great Britain, during the whole of that period. We have already gone into the particulars, in sufficient detail; but it now became known, in addition to these hostile measures, scarcely attempted to be concealed, that Bonaparte had dispatched, or was about to dispatch, a species of military commissioner to Egypt, who, returning through the Ionian isles, was to ascertain the actual state of those countries; the practicability of reducing the former, once more to the dominion of France; and to sow the seeds of revolutionary principles in the republic of the Seven Islands, under the assurance of the future protection and assistance of his government.

Hitherto, the intervention of Bonaparte, since the preliminaries, in the affairs of Europe, had not been accompanied by force or violence, but were effected peaceably and in tranquillity, through the medium of his acknowledged influence, and the mandates of his cabinet. In

the subjugation, however, of Switzerland to his power, he was obliged to have recourse to violence, and absolutely dictated his will to this brave, but unfortunate nation, at the point of the bayonet.

By a recurrence to our former volume\*, it will be found that we have given no inconsiderable portion of our labours to the narrative of the unsuccessful, but gallant struggle, made by this virtuous and war-like people, for their liberties. It will be here, therefore, only necessary to recur to certain dates, which belong immediately to the elucidation of the conduct of the British government on this occasion, when, for the first time, it attempted to interpose in checking the inordinate ambition, and unjustifiable violence of the first consul, and to which the most momentous and important events owed their origin.

The disputes in Switzerland, between the Helvetic government, as it was called, (which was entirely in the French interests) and the democratic states, who insisted on having their ancient laws and constitution restored, commenced as early as the month of April 1802, and assumed a serious aspect on the 13th of the following July; when the great majority of the cantons formally protested against French interference, and claimed their rights and privileges, as a free people, to restore to their country their pristine form of government. From this period till the 3d of October, open warfare subsisted between the people and the Helvetic government, when, in a general

\* Vide Annual Register, for 1802, page 224 to page 242.

action, the insurgents totally defeated the troops of the latter, who were obliged precipitately to retreat; to abandon their functions; and they were hesitating whether to retire to Geneva or the territory of Savoy, when the arrival of a French general reassured them, suspended their flight, and promised them, in the name of his government, instant re-establishment. A French army, under general Ney, immediately advanced into the heart of the country, restored the revolutionary government, and dispersed the representatives of the Swiss nation, who found themselves, singly, unable to oppose, with their handful of troops, and unsupported by any of the powers of Europe, the arms of the mighty empire of France.

It may be supposed that the powers of Europe surveyed this violation of the laws of nations, and most unjustifiable interference, with indignation and abhorrence; unfortunately, however, for the liberties of this oppressed people, the want of union and co-operation among the greater states and the subserviency of the remainder to the will of Bonaparte, rendered these sentiments ineffectual and fruitless, which might, if called into action, have stopped the despotic career of the tyrant, and established the rights and liberties of Europe, on a firm and immutable basis. During the whole season, therefore, when assistance might have been given with effect, no interference of any kind took place on the part of the continental powers in behalf of the Swiss; notwithstanding that a French force had been, during that period, assembling on the frontiers of the country, evidently with the intention of com-

PELLING them to accept such a constitution and government as it should dictate. On the 10th of October, however, the English government presented a remonstrance, at Paris, on the interference of that court, in the internal regulations adopted by a free and independent country, and referring to the treaty of Lunéville, for an explicit declaration to that effect. On the same day, Mr. Moore was dispatched by the English government, on a confidential mission to Switzerland, to proffer to the Swiss confederacy, assistance in money, to procure for their exigencies arms, ammunition, and provisions; provided they were determined to resist the system of coercion, adopted by France, to compel them to accept a form of government contrary to their inclination; and, if their means of resistance, were so calculated as to promise reasonable hopes of final success. To the former of these measures, namely, the remonstrance to the French court, *it does not appear* that any answer was ever given, or any notice whatever taken of it; as there certainly was not any farther remonstrance made, nor any effort, on the part of the English government, to enforce that which had already been presented. Contemptuous silence alone marked the sense in which Bonaparte considered this presumptuous interference with his sovereign will. Nor was the latter measure more fortunate. On the 31st of October, Mr. Moore arrived at Constance, where he found the French force in possession of Switzerland, and not a trace of resistance existing in the country. Thus terminated this only instance of the appearance of vigour, which the existing

existing government of England had manifested, but which effort only exposed it to the bitter resentment of the first consul, without the possibility of its having the slightest operation in favour of the cause it espoused. It was as ill-judged, as ill-timed; no co-operation of the continental powers had been solicited; no national dignity exhibited in resenting the unanswered and ineffectual remonstrance, at Paris; and the hour of interference was delayed, until the time and season had elapsed, when assistance could have been at all effectual!

Consequences, however, the most important, resulted from this abortive attempt. In contemplation of the effects which this encouragement to the resistance of Switzerland might produce; and as it was more likely that Bonaparte would persist in his violent measures, than recede: the English government thought it prudent, in the event of a war, to have some of those conquests in its hands, which had been so prodigally disposed of by the peace of Amiens. Orders were therefore dispatched to the English governors, or commanders in chief, at the Cape of Good Hope, on the 17th of October, and also of the islands of Martinique, St. Lucie, Tobago, and Curacao, and the Dutch settlements at Surinam, Demerara, Berbice, and Issequibo, to delay the restitution of those colonies, till farther orders. Though the general formulary of those instructions was addressed to the governors of all the above-named conquests, yet they are to be considered as levelled principally at those of the Batavian republic; as most of the islands, belonging to France, must have been in conse-

quence of orders sent out for that purpose at an earlier period, already restored; or which event must have taken place before the latter orders could be received. It was otherwise, however, with respect to those of Holland, whose colonies would certainly be objects of the utmost consequence in our possession, in the event of a rupture with France.

It will surely remain a paradox to all future time, and beyond the power of the most sagacious of our posterity to solve, how it came to pass that the idea of a restitution of those colonies, whose chief importance was to be found in time of war, should have occurred to the British government, under the multiplied instances of bad faith, injury, and insult, constantly manifested by France, since the signature of the definitive treaty; and when the impossibility of executing some of its terms, rendered a renewal of hostilities more than problematical. It will be nearly as difficult to account for the having taken such a step, as that of encouraging and promising to support the resistance, by force of arms, of the inhabitants of Switzerland, to the despotic will of France; after having passed over in silence and submission, those manifold causes of rupture, which the conduct of the latter, towards Great Britain, taken even separately, had abundantly afforded. It may, however, be presumed, that having successively acquiesced in the aggressive acts of the French government, yet not without some portion of mortification and resentment, that ministers were eager to interfere on an occasion, in which, connected as it was with the general feelings & interests  
of



of Europe, they might reasonably hope for the co-operation of some of its greater powers: and a representation which was, at this period, made by the English minister, at the Hague, to his government; of the dissatisfaction and anxiety manifested by the inhabitants of the united provinces, at the conduct of France, with respect to Switzerland, and on the delay of the former power in removing her troops from the Dutch territories, notwithstanding its being an infraction of the most solemn treaties, and the most formal and positive assurances that they should immediately be removed, might possibly have had due weight in this determination.— If the administration of the Batavian republic were determined to oppose, to the utmost of their power, this arbitrary and oppressive species of exaction,\* it certainly gave a peculiar propriety to the rescinding those orders sent out for the restoration of the Cape and the other Dutch colonies, which, in the hands of their present possessors, might prove the best pledge for the independence of the parent country, or afford the means of formidably annoying France, did she continue still to refuse it. However sound the policy which dictated this line of conduct, the want of firmness and vigour, which prevailed in the British councils, prevented that prompt execution which alone could give it effect. — Accordingly, we have seen the fruitless mission to Switzerland, and the equally ineffectual remonstrance to the French court, (the united effect of delay

and indecision), afford only cause of fresh triumph to the first consul; matter of pity, perhaps not unmixed with contempt to the rest of Europe: and thus was an opportunity lost, of restoring the credit and character of the British name, which the events of the last nine months had tarnished, and despoiled of its native lustre.

In the interim, without once advertent to the inevitable consequences of protracted interference; to the inaction of every foreign power; the lateness and severity of the season, and the proximity of a powerful French army, the united effects of which must have reduced Switzerland to subjugation beyond the hope of deliverance; the English government had taken the decided step of retaining her conquests, which under circumstances not at all improbable, might prove an act of the most serious aggression; and had also commenced military preparations (for the third time since the preliminaries of London) on a scale and extent proportioned to an approaching contest. The receipt of Mr. Moore's dispatch, however, from Constance, cooled all this ardour; and the system of submission and acquiescence under insult, when solely directed towards Britain, was reverted to with an eagerness calculated to make atonement for the short period of its suspension.

This transient gleam of spirit, had notwithstanding, the effect of disposing the first consul to treat Great Britain with some portion of that diplomatic respect, hitherto most unaccountably delayed; & which greatly

\* Dated 29th October, 1802. Vide State Papers, No. 22, Official Correspondence.

tended to restore the confidence of the people in the permanence of the peace, which, obscurely as the majority could have been acquainted with the events which had occurred, had nevertheless been considerably shaken, by so much of them as had transpired. The arrival therefore of general Andreossi in London, on the 6th of November, and the departure of lord Whitworth the following day for Paris on their respective embassies, were hailed by the natives of both countries as the omen and assurance of returning harmony.

The unexpected termination of the insurrection in Switzerland had, as we have already stated, disposed the British ministry to return upon their steps, and endeavour to counteract the dreaded effects of this momentary resolution. Accordingly on the 15th of November, counter-orders were dispatched to the giving up the Cape, and the remainder of the Dutch colonies, although the day before, the instructions given by his court to lord Whitworth, were, that he should remonstrate with the French government on the occupation of Holland by its troops; contrary to all treaty and solemn engagement; a sufficient proof that every cause which could be urged with propriety for the detention of the Cape of Good Hope, still existed in its utmost force. And here it may be perhaps worth while to recapitulate under what circumstances those counter-orders were given, (which were decisive on the possession of the conquests,) and what the value and consequence of the colonies so restored.

Without specifying the enormous

acquisition of power and territory to France, since the period of the preliminaries, which we have had occasion so often to advert to, both in this and our preceding volume, (and which alone would have been ground for the claim of an equivalent on the part of Great Britain, of which the conquests yet in her power should have been the pledge,) her assumption of dominion throughout every part of Europe was to the highest degree alarming to its liberties and repose. In Spain she governed with absolute authority; Portugal had been obliged humbly to receive back an ambassador whose gross ill conduct had necessitated his return to France; Germany she had new modelled and divided with the most iniquitous partiality; Naples had been plundered by her; Switzerland invested and reduced by an armed force; Holland a prey to military occupation and exaction; the Pope a subservient vassal; and the whole north of Italy an appendage! In the Mediterranean, the island of Elba, (with its harbour and impregnable fortress,) was the fruit of her intrigues; and her military commissioner Sebastiani was known to be on his tour through Egypt, and the Ionian islands to pave the way for future conquest and accession. With respect to Great Britain, the only country France had not succeeded by force or intrigue in despoiling, her every action since the cessation of hostilities was marked with the most menacing rancour, and the most determined disposition to reduce to an equal degree of subjugation. To the complaints of the former power on the injuries and insults her commerce and flag had received,

received, and were daily receiving; in the French ports, no redress was afforded; no aggression disavowed; the sequestrations on British property were pertinaciously continued; arbitrary imprisonment and personal indignity offered to her subjects in Paris;\* the insolent interference with respect to her internal laws and regulations imperiously persisted in; the requisition to dismiss the emigrants urged with indecorous clamour; France commercial

agents had cominenced their functions as spies, in activity throughout widely divided portions of the British empire; the guaranty of Malta was industriously protracted, and no prospect of its ever being obtained; refugees and outcasts of Irish rebellion and English republicanism cherished and protected at Paris; whilst the spirit of the most blasting malignity was hourly displayed in its public prints, under the pretext of retaliation, in depreciating

\* We advert particularly to the case of captain D'Auvergne (Duke de Bouillon,) of the British navy, who, accompanied by a friend, and having procured the necessary passports, proceeded to Paris on the 28th of the August after the definitive treaty, on business of importance, connected with his claims for the estates of his family in France, solemnly entailed upon him.

His deportment at that capital was marked by the utmost propriety and decorum. Having a desire to see the military parade of Quintidi, he visited the Thuilleries as an English officer in his uniform; but from motives of feeling and sentiment, had not made one of the numerous English who were, during his stay at Paris, presented to the first consal. On the morning of the 7th of September he was arrested in bed at his hotel by the police, with every mark of indignity and insolence; thence he was conducted to the office of the general police, where he was thrust into a common waiting room, and detained the whole day, without refreshment, among the vilest runners and spies of the office. The minister Fouché, though repeatedly in the bureau, never deigned to give him an audience: but certain inferior instruments were employed to prevail upon him to calumniate and bring charges of the most odious nature against Mr. Pitt and Mr. Windham; in which having met with the success they merited, in revenge they conducted him in a wretched vehicle, at 11 o'clock at night, to the FÉNELLE, the scene of the sufferings of the late royal family, whose apartments there he occupied, and where a straw bag and a filthy blanket were the only conveniences allowed him. Every means were here made use of to terrify or betray him into confessions of the nature we have already described. On the 3d day of his confinement his prison gates were unlocked, to admit the friend (also of the royal navy) who had been the companion of his journey, and who with himself was equally ignorant of the causes of the outrage they had endured. It now appeared that the representation of Mr. Merry (the English resident at Paris) to the minister of foreign affairs, on the subject of this unjustifiable measure, (of which the former was early informed and had of course lost no time in taking the proper steps to remedy,) *was yet unanswered!* The following morning (the 12th) fresh attempts were made to induce the duke de Bouillon to write to the minister, and state that Mr. Pitt and Mr. Windham had employed him to fabricate plots against, and make use of the most unjustifiable means to destroy, the republic. This proposition was of course indignantly spurned at: the next day, however, the sixth of his imprisonment, captain D'Auvergne with his friend were furnished with passports at the police office, very equivocally worded, tending to expose them to embarrassments in their progress through the country; which they were ordered to depart from and quit the territory of the republic in twenty-four hours!

Thus terminated this shameful transaction, by which two men of rank, honor, and character, were insulted, imprisoned, degradedly used, and finally compelled to quit a country as outcasts, whom business had called imperiously thither, and where they were entitled by every right to remain in security and protection.



the British nation, its monarch, its constitution, its laws, and its inhabitants.†

To France then, on the 15th of November, when every circumstance above-mentioned was in existence or activity, did we surrender Pondicherry in the East, Martinico, St. Lucia, and Tobago in the West Indies; the right of fishery in Newfoundland; and to her ally (or rather so long as she held it in military subjugation, to herself,) the Cape of Good Hope, Cochinchina, Demerara, Berbice, Issequibo, and Surinam; all flourishing by the aid, and enriched by the fruits, of British protection and commerce. Alexandria too was ordered to be evacuated by the English troops, on the 30th following, with a multiplicity of apologies for the delay, and an implied censure on the commanding officer, for having, contrary to his orders, protracted that measure to so late a period! a circumstance the more extraordinary, as on the preceding 13th, a dispatch from St. Petersburg announced,

that the French minister at that court had at last agreed to make, conjointly with that of England, a formal invitation to the emperor of Russia, for his guaranty of the stipulations respecting Malta. A few days therefore, would have, in all probability, determined upon what conditions his imperial majesty was willing to accede to the proposition, and consequently whether Alexandria (on which head the Ottoman Porte was perfectly quiescent) under the circumstances of an unfavorable answer, might not in perfect prudence and propriety be retained till some other arrangement were agreed upon.

In effect, on the 25th of November, 1802, the answer of the emperor Alexander was delivered to the English minister at his court, and thence transmitted to London. On a perusal of this instrument it is extremely difficult to see, in what its terms differ from those of the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens, of which it indeed seems an abstract: all the material points,

† Though the first consul thought proper to clear up his brow, and send an ambassador to England a few days after the remonstrance on the affairs of Switzerland was presented to him; in order to make himself amends for this moderation and self command, the deep thunder of his resentment growled in awful menace throughout the laboured and angry columns of his *Moniteur*. The presumption of Great Britain in daring to interfere in the concerns of continental Europe, was a theme for its daily abuse; and on its particular interference in the Swiss insurrection, it was outrageous. "What right had an insular power to intermeddle with the affairs of Germany?" And "How dare it in any case refer to the treaty of Luneville, when the relations of France and England were alone to be found in the treaty of Amiens, the whole treaty of Amiens, and nothing but the treaty of Amiens?" were some of the demands which this official journal querulously urged; and which were echoed back, through innumerable reverberators of the same nature. About this period too, the *Argus*, the English newspaper printed in Paris, had nearly reached the climax of its insolence and absurdity. An invitation appeared in it in the shape of an advertisement, to English sailors, to desert, and repair to Paris, where they would be received with open arms, and experience better food, better raiment, and better pay, than in the service of their own country. It also printed a challenge from the pardoned traitor Napper Tandy, to Lord Pelham, in which the dotard insulted the minister of that sovereign to whose clemency he owed his life, with the grossest abuse, and in terms of the most affected bombast.

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such as the surrender of the island to the order of St. John; the suzerain rights thereto of the king of the two Sicilies; the guaranty of its independence; and the provision for the future garrison of its forts, were identified with it; nay, the admission of native Maltese into the civil government of the order, a point on which some difficulty and cause of delay might have arisen, was conceded. It might for a moment be supposed, that the English government, after a pertinacious solicitation of six months, would have received this notification with joy, and eagerly have embraced its conditions: but its situation was now widely different; and to procrastinate was become as much its object, as before it had been to manifest expedition in concluding this negociation.

Although the British ministers had submitted to the contemptuous silence with which Bonaparte had treated their remonstrance on Switzerland; notwithstanding their counter orders to those which had commanded the detention of the conquered colonies, and their positive direction, issued for the evacuation of Alexandria, had evinced their eagerness to extinguish the spark of vigour in their resolves, which the affairs of Switzerland had enkindled. Notwithstanding their solemn assurances to parliament, on the 23d of November, that no hostile discussions whatever existed between England and France, were the strongest pledges and manifestation of their intentions to preserve the peace of Amiens; yet was there one point which it was not possible to guard against, and which might, notwithstanding every submission and effort to the contrary, place Eng-

land in an actual state of warfare. We allude to the detention of the Cape, and the other Dutch colonies; if, unfortunately for the wishes of ministers, the counter orders had not reached their destination, time enough to prevent the operation of the first; in which case, the recapture of those places, (for such might have been the consequence from the nature of the last dispatches) would place Great Britain in decidedly an hostile point of view, and as the aggressor, in the event of a fresh rupture. It may also be supposed, that the deep indignation which obtained throughout all ranks of the people; the undisguised ambition, and intolerable arrogance of Bonaparte, had their weight, in making still more wavering and undecided; the measures of the English government; and, above all, the sense of parliament, which, since its meeting, had exhibited a species of opposition, composed of the real weight, talent, and property of the country, not to be resisted even by ministerial influence, had produced some hesitation in their agreeing to propositions, which would have thrown away the last pledge of peace or security in the hands of their country. Under these circumstances, and wishing to have in the event of a war (which either their own indiscretion, rashness, or the call of an incensed and outraged nation might give rise to,) one at least of the innumerable conquests achieved by British valour during the late contest, in their hands, at its commencement; and that too, one of such consequence, as might blind the country to the dreadful inconsistency of their having given up, at the

same moment that they hesitated to evacuate Malta, the most valuable acquisitions in every other portion of the globe. In excuse for this part of their conduct however, it may be urged, that having passed over without resentment or remonstrance, the different grounds of war, which the first consul had afforded since the peace, no pretence remained for not executing the conditions of the treaty of Amiens, which related to the restoration of the conquered colonies; but that France herself having delayed by her conduct with respect to the guaranty, the evacuation of Malta, she could not now complain, if diplomatic ingenuity protracted it a little longer: while (did the dreaded events come to a favorable issue) the surrender of the keys of the East and West Indies and the other conquests, evinced sufficiently the disposition of giving up every object, to the desire of conciliating, and of remaining in all events, on good terms with Bonaparte.

No farther discussion or event of consequence occurred, during the remainder of the last year. We have carefully detailed, in their natural arrangement, the circumstances which connect them with the actual situation of France and England, during the period of the present; and shall now commence our account of the transactions of 1803, to the moment of the king's declaration of war; which producing very few events, will occupy but a small portion of our labour; every ground thereof, with the exception of one or two being to be found in the preceding part of this chapter. It may however be observed, that independ-

ently of the solemn declaration in parliament, of the chancellor of the exchequer, on the opening of the session; that no hostile discussion existed between the two countries: he thought proper, on the same evening, to state, that in no one instance, since their appointment to office, had his majesty's ministers committed the honour or credit of their country.

A year of irritation and painful solicitude had now passed over, and disposed the majority of the English nation to consider that which was about to commence, with fearful apprehension. However silent ministers had been, on the actual state of the discussions with France; whatever confidence might have been placed in their assertions, of there existing no grounds to apprehend a speedy rupture; still the alarm, which the speech from the throne, at the opening of the session, with the military force demanded by the secretary at war, on the 8th of December\*, had spread, greatly predominated: and the general gloom manifested itself in the stagnation of commerce, and the low price of the public funds. A speedy war, under circumstances the most inauspicious, was universally looked for, and dejection and dissatisfaction were marked on every countenance; a striking reverse to the state of public opinion, at the beginning of the last year!

As it was on the detention of Malta, that (for the reasons we have already given), the government of England determined to take its stand, till it should be ascertained whether it had not actually

\* Vide State Papers, and page 38.



involved the country in an act of aggression and violence, with respect to the Cape; it may be supposed, that it was on that subject alone which all disagreement and final rupture could arise between it and that of France; and that all possible means would be resorted to, to protract, till then, its evacuation.—Accordingly, although not till two months after the date of the *projet* of the emperor of Russia, the secretary of state for the foreign department instructed the English minister at St. Petersburg, to decline the Imperial proposition, unless some additional stipulations were introduced; an official answer to the Russian court, was also included in this dispatch. It will be doubtless matter of some curiosity to our readers, to know what grounds were chosen in these instruments, for the rejection of that guaranty which they had urged, with such vehement solicitation, from the hour of the signature of the definitive treaty; the terms of which were in all essentials the same with those of the 10th article of the peace of Amiens; and which article, without any new stipulation or modification whatever, had, till the latter part of November, formed the sole basis of the English requisition to Russia. It is possible that ministers themselves might have been at some loss for the construction of this curious specimen of dilatory pleading, had not the forgotten, trampled-upon memorial of the unacknowledged, uncredited Maltese deputies presented itself to their recollection, and afforded an abundant fund of materials. On a sudden, therefore, the

claims of this insulted, despised people, (claims which had been steeped in oblivion, from the first moment of their being urged,) became of mighty consequence, and the English government state the impossibility of fulfilling the treaty, so far as respects them, without introducing such farther stipulations, as may amply satisfy the Maltese: but what they should be, or how modified, it would be necessary to consult the principal inhabitants themselves; for which purpose sir Alexander Ball should receive the necessary instructions! Sir John Warren\* was likewise ordered to state the services of the natives to the common cause, during a two years blockade and seige;—the loss of many thousands of their number; their being *unassisted* by any other foreign power, save the English; that, independently of the good faith which should be preserved towards them, in the event of their not approving of the proposed government, *they were equal to the defence of their island*; therefore it might be as politic as just, to consult their inclinations.—It will be recollected that this is the sum and substance of the memorial we have already adverted to! Some new ground was, however, taken by the ministers, for the farther delay of the evacuation: count Woronzoff is informed, that the property of the Spanish priories having been sequestered, it was indispensably necessary that they should be restored to the order, as well as that of the Portuguese, which had either met, or was threatened with, the same fate!—It does not appear

\* The English minister, at St. Petersburg.

that any specific answer was made to this extraordinary notification, of itself indeed unanswerable.

It may be necessary here to advert to what had occurred in consequence of the election of persons eligible for the dignity of grand master of the order of St. John, at Petersburg. From the knights there chosen, the pope determined on the nomination of prince Ruspoli, who, after some months of hesitation, at last formally rejected the honor; and his holiness had again to chuse from the remaining number. In the month of February, his election fell on the grand bailly, Tomasi, which was formally notified to the different courts of Europe.

On the 25th of January, an interview took place at Paris, between the minister for foreign affairs, M. Talleyrand, and the English ambassador, lord Whitworth, in which the former, with great solemnity, (after a prefatory discourse, employed in bitterly complaining of the licence of the British press, which he insisted the government could restrain or suppress,) required to know what were the intentions of his Britannic majesty, with respect to the evacuation of Malta? adding, that a new grand master would be shortly elected; that the difficulties, with respect to the emperor of Russia, might be easily removed, and that even without him, the guaranty would be equally complete.

It is not easy to conjecture, under all the circumstances of the case, what could have been the reply of the English government to

this formal requisition, had not the vaunting ambition, and absurd temerity of the first consul, induced him, at this critical period, to publish to the world the report of his itinerant missionary, Sebastiani, who had now returned from his tour of observation, throughout Egypt and the Levant.

This most extraordinary manifestation of deep laid design, contempt, and arrogance, which was given to the world in *The Moniteur*,\* at once extricated ministers from all embarrassment, and furnished them not only cause of direct complaint, with respect to itself; but also the opportunity of reverting to grounds of dissatisfaction, never breathed or heard of before, in the long course of the correspondence which had occurred since the conclusion of the peace.

The report, which will be found at length in another part of this work, deserves an attentive perusal, and seems to be the production of a person every way worthy of the task imposed upon him. Throughout his extensive journey, he will be unceasingly found, the lofty representative of his all-grasping master: and the deference he every where meets with, the state he assumes, and the protection which he condescends, either to nations or individuals, mark the desire of his country to be considered what Rome was of old, among the powers of the earth. At Tripoli he offers his mediation between the dey and the king of Sweden, which is accepted, and a treaty concluded under his auspices; and he procures from the former power an

\* On the 30th of January. Vide State Papers.

acknowledgment of the Italian republic. At Alexandria he peremptorily requires in the name of the French government the immediate evacuation of that city by the English force: proceeds to examine the state of the fortresses, and the disposition of the Turkish government towards the French: announces the assembling of the French commercial agents in Egypt, and commences a series of intrigues with the beys. At Grand Cairo he takes nearly the same course, every where endeavouring to revive an interest in the French nation and Bonaparte; insomuch as to distribute among the chiefs of the country the portrait of the latter! To so great a pitch was his inquisitive research carried on in this latter capital, as to excite the murmurs of the Turkish garrison, and even to incur personal danger.—Rosetta, Damietta, the present state of every post of consequence, are the objects of his inquiry. After quitting Egypt he proceeds to Acre, where he informs himself of the state of Syria, and the fortifications of the former place, which however Dgezzar Pacha was too wise, and had too just a view of his purposes, to let him visit. He next arrives at Zante, one of the members of the newly formed republic of the seven isles. Here his intrigues are undisguised; he assembles the people, harangues them in public, exhorts them to unanimity and concord, and promises them the future support and protection of Bonaparte. This is the last stage of his active career of inspection. Next follows, in his report, a summary of the number and condition of the English army at Alexandria,

of the Turkish army in Egypt, and of that of the beys. And he concludes with a view of the military state of Syria.

But the essence of this laboured performance may be found in the two distinct and unqualified assertions, “that the islands of the Ionian sea will declare themselves French as soon as an opportunity shall offer,” and “that 6000 French troops would suffice at the present moment for the conquest of Egypt.”

It is possible that in warranting the publication of this extraordinary production, Bonaparte had at once in view the exposure and humiliation of the British nation in the eyes of all Europe, as well as the desire of flattering the national thirst of dominion and conquest, which under every species of government, has uniformly characterized the French nation. His arrangements were somewhat advanced in preparation; he had made for the first time his formal demand of the evacuation of Malta; nor had he the slightest idea that the insults to Great Britain, blazoned in every line of Sebastiani's report, should excite more sensation in the minds, or more of vigour in the conduct, of those who now swayed the councils of the British empire, than had been evinced by them under the series of harrassing and injurious aggression, which, from the moment of the signature of the definitive treaty had marked his conduct towards that country. Our readers are already apprized of the circumstances to which the first consul was to owe a tone and a language from the English government, which he had little reason to expect, and which in the event was the source of his



bitter mortification, and the complete frustration of his ambitious projects.

While the cabinet of Great Britain yet hesitated on the answer to be made to M. Talleyrand's *solemn* demand of the fulfilment of that part of the treaty of Amiens which related to Malta; the report of Sebastiani's progress and achievements was made public, and had even reached London. The explicit and unclouded view which it afforded of the machinations and projects of the first consul, gave the English government an opportunity in perfect unison with the popular feeling, to assume some portion of vigour and firmness; no time was therefore lost in instructing lord Whitworth at Paris, to demand satisfaction from the French government for the publication of colonel Sebastiani's report, which contained "the most unjustifiable charges against the officer who commanded his majesty's forces in Egypt, and against the British army in that quarter." He was farther instructed to state, that the whole report developed a system so injurious to the interests of his majesty's dominions, and so entirely repugnant to, and utterly inconsistent with, the spirit and letter of the treaty of Amiens, that it would be impossible for his government to enter into any future discussion on the subject of Malta, until satisfactory explanation should be given relative to that publication.

In these instructions\* will be found, for the first time, the attempt on the part of Great Britain to establish as a principle, the right of

either power to obtain an equivalent compensation for any advantages gained by the other, since the period of the treaty of peace, which affected the nature of that compact; not only from the justice of the thing itself, but as being grounded on the express admission pending the negociation of the treaty of Amiens, contained in a French official note, namely that his majesty should keep a compensation out of his conquests, for the important acquisitions of territory made by France upon the continent: and that consequently Great Britain would be now warranted in claiming equivalents for the vast augmentation of the power of France, by her acquisitions in Italy, and her occupation of Switzerland and Holland.

It is not easy to conceive for what purpose the foregoing matter was introduced; first, because it was an acknowledgment in the most unqualified manner, of the total abandonment of the just claims of the country for so long a period, by which means alone the monstrous encroachments of France might have been checked, and the future liberty and consequence of Great Britain effectually secured; and to which the latter was entitled not only on general principles of justice and policy, but even (as it appears) from the spontaneous acknowledgment of the French government: and secondly, because in the same breath the instructions declare, that the king of England was willing to waive all claims and pretensions which he could advance on these accounts, and "as the other arti-

\* Dated 9th Feb. 1803. Vide State Papers No. 36, Official Correspondence.

cles of the definitive treaty were in a course of execution, so should that of the 10th have been put in a similar train, had not the appearance of the report in question, impeded his majesty's intentions." Perhaps however, as the present object of the British cabinet was to procrastinate; such subjects were now first broached, in order that should the demanded explanation be given, those causes might then with a better grace be adduced as ground of farther discussion and delay.

On the communication of the subject matter of these instructions to the French minister of foreign affairs at Paris, M. Talleyrand demanded of lord Whitworth what were the nature and degree of the satisfaction which his Britannic majesty required for the alleged offence (which however the former disclaimed on the part of his government all intention of giving, and declared that the mission of Sebastiani was purely commercial!) on this head the English ambassador was totally unprepared to give any categorical answer, and the conference was suspended: but on the same day\* lord Whitworth was invited to a personal interview with the first consul, which took place at the Thuilleries three days afterward. In the course of this important conversation, (the minute particulars of which will be found in another portion of this work) the first consul deputed himself with temper, and an apparent wish to preserve cordiality and a good understanding on his own terms, between the two countries. He spoke more than two

hours, diffusely upon every subject connected with the object in dispute, and the relative positions of France and England. He deprecated the idea of a re-commencement of war, but added, that if it were inevitable, he would put the only means of offence he had in execution, this was a descent upon England; a project, the danger and difficulty attendant on, he was well aware of, yet which he was determined to attempt; and that the means of executing it were to be found in an army of four hundred and eighty thousand men, which should be immediately completed. He again reiterated the causes of complaint which had been furnished by the court of England, (as given by us at length in M. Otto's angry remonstrance) and insisted that to preserve the usual relations of peace and amity between the countries, they must all be done away. On the subject of Malta, his expressions were as strong as can well be conceived: he said he would never in any event allow it to remain in the possession of England, in whose hands he would rather see the principal suburb of Paris! Upon lord Whitworth's allusion to the aggrandizement of, and influence gained by, France since the treaty of Amiens, the first consul abruptly put an end to this part of the discourse, by saying,—"I suppose you mean Piedmont and Switzerland—those were trilles, *which must have been foreseen whilst the negotiation was pending,*" and on which AT THAT HOUR LORD WHITWORTH HAD NOT THE RIGHT TO QUESTION

\* The 19th of Feb. Vide Official Correspondence, 37 and 38, "State Papers."

HIM! Some overtures were instantly thrown out by him, that France and England in strict union might dictate the law to the rest of the world. In fine, he concluded a various and incoherent harangue, the language of which was evidently that of menace and intimidation, in apparent good humour, and by assurances of an anxious desire to preserve inviolably the conditions of the peace of Amiens. A few days after this conversation, the French minister, by way of obviating any difficulty respecting the evacuation of Malta, which might arise from the first consul's views on Egypt, notified to lord Whitworth that "a project was in contemplation, by which the integrity of the Turkish empire would be effectually secured." So soon had the first consul forgotten the indiscretion which had prompted him in his memorable conversation with lord Whitworth, to state, that Egypt must sooner or later belong to France, either by the dissolution of the grand signior's dominion, or by some arrangement with that power: or so anxious was he to obliterate its effects from the mind of the English ambassador.

If the intention of the English government was, at the period of the receipt of lord Whitworth's dispatch containing the above particulars, already decided, then would have been the moment for breaking off all farther discussion upon the subject: the first consul's tone was decisive, and could not be mistaken. To protract, but not to come to a final issue, was however the principal object at this moment of the English minister. Lord Hawkesbury's farther instructions to the

ambassador, were, again to state that complete satisfaction is still required on the part of the British government for the publication of Sebastiani's report; that none had been offered in explanation thereof by the first consul, in the course of his interview with lord Whitworth, but, that on the contrary, many points of uneasiness and suspicions had been therein confirmed. With respect to the evacuation of Malta, lord Whitworth was instructed to state, and *for the first time*, that the difficulties attending the guaranty; the abolition of the priories in Spain and elsewhere; and the non-election of a grand master, would of themselves, without other special grounds, be sufficient to warrant its detention, until some new arrangement were adjusted for its security and protection: but that under the circumstances of the vast increase of power and influence to France, his Britannic majesty was incontestably entitled to demand additional securities for any arrangement which it might be necessary to make, with a view of effecting the real objects of the treaty of Amiens: and that after all that had passed, his majesty would not consent to evacuate Malta, until substantial security was provided for those objects, which might be materially endangered by the removal of his troops. The contents of this dispatch were not communicated to the French government till the 4th of March.

Hitherto the conduct of Bonaparte had afforded ample cause, first by his publication of the report of Sebastiani, and next by the tenor of his conversation with lord Whitworth, for the most exasperated



rated language which could be employed by the English government; and it must be confessed, that if its tone were not exactly that which marked the decision that should ever be found in the resolves of a great nation, it was yet sufficiently firm to disappoint and mortify the first consul to an extreme degree. Being however committed in his temerity, he evinced the weakness of a little mind; his determination was therefore taken, rather to persevere in the course he had commenced, than to adopt that which would certainly have far better suited the existing state of his affairs, and the successful prosecution of his extensive views on the liberties of Europe and projects of universal empire; namely, the conciliation of Britain by retraction, or temporary compromise. Accordingly on the 22d of February, he caused an exposition of the state of the French republic to be published in his official journal, as laid before the legislative body; and which was at once minute in its detail, and elaborate in its conclusions. This state paper, acknowledged to be such, displays such a picture of strength, acquisition, and greatness united in the present French government, as must of itself have opened the eyes of the rest of Europe, to the comparative insignificance of the greatest of its component states, when brought to the test of impartial comparison. All the past policy of France, all her future views might be traced in this ostentatious instrument. It shews the other powers of the continent how impossible it would be for any of them in future to obstruct or interfere in the prosecution of her projects;

and reminds those over whom she has secured her supremacy, of the advantages to be derived from her protection, or the destructive consequences of her enmity. It cannot be supposed that England was undistinguished in this modern system of statistics.

After dwelling with rancour upon the political efforts of those in the British legislative body, who were notorious for their eternal hatred of France: it adds, that while they persist in their declamations, five hundred thousand men ought and should be kept in readiness to avenge her injuries! That whatever success intrigues might have in London, other powers would not be involved; and "The government says, with conscious pride, THAT ENGLAND ALONE CANNOT MAINTAIN A STRUGGLE AGAINST FRANCE."

The indignation of every class of society in the British empire, prepared as they had been by the public conduct of France, as well with respect to England as to all Europe, from the period of the preliminaries of London to the present moment, had been excited to a great degree of resentment, at the insolent promulgation of Sebastiani's mission; but the publication of the "Acts of the Republic," which contained the above detailed exposition, was the signal of universal ferment; which not the love of peace, nor the inertness of a commercial people, nor the dread of fresh burthens, nor even the worst consequences that could be apprehended from unsuccessful warfare, could allay. The press of London had, since the abhorred interference of France in Switzerland,

land, ceaselessly, with the exception of the journals directly within the influence of administration, poured forth the ebullitions of the public indignation against the ambition and violence of the French despot. On the publication of Sebastiani's report, even those prints which had hitherto supported, in unison with the prevailing dispositions of the English government, the pacific system, had changed their tone; and as the language of their principals assumed vigour and firmness, they also essayed to impress a similar effect on the minds of the public; and had ventured even to canvass the probability of a speedy renewal of hostilities, and the absolute necessity of such a measure.

It was at this period that ministers, coinciding with the universal sentiment of the public mind; influenced by the rumours which obtained in the beginning days of March, that the event they so much apprehended, namely, that an act of direct hostility, had occurred in consequence of the orders for the detention of the Cape of Good Hope,\* (by which they would incur the odium of a direct breach of the article of the treaty of peace which provided for its restoration to the Batavian republic within a limited time,) and far above the rest, by the apprehension they could not but entertain of an opposition to their measures in parliament, from

the late minister and his friends, which, united with that already on foot would be far too formidable for even their numbers to resist, and which would certainly, on the development of the existing negotiations; which the untoward event of the recapture (for such it must be considered) of the cape would occasion, be arrayed against them; determined on publicly announcing the probability of the renewal of hostilities with France, and the necessity of arming the people.—In consequence of this resolution, a message from his majesty was brought down to parliament, which stated that on the ground of considerable military preparations being carried on in the ports of France and Holland, he had thought it proper to adopt additional measures of precaution for the security of his dominions; and praying aid to enable him to adopt such farther measures, (in the event of certain negotiations then pending between England and France, not terminating favourably,) for strengthening the country, as circumstances might require.

To some or all of the causes, which we have ascribed as those which probably determined the English government on this measure, it surely may be fairly attributed; at least none adequate to its importance, can be found in those alleged. Of these mighty preparations in the French and

\* At the moment when the orders arrived, the greater part of the English garrison were embarked on board the ships destined to convey them from the Cape, and a formal surrender of some of the forts had taken place, to the Dutch government: with considerable adroitness however the English commander in chief repossessed himself of the places given up, relanded his troops, and remained in possession of the settlement till the counter-orders arrived. This fact was well known in London by the 6th of March.

Dutch ports, nothing had hitherto been heard; no expostulation had been made respecting them at the court of Paris, nor explanation demanded. It was notorious that France had it in contemplation to advantage herself of the recent acquisition of Louisiana; and the troubles of St. Domingo had revived, with tenfold fury. For colonial purposes, the equipment of armaments might certainly be expected, on the part of France. A few days after the message was presented, one of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, declared in parliament, in the course of debate, that there did not exist in these ports but a few miserable fishing-boats! And the subsequent declaration of France upon the subject, must be considered satisfactory. Nor can the reasons be found in the conduct of the government of France, *since* the angry negotiations had commenced on the subject of Malta. It is true that no satisfaction had been offered by that power for the circumstance (certainly one of aggression) of the publication of colonel Sebastiani's report: but then none had been refused; on the contrary, the nature and measure of the satisfaction required, had been demanded by M. Talleyrand; but which had not been explicitly replied to. On the subject of Malta, France had certainly demanded the fulfilment of the treaty, respecting its evacuation by the English, but had by no means rejected the principle, or the terms of a new arrangement; which latter, in fact, had not been as yet specifically proposed. And that the English administration did not

think the conduct of France, in this point, afforded ground of hostility, may be deduced from the assertion of the prime-minister, on the 23d of February, who then, in his place in parliament, on the subject of the affairs of the prince of Wales, declared, that the country was in a state of profound peace! The die was, however, now cast, of which the English government were to stand the hazard:

Some uninteresting chicane, on the part of the French minister, took place at Paris, on the 4th of March, when lord Whitworth pressed for an explanation as to the nature of the projected arrangement for the security of the Turkish empire; to which no satisfactory answer was given\*. On the 10th general Andreossi, the French ambassador to the court of London, in a note to lord Hawkesbury, again presses for the execution of the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens. He makes the distinction of the positive and conditional clauses of that article, and insists that the guaranty was not essential to the evacuation, which was to take place in three months, provided the Neapolitan troops were arrived in the island, who were to compose its future garrison.—That these troops, being actually now at Malta, no farther pretext for delay existed.—That Austria, having acceded to become a guarantee, and Russia being equally accordant with the exception of one point only, which might easily be modified, the complete execution of the article must now be looked for. The reply to this note by the English government, was in

\* Vide Official Correspondence, No. 40,



substance what we have already detailed in lord Whitworth's answers to M. Talleyrand, on the same subject; also a reiteration of the demand for satisfaction, in the affair of Sebastiani; and fresh security for the fulfilment of any new arrangement that should be made on the subject of Malta, between the two countries.

In a few days after the king's message to parliament was delivered, it became public at Paris: the consternation and anxiety it produced in the mind of the first consul, may be best conceived, from the minute detail of his conduct to the English ambassador, when the latter made his appearance at the court of the Thuilleries, on the first day of ceremony, subsequent to the promulgation of the message\*. A memorandum or outline of the determination of the French government, in consequence of the preparations announced in Great Britain†, had been previously communicated to the ambassador, and by him transmitted to his court; which instrument gives such a view of the despotic power attained by France throughout Europe, as must afford matter of lasting apprehension and alarm to every state on the continent, which has not determined quietly to submit to the approaching subjugation destined for it by Bonaparte. It begins by disclaiming the having any armament on foot, save that at Helvoetsluys, evidently destined for colonial purposes, and now ready for sea; but which, in consequence of the message of the king of Great Bri-

tain to his parliament, should be countermanded. But if the French government did not receive satisfactory explanations on that measure, and if the arming of England actually took place, that it would then be *natural* that the first consul should move 20,000 men into Holland—form an encampment on the frontiers of Hanover—continue the military occupation of Switzerland—advance a fresh force upon Italy—and seize upon Tarentum;—with many other offensive and defensive measures of preparation, which would be in that event immediately adopted by France. We have selected the above, however, to shew with what ease, and how *naturally* the French ruler could determine on inflicting all the distresses and horrors attendant on military occupation and exaction, (for who shall separate their effects; even in idea?) on so vast a portion of neutral Europe, which took no part or interest in the quarrel of the two countries of France and England; and who were or should be protected in their rights, not only by the universally acknowledged public law of Europe, but by repeated treaties with the very power whose menace now impended over them, and to all of which some or other of the greater continental powers were parties! Thus explicitly did Bonaparte avow, that Holland, Switzerland, and Italy, were subject to his power; whenever he was disposed to exert it; and he speaks with the same ease and confidence of his violating, with impunity, the rights of the German

\* Vide Official Correspondence, No. 43.

† Ibid. Note Verbale referred to in No. 42.

empire. It is indeed *natural* that unlimited power should be exerted, when vested in the hands of a tyrant: it was once considered *natural* in the sovereigns of Europe, to unite in setting bounds to such, wherever and whenever it should be found. It is also necessary here to state, that in the course of the conversation which preceded the delivery of this exposition of the intentions of the first consul, in the event of the equipment of armaments in England, that M. Talleyrand declared, that the French government would always consider the refusal to evacuate Malta, as the commencement of hostilities.

The exasperation and fury of Bonaparte, which had already manifested itself in the note, of which we have above given the substance, broke out into ungovernable rage at his own court, on his public day, and in the presence of the diplomatic body of Europe there assembled. Thus violating every principle of hospitality—of decorum—of politeness (once, alas! the distinguishing trait of the court of France) and the privileges of ambassadors, ever before held sacred. On the appearance of Lord Whitworth in the circle, he approached him with equal agitation and ferocity—proceeded to descant in the bitterest terms, on the conduct of the English government—summoned the ministers of some of the foreign courts, to be the witnesses to this vituperative harangue—and concluded, by expressions of the most angry and menacing hostility. The English ambassador did not think it advisable to make any answer to this brutal and ungentlemanly attack—and it terminated by the

first consul retiring to his apartments, repeating his last phrases, till he had shut himself in; leaving nearly two hundred spectators of this wanton display of arrogant imp propriety, in amazement and consternation!

We are confident that every British bosom must beat high with indignation, at the recital of the particulars of this insult to their country, in the person of the representative of its monarch. It will certainly not lessen their emotion, to be told, that no satisfaction was claimed, and none afforded for this outrage. The English ambassador contented himself with taking the first opportunity of declaring to M. Talleyrand (thereby anticipating the contents of a dispatch from the English government, authorizing him so to do,) that he must discontinue his visits to the Thuilleries, if he were again to be exposed to this species of insult; and by receiving the assurances of the French minister, that nothing of the kind would again occur. The latter however stated, that it was incumbent on the first consul, who considered himself as personally insulted, by the charges brought against him by the English government, to exculpate himself in the presence of the ministers of the different powers of Europe!—We must ever be of opinion, that to rescue the national honor and dignity from the disgrace which attached upon both, from the series of insult and aggression endured from France, for nearly a twelve month without a murmur or remonstrance, the hour was now come; and that an instantaneous termination of the negociation, and the departure of the English ambassador

bassador from Paris, should have been the result of this impertinent and unprovoked attack. We have still before us to detail the abortive proceedings of nearly two months ineffectual discussion; which, while it left the dignity and credit of the English nation impeached, neither forwarded its interests, or terminated to its honor.

In consequence of the first consul's instruction to general Andreossi, in London, on the subject of the king's message, an elaborate official note was presented to the English minister in the foreign department, and is the next important step in this extraordinarily protracted negociation. It is the more worthy of remark, as its tone and language was of the most imperious and insulting nature\*. It states, that the assertions on which his majesty's message was grounded, were all without foundation in fact.—That the king was deceived—that there were, at that moment, but two frigates in the roads of Holland, and three corvettes in that of Dunkirk—that every other information was false—that his Britannic majesty's message mentions discussions, the success of which was doubtful—that no such discussions existed, there being no point to be discussed—the treaty of Amiens had provided for every thing—had foreseen every thing—lord Hawkesbury's note, which asserts that the power of the French republic was increased since the peace of Amiens, was a decided error—in fine, that if his Britannic majesty was determined to go to war, he might allege what pretences he pleases. It then en-

deavours to affix on the English government, the charges of falsehood, and ignorance, and credulity.—This insolent notification next declares, with the most confident assertion, that the peace of Europe was disturbed, by the shameless licence of the British press, and by the speeches of some of the leading members of parliament, scarcely exceeded by the news-writers themselves! And that France in particular had a right to complain of the toleration, protection, and even establishment afforded in London, to villains covered with crimes, plotting assassins, and French criminals, the sworn enemies of the republic and the person of the first consul. It concludes by stating, that there remains but one object worthy of fixing the attention of the two nations—the execution of the treaty of Amiens, as far as concerns Malta; on which point his majesty should reject all sophistry, distinction, and mental reservation; and that there remains no farther subject for discussion on that point.

Neither the insolence of the manner, nor the peremptory tone and decision, on the subject of Malta, (the only point in debate of this notification) could rouse the English government to decide on terminating the negociation. The date of general Andreossi's note, is the 29th of March; on the 4th of the following month, lord Hawkesbury, in a dispatch to lord Whitworth, authorizes the latter not only to continue it, but dictates different modes of arrangement, which might be proposed, if the French govern-

\* No. 49, Official Correspondence.



ment evinced a disposition to treat. A step surely extraordinary, as the latest advices from lord Whitworth, announced that the object of Bonaparte was to delay the event of a rupture, because not prepared to commence hostilities; and that, on the subject of Malta, he would not hear of any compromise. By proposing, therefore, fresh terms of treaty to France, it afforded to that power, the delay which was so essential to its views, without the least probability of being successful on any essential point connected with the views of Great Britain. The proposition to the French government, for a perfect accommodation of all existing differences, was as follows:—Malta to remain in perpetuity in the possession of his Britannic majesty, by whom the knights of St. John were to be indemnified; Holland and Switzerland to be evacuated by the French forces; the island of Elba to be confirmed to France by his majesty; and the king of Etruria was to be acknowledged; as were the republics of Italy and Liguria, provided an arrangement were made in Italy for the king of Sardinia. But this proposition was not to be offered, if the French government persisted in its requisition of the evacuation of Malta by the English troops, and that it professed a disinclination to afford adequate satisfaction, on the points of complaint, so often urged by the government of England.

After a considerable degree of discussion, in which the precastinating disposition of the French government was strongly manifested, and which lasted until the 9th of April; on the part of the latter it was formally declared, that no

stipulation not perfectly consistent with the independence of the island of Malta, could be entertained for a moment; but that the first consul had no objection to make a particular convention, for the doing away the remaining causes of dissatisfaction, existing between the two governments.

While France thus strongly marked her decision and firmness, the indecided and wavering spirit of the English councils became still more apparent. On the 13th of April, fresh instructions were given to lord Whitworth, that “by way of saving the point of honor to France, the civil government of the island of Malta, should be given to the order of St. John, the Maltese enjoying therein the privileges which were reserved to them by the treaty of Amiens; and that the fortifications of the island should be garrisoned in perpetuity, by the troops of his majesty. But if neither of the two propositions, already detailed, were agreed to on the part of France, that then his lordship might propose the occupation of the island for a term of not less than ten years, provided that his Sicilian majesty could be induced to cede the island of Lampedosa, for a valuable consideration. At the end of that period, Malta was to be surrendered to the inhabitants, and declared an independent state; and an arrangement was to be made in the interim, for the establishment of the order of St. John, in some other part of Europe.”

On the same day, a strong remonstrance and demand of satisfaction, was forwarded to Paris, in a separate dispatch, on the extraordinary and unprecedented conduct

duct of the French minister, at Hamburgh, who being refused by the senate, in the first instance, permission to insert a most gross and scandalous libel upon the government of the king of Great Britain, claimed of it in his official capacity, the privilege of so doing; with which, under this species of compulsion, the senate of Hamburgh thought it prudent to comply.

The publication in question, affected to take a review of the conduct of England and France since the peace; in which the bad faith, ambition and violence of the former was contrasted on every occasion with the opposite qualities in that of the latter. It entered into an elaborate vindication of the French government, during the period of the present negotiation; dwelt with the bitterest rancour on the aggressive measure, of the message to parliament from the king of Great Britain; and concluded by detailing in terms of satisfaction and complacency, the particulars of the outrage committed at the Thuilleries by Bonaparte, in his paroxysm of fury directed through the medium of lord Whitworth, against the English government.

There is little doubt of this libel having originated in the same source whence had issued so many of its brethren of the *Moniteur*, to which its family resemblance in matter and manner, bear too great a resemblance to be mistaken. Nor is it likely that the French minister would venture to use the authority, and act in the name of his government, had he not good reason to know his conduct would not prove

displeasing at the Thuilleries. It will be found on perusal\* to be an able and artful manifesto, calculated to lessen, and depreciate the English government in the eyes of all Europe; and which could not in the moment of negociation appear in the *Moniteur*.

From a similar motive Bonaparte thought proper, to disclaim the conduct of the French minister, and to promise every satisfaction that the nature of the case would afford, in reply to the notification of the displeasure of the English government. His end had been completely answered by the circulation of the libel throughout the continent, and the pretended or real sacrifice of his agent, would have been matter to him of very slight consideration.

From the date of the final propositions of the English government to the second of May, no effort was spared to make them successively acceptable to the court of France: to the first and second, no sort of probability of accession was ever held out, and they were therefore abandoned; but on the third, when strengthened by a declaration that if not agreed to, lord Whitworth would leave Paris immediately, some pause ensued. It is to be remarked that during this whole period of diplomatic dexterity, the language of Bonaparte himself never varied on the subject of the evacuation of Malta by the English, on which measure he constantly and peremptorily insisted. His minister Talleyrand, and his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, occasionally listened to the project for the occupation of the island for a limited time, and the

\* Vide State Papers.

latter had even saved lord Whitworth the mortification of descending all at once, from the condition of a perpetuity to that of a term of ten years (agreeably to his instructions) by a hint of a similar nature, which he dropped in the course of a conversation with his lordship: but when any of the proposed modifications were submitted to the first consul, his answer was undeviatingly, the absolute necessity there existed of the English evacuating the island in every event or contingency.

On the last mentioned date (May the 2d) however, a specific answer from the French government was given to all the articles of the final propositions of the English court. With respect to Lampedosa, the first consul alleged that as it did not belong to France, he could neither accede to, nor refuse the desire of the acquisition of that island by his Britannic majesty. That as the demand made respecting Malta by the court of England would materially alter a formal disposition of the treaty of Amiens, it should previously be communicated to the king of Spain and the Batavian republic, who were contracting parties to that treaty—and that by a parity of reasoning all the contracting parties were bound to submit it to the emperors of Germany and Russia, and the king of Prussia, as the guaranteeing powers to the 10th article of the peace.—That this concert, the first consul was willing to admit, but certainly would not propose, as it was not from him the objections to the execution of the article in question originated. And finally that so soon as the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens were executed in every quarter of the globe, that

then, Holland should be evacuated by the French forces.

As the project to which this reply was given, was, to use the diplomatic phrase, communicated to the French minister as the *ultimatum* of the English government, the complete rejection of its terms, should certainly have been decisive on lord Whitworth's farther residence in Paris; on its receipt therefore in the form of an official note, his lordship, with many expressions of regret at the unhappy termination of the negotiation, applied for the necessary passports to accelerate his departure from France. Bonaparte, whose object it certainly was not to come to an immediate rupture, or who was inclined in good faith to obviate as much as in him lay any difficulty respecting the principal cause of the discussion; announced to the English ambassador on the evening of the same day on which the latter had demanded his passports, that the French government had a communication of the greatest importance to make to him, on the following morning. The proposition so made was certainly one of considerable moment, nor can in this instance any blame be reasonably imputed to lord Whitworth, that he still farther delayed his departure from the French capital until he should have obtained upon it the sentiments of his government.

The first consul, after deprecating in the strongest terms the consequences of a renewed warfare between England and France, professing his own inclination to preserve the terms of that peace inviolably, which had restored the tranquillity of Europe; accuses the English government of the having pursued a  
course



course calculated in every respect, on the subject of Malta, to militate against the spirit and letter of the treaty of Amiens. That notwithstanding the manifest injustice of the English government, his disposition towards peace was such as to induce him not to reject an intermediate mode of terminating the difficulties respecting Malta; and that he would consent to the Island being placed in the hands of one of the three powers who had guaranteed its independence, either Austria, Russia, or Prussia; provided that some other arrangements respecting its guaranty of secondary importance were established.

On this proposition (dated the 4th of May) the obvious intention of which was to give Malta to the emperor of Russia; the English government, without a moment's delay, put a decided negative. The dispatch however, announcing this refusal, contained yet *another* ultimatum, which, if not acceded to by the French government, lord Whitworth was instructed to quit Paris in thirty-six hours. This new project differed only from the last, in its placing the island of Malta in the hands of Great Britain for an indefinite term, upon the footing of *the present state of Lampedosa*; and which, as soon as the latter could be occupied as a naval station, should be restored to the inhabitants, and acknowledged an independent state. And, in a secret article, which provided that his majesty should not be required to surrender Malta by the French government until after the expiration of ten years. Those articles which related to the acknowledgment of the king of Etruria, and the Italian

and Ligurian republics; the evacuation of Switzerland; and to the assigning a suitable territorial provision to the king of Sardinia in Italy, were made to depend upon each other. All were to be omitted, or all inserted.

On the 4th of May this, *last* last project, was communicated by the English ambassador to M. Talleyrand. In the personal conference which took place upon this subject, lord Whitworth expressed it as a reason why his government refused to accede to the placing the island of Malta in the hands of one of the guaranteeing powers, "that the emperor of Russia had refused to take charge of Malta." This latter argument, which certainly does not display a flattering specimen of diplomatic ingenuity, afforded but too favourable an opportunity for animadversion to the French government, which on the 12th in a note to lord Whitworth, (totally waiving the subject of the last proposition of the English government) confines itself to Lord Whitworth's cause of rejection of the project of the 4th of May; the ground of which the French minister asserts to be totally unfounded; as even should the court of St. Petersburg persist in its refusal of accepting Malta, the intentions of the emperor of Germany and the king of Prussia, named in the French project, were yet to be ascertained: but M. Talleyrand takes still stronger ground, and asserts most positively in his note, that the assertion of Lord Whitworth is in absolute contradiction to the assurances which the first consul had received from Russia, since his majesty's message had

had been there made public, and which were again renewed to him by an authentic communication of the ambassador from that court, made but the day before. And that therefore as it was impossible to reconcile the last communication made by his lordship, with the fresh confirmation which had just been acquired, from the court of Russia, the first consul could not but believe, that on farther investigation, his Britannic majesty would give his ambassador different instructions from those, which were last communicated by him to the French government.

Lord Whitworth in reply contented himself with promising to transmit this notification to his government, and again demanded the necessary passports; with which being furnished, he departed from Paris, and arrived in London on the night of the 19th of May. His majesty's declaration of war against France had issued on the day preceding.\*

Thus after a peace of barely one year and sixteen days, did Europe again see her quiet disturbed, and her tranquillity threatened, by the renewal of a contest between her greatest continental, and her greatest maritime power; and in which, sooner or later, her other states must most probably be embarked: a contest, in which neither of the belligerent countries had any definite object; whose means of mutual annoyance were as limited as their rancour and enmity were boundless; and to which, of consequence, no period could be affixed, even in idea!

In the course of our narrative of the progress and termination of the negociation at Paris, we have necessarily limited ourselves to its outline, without breaking in upon it with remark or comment; the documents respecting the negociation itself, will be found in the appropriated part of this work to such subjects,\* whence may be gathered every minute particular connected with it, that has yet come forward to public view. It will probably appear difficult, even on a careful perusal of them, to account for the rupture not having earlier taken place, when every assigned cause of aggression on the part of France, in his majesty's declaration to the period of the publication of Sebastiani's report, (which occurred in January) fully existed: nor less so, that so late as the middle of May following, hostilities should then ensue, when France seemed disposed to make every concession and arrangement that could be demanded, short of allowing the actual possession of Malta to remain with England; a point on which the decision of Bonaparte had been taken from the first moment, and from which he never once varied in the slightest degree. Or there will still be difficulty in determining upon the motives which induced the government of England, if it resolved to keep possession of Malta, either in perpetuity, or for a term of years, to protract the negociation from the 29th of February, (on which day the first consul declared he would rather see the English in possession of the Fauxbourg St.

\* State Papers. Vide Official Correspondence.



Antoinet than remain in that of Malta; and that its detention would be considered as a commencement of hostilities) to the date of his majesty's declaration, full three months after that period!

We have already hazarded an opinion, that it has been owing to a providential coincidence of foreign and domestic events, unlooked for and uncalculated by ministers, that Malta yet remains under the protection of the British arms; to justify which, it will be necessary briefly to recapitulate and place in their immediate connection, some matter already separately detailed in the foregoing pages.

We have in the course of this chapter recounted the circumstances which led to the orders for the detention of the Dutch colonies; and for the counter-orders thereto, which issued one month subsequent to the former. We have also stated, that doubtful as to the event of the commanding officer at the Cape detaining or recapturing that settlement, as the circumstance might prove, the ministers of England were anxious to defer the evacuation of Malta until they should be ascertained in the important fact, whether their counter-orders had overtaken and prevented the execution of those first dispatched to the Cape, of which there was a possibility; or in case that the first had arrived, and that the detention either by force or otherwise had taken place; that then the yet holding possession of the only remaining acquisition to Great Britain, of her vast conquests during the war, might shield them from the odium and hostility, to which

such an act, a direct violation of the treaty of Amiens, would have inevitably exposed them.

In this critical posture were affairs, when the formal demand of the surrender of Malta was made by the French government; to which, on the 9th of February, that of England, in reply, assures the former, that the difficulties respecting the guaranty, had made it necessary for some fresh arrangement respecting that island, a communication for which purpose had been prepared, and should have been made, had not the publication of colonel Sebastiani's report imposed the necessity of demanding satisfactory explanation upon that head.

It was natural that the nature and degree of the satisfaction so demanded should be ascertained. On these however lord Whitworth had no instructions!

As the only subject worthy the consideration of the English government in the offensive report, was, the designs it developed, of Bonaparte upon Egypt: the latter seemed anxious to wipe away every impression of that nature; and in his long conference with lord Whitworth on the 21st of Feb. positively disclaimed any hostile intentions with respect to that country, and immediately afterwards M. Talleyrand assured the English ambassador, that a project was on foot to secure the integrity of the Turkish empire, so as to obviate any cause of doubt or uneasiness with respect to Egypt, or any other part of the Turkish dominions. The ensuing dispatch from London, which immediately notices this communication, professes to be



much pleased at the indication it manifests of the disposition of France to afford the explanation and satisfaction demanded on the subject of the report; but also expressed a determination on the part of the English government to retain Malta, till substantial security had been provided for objects which might be materially endangered by the removal of the troops from thence. Here for the first time are "other objects" glanced at; and satisfaction and explanation are accompanied by the phrase "substantial security." The language however, of lord Hawkesbury must be considered conciliatory, and although of a nature which manifested a disposition to delay the execution of the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens, and probably may be considered as looking prospectively to some advantages to be derived to England from the negotiation which might thence arise; it certainly did not indicate the decisive measure which so rapidly followed; and which almost precluded the possibility of a reply from Paris. The dispatch is dated on the 28th of February; on the 7th of March, the king's message to parliament, announcing the existence of armaments in the ports of France and Holland, and of important discussions in Paris, the result of which was uncertain; and the calling for the arming of the British empire, was delivered. On the state of the French armament we have already spoken; with respect to discussions, they surely could not with propriety be said to exist, when the last dispatch of lord Hawkesbury gave to the French government for the first time the subject on which discussion might indeed

most probably arise, but which certainly had not yet taken place.

On the insults offered to the commerce and the flag of Great Britain; on the sequestration of the property of English individuals in France, complaints had indeed more than once been made at Paris; they were unattended to, but there existed no discussion upon their merits. On the interference in the affairs of Switzerland, the unanswered remonstrance thereon of the English government so far back as the October of the last year, afforded at the present moment no matter of discussion. The occupation of Holland was, notwithstanding the instructions to lord Whitworth by his government, never, except in the course of desultory conversation with M. Talleyrand, mentioned by him; as had he remonstrated, both his lordship and the Batavian minister agreed in opinion, that it would do no good! There, therefore was no subject of discussion. On the aggrandizement of France since the peace of Amiens, no complaint or notice had ever been taken by the British government; no discussion on that ground could therefore exist.—The same reasoning applies to the affair of the imprisonment of the British subjects in Paris; the insolent interference respecting the internal government and the liberty of the press of Great Britain: all these points had long since passed over, unnoticed and unredressed: how then could they be the subjects of discussion?—Two points there certainly did exist, and both most barefaced infractions of the treaty of Amiens, on which if there had been discussion, it might have afforded some slight degree of satis-

faction to the British nation, which has dearly paid for the omission; the first was, that of the article which provided for a full and complete indemnification of the illustrious house of Orange, for their losses in Holland. By a secret article of the treaty, Holland had shifted off this indemnification from herself; and France who was to give nothing, procured for that purpose some miserable districts in Germany totally disproportioned to the extent of its claims; and for which England was called upon by government on the commencement of hostilities, to burthen herself with an annuity of 60,000*l.* to supply the deficiency. The other, that part of the second article, which stipulated for the payment of the sums due by France for the maintenance of prisoners of that nation in England during the war, which amounted to more than two millions sterling. On these subjects however, as there do not appear to have been either demand or remonstrance at any moment, from the period of the signature of the peace of Amiens to that of the renewal of hostilities, no discussion did, nor could exist. We are therefore obliged unwillingly to state, that the grounds for arming, as declared in the act of the English government, which issued for that purpose, are not, from any documents that appear, sufficiently established; and that some motive, not judged prudent to be brought forward, influenced the ministers in their determination on that important and eventful measure.

That motive can alone be found in the news of the detention of the Cape having reached (though not through the official channel, but

from sources equally to be depended upon) the ears of government, on the 6th of March; the message was determined on the 7th, as appears by lord Hawkesbury's dispatch of that date; and on the 8th was brought down to parliament, in order that the country might be placed in a warlike attitude, previously to the act of hostility, which had been committed at the Cape of Good Hope by their authority, being made public at Paris; and which in the mind and temper Bonaparte was known to possess, would probably produce such a ferment, as might occasion consequences the most to be dreaded, in the then unprepared and reduced state of the military and marine force of Great Britain.

As the ill-judged precipitation of ministers had induced this act of infraction of the treaty of Amiens, at the Cape; so did they commit themselves in the affair of the message, with equal temerity.—Armaments were now set on foot—the militia called out—contracts of every nature, incidental to warfare, entered upon—and even the message, independently of every other cause, was likely, from its conveying a direct challenge to Bonaparte, at the express moment when negotiation was proffered, to excite in him a degree of resentment, which would plunge both countries into irretrievable hostility.

A very few days convinced the English government of its too great precipitation; the official account of the detention of the Cape, was rapidly followed by another of the surrender of the colony, under the instruction contained in the counter-orders, which, from circumstances



stances not unusual in such latitudes, though not dispatched till after the intervention of a month, arrived on the heels of the former. The message and its effects would now have been gladly withdrawn, but it was too late; ministers were pledged to prove the existence of armaments, to an alarming extent, and of "important discussions," at Paris, as the cause of the message, which by arming the country had disturbed its tranquillity, increased its expenditure, and had given the most serious cause of offence and complaint to France.

To effect this, was however, a task, which even the confidence of numbers could not inspire ministers with the hope of effecting, to the satisfaction of parliament and the country. In this dilemma, they directed their utmost efforts to induce the late minister to take an active share in the administration. Under the protection of his great name, with the assistance of his pre-eminent talents and abilities, whatever were the issue of the present negotiation, whether it were peace or war, behind his shield they would have conceived themselves invulnerable.

For a considerable period of time, it was well known that the concert and good understanding which had originally subsisted between the late and present ministers, had gradually lessened, and had, at length, totally ceased: the moment of necessity, however, now approached, and overtures were made to regain that co-operation and assistance which, in the hour of boastful confidence, was either neglected or unsolicited. The origin, progress,

and termination of the negotiation for this purpose, we have already detailed.\* During its continuation; repeated adjournments of parliament at home, kept discussion at a distance; whilst, at Paris, the different modifications of the original proposition of retaining Malta in perpetuity, were successively and anxiously tendered for the acceptance of the French government.

We have seen, that although the firmness of the first consul never gave way on the point of Malta remaining in British hands, yet his wish to avoid war, in his present unprepared state, induced him to make every concession that could be considered as demanded or even imposed by the English government, in consequence of Sebastiani's report. The integrity of the Turkish empire was to be secured; Malta, the great object of dispute and jealousy, Bonaparte offered to place in the hands of Russia, Austria, or Prussia; even the doctrine of the right of compensation and equivalent to Great Britain, for the acquisitions of France, was not attempted to be denied or evaded; and a convention, for that express purpose, would, if demanded, have doubtless been conceded. From the disposition manifested by the court of Russia, its mediation might have been confidently looked to, at the moment when the negotiation abruptly concluded; and which if accepted, in all human probability, had averted the scourge and evils of war.

The entire failure however of the attempt to induce Mr. Pitt to return to office, was decisive upon the conduct of ministers.—As the treaty

\* Vide page 213.



with him had been broken off, under circumstances by no means of a conciliating nature, they had to dread the full weight of his opposition, when they were called upon in parliament to furnish those documents, by which they were to prove the existence of "hostile armaments," "important discussions," and the necessity of arming the country.

One mode alone remained, by which they could hope to obviate the dreaded effects of such an investigation; and the peremptory *last ultimatum* was consequently dispatched to Paris. If Bonaparte gave way, the important acquisition of Malta, combining with the natural wish for peace, would give government a degree of popularity, sufficient to carry them through the inquiry, with some degree of credit; on the contrary, should he remain firm, then, in the event of war, (which must inevitably ensue, from the tenor of their last communication to the French government,) they might hope, that the apprehension in many, of lessening the energies of the country, or of distracting its councils by political acrimony at a moment when unanimity and vigour was become so essential from the nature and importance of the contest, would shield them from that censure in which they well knew enquiry into their conduct since the period of the treaty of Amiens, would lead the new opposition to endeavour to involve them. This reasoning of the administration was fully borne out by the event.

Popular indignation and resentment were too strongly excited, by the series of aggression, insult, and hostility, which appeared to have marked the conduct of Bonaparte since the peace, and which were elaborately and connectedly detailed in his majesty's declaration, not to call eagerly for war, without dwelling upon the weakness, inconsistency, and irresolution of those counsels, which had suffered them to attain to such an height, as left no alternative save hostile measures. And in parliament Mr. Pitt and those who acted with him, not only supported the principles on which the war had commenced; but when investigation of the conduct of ministers had produced the dreaded motion of censure, they opposed going into their merits or demerits, as tending to promote disunion, at a crisis so momentous.

For the opinions of the best informed and most enlightened of the statesmen of Great Britain, on all the subjects connected with this chapter, we beg to refer our readers to the proceedings in parliament, detailed at sufficient length in the early part of our "History of Europe;" some of which our limits would not here allow of a more minute relation; such, were the improvident reduction of our fleet and army, during a period, when France was straining every nerve to put both those establishments upon the most extensive footing.—The relative insignificance of Lampedosa\*—the inconsistency and folly of clogging the negotiation at Paris, with

\* Lampedosa is a small uninhabited island, between Malta and the coast of Tunis, belonging to the crown of Sicily. It feeds a few sheep and goats; and a frigate may with tolerable security anchor in its roads.

conditions for the king of Sardinia; of whom no mention had been made in the treaty of Amiens, and in whose cause ministers had, more than once since that period, formally disclaimed any interest.—The alarming deficit in the public revenue—the unconstitutional and dangerous conduct of concealing from parliament the real state of the country—and the delusive assurances of peace, constantly held out to the public, at a time when the continuation of tranquillity was, if not morally impossible, at least extremely problematical. — The “Official Correspondence” appended hereto, will afford every requisite degree of supplemental information, on the subject of the causes of renewed hostility.

From the manner in which we have descanted on the conduct of the English government, during a short and feverish interval of peace, it must not be supposed that we do not think the war commenced with France, abstractedly considered, as just and necessary. If ever there existed one to which both those epithets could be applied with scrupulous propriety, the present is that one. The series of unprovoked insults and injuries offered by France to Great Britain; and her alarming and despotic interference in the affairs of the rest of Europe; however they might have been passed over by a too timid or too conciliating administration; are not the less the legitimate objects of British resentment and British vengeance. Our end and aim have been (and in which we beg not to be mistaken) independently of the narrative of the leading events which fall within the limits of our volume,

to point out the evils which must ever arise to a great nation, from having its concerns entrusted, in times of danger and difficulty, to the guidance of weak and wavering councils—from the abandonment of those principles of sound policy which have come down to posterity, sanctioned by the practice of the wisest nations—from the adoption of a temporizing system, and doctrines founded on momentary expediency—from the ceding the minutest point in debate to a powerful and ambitious rival, by which alone national honor could be compromised, without providing for national security—in fine, from that pusillanimity which, become apparent in trivial concessions, must merely tend to produce farther and more important requisitions. Had the determinations of the existing government of Great Britain, since the peace, been governed by principles such as these; we are confident that either Bonaparte would have been forced to recede, long since, from his unjust and tyrannical projects; or that England would have recommenced the contest, with a veteran and numerous military establishment;—a well-equipped and increasing marine;—the conquests of the last glorious war in her possession;—steadfast and powerful allies: altogether forming an aggregate of natural and acquired strength, with which, (under providence) well directed, she might reasonably have hoped to secure the liberties, and avenge the injuries of Europe. From the consequences to be apprehended from the very opposite line of conduct pursued, may that providence be her protection!

\* That no document on this most important subject may be wanting to our readers, the “additional papers” shall be inserted in the following volume,

## CHAP. XIX.

*Declaration of War—Different Opinions thereon—State of both Countries at its Commencement—Mode of Warfare which each naturally resolves upon.—Attack of the lesser French West India Islands by England—France prepares to extend her conquests on the continent.—Attack of Hanover by the army of General Mortier—Operations there—Entirely reduced, and occupied by the armies of the French republic.—Navigation of English vessels in the Elbe and Weser impeded—Blockade by an English squadron of the mouths of those rivers.—Farther violation of the German empire by the French.—Preparations of Denmark suspended.—French armies invade Naples and the territories of the Pope.—Ancona and Tarentum occupied by them at the same time.—French project of invading Great Britain—Preparations therefor—Means of defence of the latter power.—Holland and the Italian republic compelled by France to engage in the war.—Unjustifiable detention of all the English subjects residing in France.—Great national exertion and spirit of the British nation.—Volunteers.—French and Dutch colonial possessions attacked.—St. Domingo lost to the French.—St. Lucie and Tobago taken.—Gallantry of the British force.—Demerara and Isseguido taken.—Present views of Bonaparte.—Situation of France and England at the conclusion of the year.*

ON the 18th day of May his majesty's declaration against France was laid before both houses of parliament; the reasons therein assigned were very universally allowed to be sufficient grounds of war, had the ministers of Great Britain done their duty: there were many however, who asserted, that if, instead of a feeble and inefficient administration, the country had possessed one every way worthy to direct the energies and resources of a great empire, and support its national character, the aggressions of France might have been early prevented by timely remonstrances, and hostilities averted. Those who thus

thought attributed that accumulation of injury, which rendered the war inevitable on the part of Great Britain, at least as much to the incapacity of the existing government, as to the encroaching spirit of France, and the restless ambition of her ruler. In whatever causes it might have originated, or in what manner it might have been avoided, were questions however, which respected more the responsibility of the English ministers, than the necessity of commencing war: and it was universally allowed, that the uniform system of hostility, aggression, and insult, exercised by the French government for the last twelve



twelve months, had been carried to such an extent, that England was degraded, and her honor for ever lost, if she did not again appeal to the decision of the sword; to the spirit of the British nation; to the energies that form the proud characteristic of a free people; and above all, to that over-ruling Providence, under whose guidance she had so often asserted triumphantly her own cause, and that of the oppressed, in defiance of the power, or the most formidable efforts, of her enemies. In effect, his majesty's declaration conveyed that solemn appeal; the treaty of Amiens was now at an end, and the second war actually commenced between this country and revolutionary France.

Notwithstanding the declaration took place late in the month of May; yet on the date of his majesty's message in March, it may be said the signal of war was given. There was indeed a negotiation opened at Paris, as we have seen, which lasted more than six weeks, but of a nature from which nothing finally amicable could be hoped, and from that day, war appeared inevitable. In writing the history of our own times, we may fairly appeal to the recollection of every person in the country; as to the impression which that message made: it was felt in parliament; it was felt at court; it was felt in the city; it was felt every where, and by every person of common sense, as the sure precursor of a rupture. It may be supposed then that it was considered in the same light at Paris and at the Tuilleries. Bonaparte himself was so convinced of its decision,

that on meeting the assembled diplomacy of Europe, at his drawing-room, he could not restrain his motions within the common limits of court etiquette and ascertained decorum, but advanced directly to Lord Whitworth, the British ambassador, and addressed to him that insulting and unprecedented species of remonstrance so inconsistent with the respect due to an ambassador: and of which we have given a detailed account in our last chapter.

The message therefore was not only the prelude to the declaration of war, but from its nature induced the French as well as the British government to make every possible preparation for carrying on hostilities with effect, should the negotiation terminate unfavourably. In considering the events and progress of the rupture, it will be materially important to consider its commencement, as from the date of that message; both nations then beginning to develope their respective means of attack and annoyance. The island of Malta, which was the immediate cause of the war, was so strong, from its fortifications, and so well garrisoned, that France could not entertain the slightest hope of its conquest by force, and yet the possession of it was of the utmost importance in the eyes of Bonaparte. It was that object which had caused the greatest difficulty in the negotiations at Amiens; and we have seen that the first consul expressly told lord Whitworth, that he would rather see the two give up one of the suburbs of Paris to England, than allow her to retain that island! Although this expression cannot be taken literally, it shews however, the strong sense he had of

the importance of its position, with respect to his ultimate views of aggrandizement; he was, therefore, resolved not to concede this point to Great Britain, but either to force her to abandon it, or obtain an equivalent for France. The English government, on the other hand, wearied with the concessions they had been called upon unceasingly to make, disgusted with the arrogance of Bonaparte, and terrified at the political embarrassments with which they were threatened, were equally resolved to try again the chance of arms, and, in all events, to retain the possession of Malta. The line of hostilities, which each nation intended to pursue, could easily be foreseen, from their relative positions, Great Britain being mistress of the seas, would naturally direct her principal attack against the colonies and the maritime possessions of her enemy; while France, being equally powerful at land, was resolved to obstruct and attack the commerce of Great Britain, in Italy, Germany, and every country where her armies could penetrate: she was also strong enough to wrest from her weaker neighbours a full equivalent for any colonial loss she might incur in the approaching contest. In pursuance of the different systems of warfare, which each nation had adopted, the British government, soon after the message of the 8th of March, sent a strong reinforcement of troops to the West Indies; used every possible diligence in equipping her fleet; and increased considerably the defensive force of the country, by calling out the supplementary as well as the established militia, and by accepting the services of a considerable num-

ber of volunteer corps. The exertions of government appeared, however, to be so entirely confined to measures of defence, that even the enemy observed, "It was strange that Great Britain should seek a war, merely to shew that she could put herself into a strong position of resistance." The fact, however, was, that notwithstanding both the resolutions to break the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens, and the declaration of war proceeded from the British cabinet, yet it was not prepared with a plan to commence the contest, by any grand and efficient operation; and the taking of the small islands of St. Lucie and Tobago, was the utmost that the disposable force of Great Britain, in its then state of reduction, appeared equal to the achievement of: for if, in the course of the year, the colony of St. Domingo should be rescued from the French armies, that were an event which could not well be calculated upon by the English government, as it depended entirely on the courage, discipline, and perseverance of the Black army.

The conduct of the French government evinced a degree of vigour widely different, both in precautionary and in executive measures. A few days after the date of the message, admiral Linois sailed from Brest, for the East Indies, with a strong squadron, having 6000 troops on board, who were destined not only to strengthen the garrisons of the French colonies in the East, but also to put the Cape of Good Hope in such a condition as to resist any attack made upon it by Great Britain. In Europe the French armies were immediately  
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put in motion. The army of Italy was strongly reinforced, and pushed forward a very large detachment upon Tarentum, and all the strong posts in the kingdom of Naples, which lay on the Adriatic. The French generals, charged with the execution of those orders, expressed in their proclamations, that it was necessary, while England retained Malta, France should occupy those important positions.

On the side of Germany the French government was no less active, enterprising, and daring. M. Talleyrand, the minister of foreign affairs, had already stated, in plain terms, to lord Whitworth, that in the event of hostilities, it was natural that a considerable army should be assembled in Holland, and on the frontiers of Hanover; and immediately subsequent to the king's message, France began to put her threat in execution. During the protracted period of the negociation, a considerable French army was actually assembled on the threatened points, and were in perfect readiness to commence the campaign, at the moment the negociation broke off. His majesty's declaration of war was not laid before parliament, till the 18th of May, and on the 25th, the French general, Mortier, from his head quarters at Coeverden, summoned the Hanoverian electorate to surrender to his army. In the attack of Hanover, Bonaparte formally professed that he wished to occupy that country, merely as a pledge for the restoration of Malta, agreeably to the conditions of the treaty of Amiens, and endeavoured to cover this flagrant violation of the independence and constitution of the German

empire, by asserting that it was merely for the purpose of compelling the king of England to maintain the peace of Amiens, that he had ordered his armies to occupy that portion of Germany, in which the present reigning family of England were peculiarly interested. Under those weak and flimsy pretences, he was suffered, without any opposition from the great continental powers, or the states of the empire, to possess himself of that country, which not only yielded him considerable plunder, but gave him a most commanding position in the North of Europe, and which must most materially affect the politics of the continent. Notwithstanding that the attack on Hanover had been so long threatened, his majesty's English ministers had not taken the slightest step, either to succour his German territories, or to secure the retreat of the Hanoverian army, and thus procure a most valuable addition to the disposable force of the British empire! Hanover was completely abandoned to its own means of defence, and to the precarious intervention of the German empire; the powers of which, however, having suffered most materially, in the last war with France, were not at all inclined to begin another for the sake of a state neglected and deserted as it was by its natural protector. Although it was not possible that the electorate alone could pretend to oppose itself with effect to the immense power of France, his royal highness the duke of Cambridge was sent over thither from England, as commander in chief, and proclamations were published in his name, and that of the Hanoverian government, calling upon all the inhabitants



Inhabitants capable of bearing arms, to defend their country to the last drop of their blood! It was not to be expected that such proclamations, at such a time, could have produced any good effect; if indeed the inhabitants of the electorate had been previously armed and organized, they would doubtless have been able to repulse a much greater force than general Mortier commanded; but to suppose that citizens and peasants were to form effective armies, at a moment's notice, and when the enemy were just entering their country, was altogether as absurd as it was unreasonable. The duke of Cambridge, it is true, pledged himself to share all their dangers, but his situation differed very materially from that of the Hanoverian people. In case of defeat, a frigate was always ready to carry his royal highness back to England; but for the army or inhabitants of that state, there was no retreat, after having irritated the power of France by an opposition, which must have been fruitless, while they were unsupported by any auxiliary means whatever. It was therefore not very surprizing that they paid more attention to the proclamations of the French general, than to that of the English prince. General Mortier told them, in his address, that "he had heard of proclamations dictated by the blindest fury, for the purpose of drawing them into a contest, to which they ought to be strangers, and desired them to preserve themselves from an aggression equally absurd and useless, of which they alone would be the victims." To this advice the Hanoverians listened, and positively refused to rise in mass, for the purpose of

opposing the French. The opposition therefore which that power experienced from the regular army of Hanover, is hardly worth detailing. On the 26th of May, the invading army entered the town of Bentheim, where the Hanoverian garrison, consisting of an officer and thirty-six men, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. On the 28th, the French force passed the river Ems, at Mippen, and the next day a body of 10,000 entered the principality of Osnaburgh, which had been evacuated by the Hanoverians. The main body of the latter, commanded by general Walmoden, and amounting to near 18,000 regulars, appeared determined to make a stand in their positions, on the Hunte; and general Hammerstein occupied the town of Diepholtz, with a considerable force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. The French immediately prepared to dislodge them: a division of their infantry, under the command of general Schiner, and another of cavalry, under the orders of general Nansouty, forced the passage of the Hunte, and directed their march to Sublingen, with a view of cutting off whatever force might be stationed between that town and Diepholtz. General Hammerstein, finding his right turned by this manœuvre, was obliged to retreat in the night, to Borstoen. On the 1st there was a smart skirmish, between a Hanoverian rear guard and the French advanced pickets. On the 2d, notwithstanding a severe cannonade from the Hanoverian army, general Drouet, who commanded the French advanced army, attacked them, and after a charge of cavalry, obliged them to retire

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The river Weser was now the last line of defence for the Hanoverian army; the banks of it were well planted with artillery, and it appeared as if the passage of it would be attended with some difficulty. The town of Nieubourg was the Hanoverian head quarters, against which general Mortier was in full march, when a deputation arrived from the civil and military authorities of the regency of Hanover, to intreat him to suspend his march; which he positively refused, until they had signed a convention, agreeing to put him in possession of the entire electorate, and all the strong places dependent upon it, together with all the artillery, arms, and ammunition. The Hanoverian army were, by the conditions of this convention, to retire behind the Elbe, and to engage not to serve during the war, against France or her allies, until regularly exchanged. The terms of the convention were, however, conditional, depending entirely on the ratification of it by the first consul and his Britannic majesty. It was evident, however, that his majesty could not ratify this convention, as king of Great Britain; and as elector of Hanover it would have amounted almost to a renunciation of his sovereignty, were he to consent to such terms as those.—On the 5th of June the French were in possession of the city of Hanover, where they found a prodigious quantity of artillery and ammunition. Besides the absolute value of the electorate as a conquest, which enabled them to remount their cavalry and recruit their treasury, the French were now masters of the navigation of the Elbe and

Weser, and were determined to use their power there to the injury of the British commerce in Germany. Being now in the immediate neighbourhood of the rich commercial Hanse towns of Hamburgh and Bremen, they were also enabled, under the shape of loans, to levy considerable sums of money upon them; and were the continental powers patient, under this outrageous violation of the German empire, there seemed but little prospect of the possibility of limiting their future encroachments. Under all those circumstances, there can be no doubt but that the conquest of Hanover was a most important and advantageous acquisition to France, which she had been allowed to make without the slightest opposition from the English government. The real value of Hanover was not generally known or understood, until France had possessed herself of it. It had always been one of the vulgar prejudices of the English nation, (there were occasionally also ministers to be found, who, in order to court popularity, gave it their support,) that Hanover was rather to be considered as a clog and an incumbrance to Great Britain than an advantageous possession: but when it was seen how eager France was to ease his majesty of that incumbrance, the tide of popular opinion ran the contrary way, and, whether with respect to the honor or interest of the nation, the great majority of the people began to think that it should have been defended and maintained.—The conquest of Hanover was undoubtedly of the utmost consequence to France, at the same time that it limited her conquests in the

course

course of the year. Bonaparte endeavoured to push the effects of this acquisition to the utmost possible extent, by aiming at the destruction of the commercial navigation of the British merchant vessels on the rivers Elbe and Weser. A measure which his generals excused by the contemptible sophistry, that as the fortune of war had given them the occupation of the king of England's dominions in Hanover, it could not be expected that British ships would be allowed to pass within the reach of a French battery. If this principle were admitted, it followed that they had gained on the same principle a right to prevent British vessels from going up to Hamburgh or Bremen. The British government however, with becoming resolution, would by no means admit of this reasoning. They laid it down as a principle that the conduct of France in the invasion of Hanover was an unauthorized and outrageous violation of the independence of the German empire; that it would be an act of hostility in Germany to permit British vessels to be fired at or captured, when navigating in the ports and rivers of Germany; and therefore (retaliating in some measure on the empire, for the not having defended Hanover) took ample measures that the mouths of the Elbe and Weser should be strictly blockaded by British squadrons, and no vessels allowed to pass, so long as British vessels were excluded from their navigation. The Hanse Towns of Hamburgh and Bremen were now placed in a most deplorable and distressing situation. By the blockade of their harbours, their foreign trade was cut off, while the

neighbourhood of the French armies placed them in perpetual danger of military violence and exaction. In this situation they applied to the king of Prussia, as guarantee and protector of the neutrality of the north of Germany; but the cabinet of Berlin, either entering into the views of France, or under the impression of its vast and irresistible power, refused to interfere, and thus were abandoned all the smaller states of the north of Germany to the mercy and discretion of the French government!

The terms of the convention at Sublingen had placed the French general in possession of the whole of the electorate of Hanover lying on the south side of the river Elbe, the Hanoverian army having retired across the Elbe to the duchy of Lauenburgh: but as this convention was only conditional, and required to be ratified by the British and French governments; so soon as it was known in Paris that the courier had arrived, announcing his Britannic majesty's refusal to ratify it, Bonaparte sent express orders to his generals to re-commence the campaign. General Mortier thereupon sent a letter to field-marshal count Walmoden, the Hanoverian general, informing him that the refusal of his Britannic majesty to ratify the convention, had rendered it null and void. He therefore now sent him a fresh proposition to surrender with his army prisoners of war, to be sent into France. The field-marshal replied, that those terms were so very humiliating, that his army preferred perishing with their arms in their hands; that they had already made sufficient sacrifices for their country;



try; and that they must now defend their own honor. The officer however, who carried this answer, was empowered to state, that if any acceptable terms were offered, they would probably not be rejected. General Mortier refused to make any other propositions, and immediately prepared to cross the Elbe in the face of the Hanoverian army, who had taken a strong position on the banks of the river, which was well defended with artillery. But general Walmoden seeing that the French army was determined to force its passage, sent new propositions, which were at length agreed to, and on the 5th of July a convention was settled, by which the Hanoverian army was to be disbanded, and return to their homes upon their parole, not to serve against France or her allies until regularly exchanged; and its artillery, horses, and military stores, were to be given up to the French.—General Mortier in his letter to the first consul, said, that “it was only from generosity to an enemy imploring clemency, that he granted those terms; that general Walmoden signed the capitulation with an afflicted heart; and that it was difficult to paint the situation of the fine regiment of the king of England’s guards at dismounting.”

The French government, in possessing themselves of Hanover, professed in a laboured manifesto, that it was their intention to retain it merely as a pledge for the restitution of Malta, and trusted by that pretence to prevail on the other powers of Germany to look with indifference on this invasive violation of the independence and integrity of the empire. The

apathy of those powers encouraged the French to the levying large contributions from the Hanse Towns, and to commit farther encroachments on the German territory. The prince regent of Denmark had indeed upon the first news of the march of the French army, advanced a considerable body of troops into Holstein; but after the conquest of Hanover, it was intimated to him that the French government saw with displeasure, preparations which appeared hostile and menacing; in consequence of which he thought it advisable to withdraw his army, and Hanover and the adjacent country remained in the undisputed possession of France.

The aggressions of Bonaparte were not, however, confined to Germany, under the pretext of retaining pledges for Malta: notwithstanding the conditions of the separate peace with Naples, a considerable French army was in motion to occupy all the Neapolitan ports on the Adriatic, and particularly the town and port of Tarentum, to which Bonaparte had always attached vast importance, and which in the negotiations with lord Whitworth, it appeared the French government considered as an equivalent for Malta. Ancona and the principal possessions of the pope on that sea, were seized on by the French army at the same time. And now the moment was arrived, when the avowed system of France in her war with England might be developed, and be put in execution, namely, first to increase her strength and reinforce her treasury, by the possession and plunder of the weaker states in her neighbourhood; and finally to apply her whole

whole collected strength and resources to the invasion and conquest of Great Britain. It was to this darling object of his ambition that Bonaparte applied the large sums which he had obtained from America for the sale of Louisiana, those from Portugal as the price of peace, and the contributions from Spain, Italy and the Hanse Towns either in the shape of military levy or of loan.

From the very commencement of the war, every preparation was made to carry into effect the menace which he had thrown out to lord Whitworth of invading England. Independently of his grand fleet at Brest, which was presumed to be destined for the invasion of Ireland, an immense number of transports was ordered to be built and collected with the greatest expedition. The success of the Spanish gun-boats off Algeziras during the last war, had made the French believe that it would be possible for some thousands of similarly constructed vessels, but built on an improved plan, to force their way across the channel in spite of the British navy. This idea was universally received in France, and in the course of the year such astonishing exertions were made, that a sufficient flotilla was assembled at Boulogne, to carry over any army that France should choose so to employ. This menacing disposition and the mighty preparations for carrying it into effect, were perhaps ultimately advantageous to Great Britain. The evident necessity of defending the country against invasion obtained a ready consent to every plan which could be proposed for increasing its military defence. Independently of the regular and supplementary militia an addition-

al army of 50,000 men was proposed under the title of an army of reserve, and a general *levy en masse* of all persons capable of bearing arms, was universally approved of: this measure was however rendered unnecessary by the spirit of the country, which in a short time presented above 300,000 effective volunteers, as an additional defence to the country. This vast reinforcement to its military strength, placed it on so proud a footing of security that the English nation no longer feared the visit of their invaders, but felt so conscious of their strength as rather to wish the enemy to try that experiment; which should it fail, would probably determine not only the reputation, but the dominion and power of Bonaparte.

The French government however was perfectly competent in the course of the year, to ascertain, that an immense flotilla could be assembled at Boulogne, without much interruption from the English cruizers; it only remains for France to try whether their whole collected naval force can venture across the channel in the face of those squadrons which England can oppose to them, and whether even then, they can reasonably hope to land a sufficient body of troops to conquer that country in its present improved state of defence. Should they prove unequal to this task the consequence of the menace will be, that England will become more a military nation than she has hitherto exhibited herself, and consequently will be enabled to send larger armies either to the relief of her allies, or to the conquest of the colonies of France, and those of the powers she may have forced into her alliance. In this contest

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Great Britain fairly accepted the challenge thrown out by France, when her government vainly gloriously asserted she was no longer able to contend *single handed* against her. The British government, in justice it must be said, wished that the war should solely exist between Great Britain and France. The latter, (though the challenger) found it necessary, meanly to force the weaker powers to engage in her assistance. Holland, contrary to her evident interest and wish, as well as the Italian republic, were compelled to become parties; and consequently while the commercial interests of the latter were severely injured in the course of the year, the former lost all her West Indian colonies: Spain and Portugal were likewise compelled to furnish pecuniary assistance to France in so open and extensive a manner, that it rested entirely with the generosity and magnanimity of Great Britain, whether they should not be considered as involved in direct acts of hostility. Independently of these measures, which the French government embraced as part of its war system; it took a step at its commencement which had never before been heard of among civilized nations, and which had always been protested against as an act of barbarity disgraceful even at Constantinople or Algiers. Under the pretence of making prisoners of war of those Englishmen enrolled in the militia of their country it seized indiscriminately upon all the nobility, gentry, and commercial agents who had incautiously put themselves within the reach of Bonaparte in France, and who were engaged in travelling in any of those countries occupied by the French

armies, and either shut them up in prisons, or confined them to particular places as prisoners of war upon their parole; and who were not to exceed the limits there assigned them! This wanton outrage on all the established courtesies of civilized nations, did not promise any (the slightest) advantage to France, and can only be considered as an angry and capricious display of the power and ill humour of the usurper who had seized upon its government: this act of wanton cruelty was farther aggravated, by its having been preceded by a perfidious promise to the English, that they should enjoy the protection of the government after the departure of the British ambassador, as extensively as during his residence. Those were the principal measures taken by France in the first year of the war. On the part of Great Britain, her first object was to raise the military strength of the country from the deplorable state of reduction which we have already detailed, and lay a foundation for its permanent defence without being obliged to have recourse to excessive loans; and secondly, to annoy her enemies as much as possible, both in their colonies and commerce. In the first object the government were successful beyond its most sanguine hopes and expectations. The English nation was so exasperated at the haughty tone and menacing language employed by France, that an unanimous disposition pervaded all the classes of society, to bear any hardship or make every sacrifice, rather than suffer their country to lie at the proud foot of the tyrant of France. Every measure proposed by government for strengthening the



country was adopted with scarcely any opposition, and in a few months, a volunteer army of more than 300,000 effective men appeared to start from the earth for the defence of their native land. The advantages the empire has received from this great display of national spirit, have been incalculable. No territorial acquisition she could have made, would have so far raised Great Britain in the estimation of foreign nations, as the zeal and courage which was exhibited by all ranks to defend the country from French invaders. The power of France, for the first time since the revolution, appeared to have received the most serious check; and the British channel seemed a barrier beyond which it could not pass. Other powers now appeared to catch somewhat of the fire which animated that country, and the cause of Great Britain was felt to be, that of all the independent nations of the universe.

Although the additional strength which was gained at home was by far the most important of the advantages which Great Britain derived from the war, yet the government was not altogether inattentive to the annoyance of the enemy in the only vulnerable part of his dominions. Expeditions against the Dutch settlements of Demerara, and Issequibo, and the French islands of St. Lucie and Tobago were dispatched in the course of the year. St. Domingo the most valuable colony that France ever possessed was wrested from her, by the black population assisted by a British squadron; and in the East Indies our successes over the native princes were brilliant, glorious, and decisive. The reduction of the French army in the

Island of St. Domingo was beyond all question the severest blow which France sustained in the course of the year. It had been entirely owing to the facilities which her shipping afforded of passing troops rapidly from one strong post or town on the coast to another, that France was at all able to keep down the insurrection in that island; those facilities however being entirely taken away by the superiority of our blockading squadrons, all those positions fell one after the other to the insurgent army, and general Rochambeau and the remains of that great army which had been judged fully sufficient to reconquer the colony, were necessitated to surrender prisoners of war to the naval force of Britain. By this event the sanguine hopes which Bonaparte had entertained of restoring to France the most valuable of her foreign possessions, was completely frustrated. This was not the only loss which France sustained in the West Indies. The islands of St. Lucie and Tobago were also wrested from her. The expedition which was prepared for the attack of those colonies, sailed from Barbadoes on the 20th of June, and arrived at day break on the 21st off St. Lucie; in the course of the day they effected their landing, drove in the advanced posts of the enemy, took the town of Castries, and summoned the French general Nogues to surrender at discretion. That officer however refusing to accede to those terms, lieutenant general Grinfield who commanded the expedition resolved upon attacking the Fort of Morne Fortuée by assault, as the rainy season was soon expected to commence. The attack was made the

the next morning at four o'clock, and the place was carried in the most gallant manner in about half an hour, without much loss, if the boldness of the enterprize be considered. That, on the British side, was about 138 men killed and wounded, including some officers. The number of the French garrison made prisoners of war amounted to 640. Besides the possession of a valuable sugar Island, this victory was important in many points of view. In the first place the storming so gallantly a fort strongly garrisoned by the French, proved again to the world that French troops were not invincible; and that the same armies which beat them in Egypt could conquer them again in any part of the world. At the same time that it established the reputation of the British army for gallantry and spirit, it was attended by a circumstance that displayed that generosity of national character, which is inseparable from true courage. The French general had refused a capitulation; he was determined to abide the assaults; and although it might be supposed that conquering troops, provoked by the losses which the obstinacy of the enemy exposed them to, would have revenged themselves by a bloody victory, yet to the honour of the British name, notwithstanding the extent of the provocation, they did not kill or wound a single Frenchman after the works had been carried. This was a triumph worthy of a civilized nation, and the brilliant display of British gallantry and generosity on this occasion was of infinitely more importance than even the capture of St. Lucie.

This first success of the British,

was of a nature to excite respect and admiration from those great powers of Europe that remained anxious spectators of the contest between France and England; while the successes of France in Hanover could only be considered by them as a daring violation of the territories of an independent and neutral nation; and an alarming proof of the disregard with which Bonaparte viewed his most solemn treaties.

On the first of July the island of Tobago surrendered to general Grinfield, who after the conquest of St. Lucie directed his force thither. The garrison were too feeble to oppose any resistance, and therefore immediately proposed a capitulation, in virtue of which they were to be sent over to France at the expence of Great Britain. Beside the French islands of St. Lucie and Tobago, in the West Indies the Dutch settlements of Berbice and Demerara fell into the hands of the British in the course of the present year, but without experiencing any resistance worth a particular detail.

When two nations such as France and England were at war, it might naturally be expected that each would have recourse not only to every measure of serious annoyance, but also to such as might afford matter of temporary triumph; of the latter nature may be reckoned the successes of the British arms in the West Indies, the fruits of which, in conformity to the fatal precedent established by the peace of Amiens, will in all probability be restored whenever hostilities shall cease, in a vastly more improved state than when captured. The loss of St. Domingo to France was however of more serious consequence, as it is



by no means likely that the French will ever be able to repossess themselves of it in the event of peace. And it is certain that should they even be able entirely to subdue and exterminate the black army that defends it, the island will be so completely ruined in the struggle, that France cannot hope for ages to place it once more on the footing of a productive possession.

Previously to the war, Bonaparte appeared determined to establish a colonial power in St. Domingo and Louisiana, which would bid fair not only to out-rival the British empire in the West Indies, but also to check the rising greatness of the united states of America. These objects were entirely deranged and defeated by the rupture with England—his plan of possessing himself of Egypt and the Levant, has been also crushed by the constant superiority of the British fleet in the Mediterranean. The views of the first consul have therefore necessarily taken a different direction, and he now seeks to establish his power on other grounds. He has made himself the absolute master of Italy, and shown the kings of Naples, Etruria, and the pope, that no treaties can bind him to respect their neutrality, or will prevent him from entering and occupying their territories whensoever he shall please; and of levying contributions upon them the measure of which must be determined by a compromise between their ability and his extortive rapacity. Spain and Portugal have been reduced to the state of provinces on which he can at pleasure levy what sums of money he may deem necessary, and at the same time enjoy all the advantages of their great possessions in

southern America, without incurring the risk or expence of governing them.

Already master of France, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Portugal, & South America, Bonaparte appears not far removed from that universal empire which alone can satisfy his ambition. All the smaller states of Germany have sunk under the power of France. Although Hanover was seized under the pretence of its appertaining to the king of Great Britain, yet Ham-burgh and Bremen have been plundered without the slightest excuse, save the necessities of the French army. We have seen that when Bonaparte was allowed to conquer Hanover, the smaller states of the north of Germany were abandoned to France, who was already, by conquest or intrigue, mistress of the lesser powers of the south. The French official journals had not hesitated to state, that if war should take place between Austria and France, Bavaria and Suabia would certainly be compelled to join the latter. It is evident therefore that the German nation can no longer consider the Rhine as its boundary. The power of the first consul is nearly as well established on the right bank of that river as on the left, and so long as the king of Prussia is content to be his instrument, it is the latter and not Francis who will really be the emperor of Germany.

The grand results therefore of the first year of the war, are that on the continent of Europe, France has exercised a more extended and despotic power than even she had manifested during the peace, and that she has reduced Europe so low, that it is become extremely problematical whether it be possible



possible to prevent her from achieving the absolute sovereignty of the continent.

On the part of Great Britain her victories in India have been certainly brilliant and have added much to her territory. In the West Indies she has completely frustrated the plans of France; and at home has raised a very considerable force to enable her to meet the threatened invasion: her various attacks however on the flotilla of France have met with slender success, and the different bombardments which were directed against the towns of Granville, Dieppe, Calais and Boulogne, but slightly annoyed the enemy. It appears then to be perfectly ascertained that France can assemble a flotilla to almost any amount on her immense line of coast, opposite the shore of England. The experiment therefore which Great Britain has to make is, to try whether in an empire of her population, resources, and national spirit, such a

military organization cannot be established, as to be permanently adequate to repel any force which France may send to invade her. This is the grand and awful hour of trial which the present generation is called upon to witness. If Bonaparte be permitted to break down altogether the independence of the different nations of Europe, and collect the whole disposeable force of France and that of her allies in her ports upon the channel, the destiny of this country appears to be sealed: and unless heaven shall in its mercy bless it with such an administration, as can unite the confidence and energies of all parties, all persuasions, all ranks and conditions of the people, in checking, resisting, and controuling so powerful and implacable an enemy; the time may shortly come, when patriotism itself may despair, and say of England what Hannibal exclaimed of his devoted country, "*Agnosco fate Carthaginis!*"

## CHAP. XX.

*Affairs of Ireland.—Retrospect.—Tumults in the South put down by legal Authority.—Mildness of Government.—Rumours of War with France excite uneasiness in the lower Orders.—Their Disaffection—acted upon by Republican Agents.—New Conspiracy.—Characters of the Leaders—Emmett—Dowdall—Quigley—Russel.—Overture of theirs to the Outlaw Dwyer—Rejected.—Profound Secrecy observed in their Proceedings.—Provide Arms and Stores in Dublin.—Grand Attempt to be made on the capital.—Explosion of one of their Gunpowder Magazines.—Alarm excited.—Attack determined to take place on the 23d of July—and why.—Folly and Madness of their Scheme.—Enthusiasm of Emmett.—Forces of the Conspirators assemble in Dublin on the appointed Day.—Arm themselves without Molestation.—Possess themselves of a considerable Quarter of the Town.—Fire at Mr. Clark, and desperately wound him.—Emmett heads his Party, and the Commencement of the Attack.—Murder of Col. Browne—and of others.—Tumult and Irregularity of the Insurgents—Totally unmanageable.—Emmett and the other Chiefs abandon them in Despair.—Completely subdued and dispersed by a handful of troops.—Particulars of the Massacre of the Lord Chief Justice—his Death—and Character.—Depôt of the Rebels discovered, and their Proclamation.—Fate of Emmett and Russel.—Execution.—Tranquillity restored.—General Reflections.*

**I**N our former volume we traced the state and condition of Ireland through the events leading to the union, and the effects of that measure to the commencement of the present year. We there ventured to describe some indications of a turbulent spirit existing in many parts of the south, and of a design familiarly talked of among the common people, although not called into action, of a meditated attack upon the city of Limerick. We even then suspected that the active enemy of the British empire, however pacific his protestations, was not indifferent to the means of embarrassing its government, by

feeding and cherishing the discontentments of Ireland, where unfortunately England was most vulnerable. Subsequent discoveries evince the conjecture to have been too well founded.

In the month of January, 1803, judges were sent by special commission to try the disturbers of the public peace in the counties of Limerick, Tipperary, and Waterford; in the two former of which, commotion had been very general; the latter was only affected from its proximity to Tipperary. In the progress of these trials, nothing of a treasonable disposition was discoverable in their unfortunate subjects.

jects. Those wretched creatures were deluded to act, not from any political stimulus—for abstract politics could never have been made a motive of action with their class, by the most refined intrigue. The artifice used to set them in motion, was more familiar to their business and bosoms, more adapted to their powers of comprehension—they were invited to fix a rate for potatoes, the almost universal food of the multitude in those parts; and to join in a system of opposition to the introduction of *strangers* (by whom were meant, persons of any other vicinity) from becoming the tenants of farms, and to compel the land proprietors in their counties to treat with, exclusively, the ancient occupiers—causes which constituted popular pretexts and clamours of long standing in Ireland. It also appeared that a forward lead in these matters was taken, by men of the disbanded regiments of militia, who had, during the calamitous period of the troubles of their country, been indulged in so much licentiousness; and so much of party, more than of military disci-

pline, had been instilled into their superiors, that it is not to be wondered at that they were, on their return to their counties, utterly unfitted for the purposes and habits of sober life. Upon this head we must ever refer to the just and animated censure of the illustrious Abercromby.

The sacrifices which were made to public justice on the above occasion, restored at least the appearance of tranquillity. The people were awed to submission—that they were reclaimed, we have every reason to doubt. There have since manifested themselves repeated indications of an angry unappeased spirit, and of unsubdued rancour; but since the period to which we have alluded; no overt act of considerable extent or moment has occurred in those counties. The magistrates of Tipperary and Limerick upon this occasion, earnestly petitioned to be indulged with the power of inflicting discretionary punishment, and transportation, under what is called in Ireland ‘the insurrection act,’\* to which his majesty’s government in Ireland refused

\* It is perhaps necessary here to apprise the English reader, that the Irish parliament, in the last year of its existence, enacted a law, by which the lord lieutenant and council were authorized, on the representation of a certain number of its magistrates, to declare a county in a state of insurrection; after this declaration had been legally notified, the magistrates were empowered to take up any person, and bring him before a petty session convened at any time or place, by two or three justices of the peace, who could in a summary manner, and without the intervention of a jury, determine whether the party accused had contravened the injunction to keep within his dwelling after nine o’clock at night; or had in any manner acted in furtherance of disturbance; if satisfied, they might adjudge the offender, at their discretion, to transportation, as a disorderly person. There certainly was a right of appeal to the more general sessions, but when the ignorance and poverty of the lower classes of the natives of Ireland be considered, it will appear nearly nugatory: the culprit could scarcely understand the transaction; could seldom command the means by which alone advice could be procured; and as but a very few days were allowed wherein to lodge the appeal, the right had generally lapsed, before the unfortunate individual was aware of that mode of redress.



to concede; and chose the milder and more authorized mode of regular legal proceeding. It is more than probable, that under the circumstances of local irritation, and inconsiderate intemperance every where abounding, that had the prayer of the magistrates been acceded to, the flames of rebellion would have been rekindled throughout the entire of that fine country, the south of Ireland—the course wisely adopted, met with complete success, and tranquillity was restored.

Some time before his majesty's message to parliament had announced the probability of a rupture with France, it became obvious to the wary observer, that there existed a considerable degree of feverish agitation among those who had favoured the late conspiracy, and an alarming resort to Ireland of persons notoriously in the interests of the French government. Undoubtedly the great majority of the people who had been deceived and led away by the intrigues and artifices of the jacobins; those especially who had any property to lose, or stake in the country, had seen through, and heartily repented their delusion: But there were still to be found some pardoned delinquents, who had yet to learn prudence from their escape of punishment, and whose wickedness had not been put to flight by the glaring conviction of its folly. This intractable and restless description of people, hailed with transport the opportunity of recommencing their machinations, and while some spread themselves over the country in every direction, others fixed themselves in the metropolis—an active correspondence was set on foot with France—and

the organization of a new conspiracy was commenced and prosecuted with unceasing diligence. Nor was Bonaparte inattentive or remiss to forward, by every means in his power, his darling project of revolution. The chiefs of the last Irish rebellion were summoned to Paris, from the insignificance and contempt in which, since the peace of Amiens, they had lived in different states of the continent; consultations were held with them; their hopes and passions stimulated by promises and flattery; and they were directed to communicate similar impulses to their agents and adherents in their native country.

The person who took upon himself (or to whom that task was delegated by his confederates) the office of director and principal mover of this new plot upon the British dominion in Ireland, was Mr. Robert Emmett, a young man of specious and promising talents. He was the younger brother of that Emmett who had previously to the rebellion of 1798, abandoned a respectable situation at the Irish bar, in order to project and carry into execution the wild schemes of that day—an Irish republic, and separation from Great Britain. His father had filled during a considerable period the situation of state physician in Dublin.

This young man had been sufficiently unguarded in his conduct while the late disturbances existed, to become an object of the vigilance of government, and had found it prudent to reside abroad so long as the habeas corpus act was suspended; but had returned to Ireland on the removal of that obstacle. His mind was ardent, his imagination brilliant, and he possessed a flow of elo-

cution,

cution, often rising to the fire, always consistent with the correctness, of legitimate oratory. With those endowments, which well directed must have led to fame and wealth and honours, he does not seem to have been gifted with one grain of judgment, or else his slender stock was swallowed up in the revolutionary vortex. His conversation and deportment at all times manifested the high degree of phrenzy to which his heated and distempered spirit, naturally too prone to such impressions, had been wrought up, by the political enthusiasm in which he had been early formed; by the revolutionary objects which had been in such rapid succession presented to his mind; and by the society of fanciful projectors, to which from inclination and habit, he had confined himself both at home and on the continent. When his life was forfeited to the justice of an outraged but commiserating country, he had not attained to his twenty fourth year; consequently as he had participated in the former conspiracy, he must have been, so early as his sixteenth, initiated in the baleful mysteries of treason and conspiracy! The death of Dr. Emmett had placed a sum of two thousand pounds in ready money within his reach, and with this fund he proposed to himself the subversion of an old and well established government! It is not however improbable that this sum, miserable as it was when compared with his objects, might have tempted the cupidity of a few parasitical adventurers, (to whose wants it might for a season administer) to beset and attach themselves to him; who by the acts of adulation, by flattering his

hopes, and encouraging his designs, at the same time that they revelled in the waste of this little patrimony, nourished his chimerical projects until they had involved him in irretrievable ruin. In this opinion we are countenanced by the characters and description of those persons with whom, as proved in the sequel, he seems to have communicated most confidentially. His principal associates were Dowdall, who had formerly filled a very inferior office under the Irish house of commons; Redmond, a man of narrow means, who affected to be engaged in some low species of commerce; and Allen, a broken woollen manufacturer.

A conspirator of a different stamp, and of a much higher rate of abilities, than those last mentioned, was Quigley a mechanic, but of considerable address, who having been outlawed in 1798, had since that period resided in France; and who upon the recommencement of hostilities, had returned thence, under circumstances which clearly indicated his agency to the enemy. He seemed well furnished with money, which he certainly could not have derived from his own resources, and of which he was unsparingly liberal. He perambulated with unceasing activity Kildare, his native county, tampering with the people of the lower classes; exhorting them to throw off the slavery imposed upon them by the present form of government; reviving and recalling to their minds, every cause of dissatisfaction and complaint; and by freely distributing strong liquors in many places, and occasionally money, attached the multitude through the medium of its prevailing propensities, and corrupted

rupted and deluded vast numbers to hold themselves in readiness for that attempt, which although completely impracticable, destitute of the slightest probability of success, and tending only to the inevitable destruction of those miserable instruments, yet answered to a certain degree the purpose of their unprincipled employer, as it distracted and threw some odium on the existing government, and revived distrusts and jealousies among the people.

In another part of the country, a second enthusiast presented himself, as a chieftian, and who seemed so confident in the merits of the mighty boon he had to offer as the meed of prosperous rebellion; that he does not seem to have once suspected, that it would not be accepted and grasped at with as much avidity, at least as it was tendered. Mr. Russel was the son of an officer of reputation in his majesty's service, and who having retired, enjoyed an honorable retreat in the situation of master of the royal hospital for veterans at Kilmainham near Dublin. He was placed early in the army, and had served at Bunker's Hill and the subsequent campaigns in north America. After the peace he either retired on half pay, or his corps was reduced: so far his situation was suited to the mediocrity of his talents. He then fixed himself, in consequence of accidental connection, in a town of considerable trade in the north of Ireland; but which was not less remarkable for its encouragement of speculative theology, metaphysical enquiry, and the extent and diversity of opinions both in matters of church and state: Mr. Russel, eager and ardent, at first acting under military impressions,

was remarkable for his zealous attachment to his Sovereign, and had thus even rendered himself obnoxious in a disaffected town, by a constant display of the most fervent loyalty. In this state of seclusion he addicted himself to the cultivation of literature, and hazarded some pieces of criticism which afford no proofs of superior attainment: he likewise engaged eagerly in those religious investigations which occupy the leisure or fill the minds of the more rigid dissenters. Immersed in pursuits of such a nature, with a scanty income, and a mind at once gloomy and sanguine, it may well be supposed, that at the period when the modern doctrines of political reform were broached, they found in this unfortunate man an apt and enthusiastic proselyte. In justice however to the memory of this unhappy person, it must be observed, that he was affectionate and tender hearted, and possessed more of the feeling and sentiment of a gentleman, than are usually found in the confirmed democrat.

Such were the conditions and characters of the principal leaders of the conspiracy which having been conducted in security and darkness, broke out into insurrection on the 23d of the July of the present year. It has been said, and with great appearance of probability, that as early as the April preceding, an assemblage of persons from various districts of the kingdom, deliberated in Dublin, on measures hostile to the existing government. There are in Ireland, as we have already observed in our preceding volume, a number of persons above labour, and below affluence, whose habits are dissipated and adventurous, and who might truly



truly boast the power of raising in a country abounding in such inflammable materials, the flame of rebellion. Called together by such persons as we have described, that a mock convention might have sat in the metropolis, and cherished the incipient projects of Emmett, is sufficiently likely; as well from the ease and security with which it might be held, as from his subsequent boast of his being assured of having 19 counties pledged to his support.

With the greater certainty of war it might be supposed that the Irish government would multiply their measures of strength and defence; it therefore became the object of the conspirators to accelerate their enterprize. Accordingly the persons we have named commenced their operations with activity, and distributed themselves throughout the country agreeably to their several destinations. Emmett and Dowdall were stationed in Dublin; Quigley in the county of Kildare, and (indeed without the slightest gleam of probable success to cheer him on his mission) Russel in the populous districts of the north, Down and Antrim: others of less note were subdivided throughout various parts of the country, with authority from their leaders to forward the design by every means in their power. Some important assistance was likewise hoped for, in the acquisition of a person of the name of Dwyer, whom they treated with, and urged to levy his utmost force and make the first attack on the capital.

This man, at the head of a gang of deserters and banditti, had remained in arms from the period of

the rebellion of 1798, obstinately rejecting repeatedly proffered mercy; and who dexterously eluding all pursuit, had sustained himself under the protection of the almost inaccessible fastnesses of the Wicklow mountains. His party did not ostensibly exceed twenty, but he was supposed to possess unbounded influence over the peasants of that district; so that a large body, on any notable undertaking, was within his means of command.

To the overtures made to him on the part of Emmett it does not appear that he assented with cordiality: on the contrary it is reported, that this ruffian (who if he was not gifted with the accomplishments of some of the leaders we have described; seems to have been furnished with a much larger share of good sense) is said to have replied, "that he would not commit his brave men upon the faith or good conduct of the rabble of Dublin; if however the latter could achieve any point of moment, or that he should behold from his elevated position, the green flag\* flown above the king's on the tower of the castle, that he would be at hand to cover or second the enterprize."

What is most observable of these transactions, is the impenetrable secrecy with which they were conducted.—Undoubtedly many surmises, obscure reports, and mysterious observations connected with them, were afloat in Dublin, and strong symptoms of clandestine meetings and novel conferences were noticed in the more distant counties; yet the parties to the main design, continued with inviolable fidelity

\* The colour of the rebels.

true to each other and their cause. Mr. Emmett is said at one period to have counted upon 80 persons with whom he was in strict confidence, eminent for zeal, steadiness and resolution. All those, though not acquainted with the particulars of the intended enterprize, must assuredly have been sufficiently entrusted, to have made their information of the utmost value; yet it does not appear that any such was received by government through the more obvious channels. And the latter was solely apprized of the undertaking by some intelligent men, conversant with the manners and habits of the common Irish, who were conscious that some unusual bustle prevailed, and that mischief was to be apprehended from the unusual resort to the capital of suspicious persons.

Mr. Emmett continued still in Dublin, feeding his vanity and his hopes, with the pompous projects of a founder of constitutions; and lurking in all the mysterious varieties of conspiracy. He lodged in several different houses, passed in various places by distinct appellations, and what was of more consequence to his grand object, established his arsenal and magazines in two tenements, hired in the names of other persons, in obscure parts of the town, in one of which some small quantity of gunpowder was manufactured; in the other, timber was provided for constructing pikes and those already made, and his other arms and stores were there deposited. Here again we must remark that the depositaries of those secrets, were the hostler of an inn, and others of the meanest and most indigent stamp, whom yet neither levity, nor the certainty of an ample reward,

nor the wavering instability common to men engaged in danger and dangerous designs, could draw the discovery from the impenetrable recesses of their fidelity! To account for this we must suppose, that the hearts of the people were with the project; or perhaps it was, that the departments of the police of Dublin, were all filled by men, who had been deeply engaged in the severities of the late rebellion, and who being on that account stigmatised and detested by the people, even those who had secretly returned to reason, were not willing to unbosom themselves to men, whom they regarded with so much horror!

By the month of June however, government had seen or heard sufficient to induce it to quicken its diligence, and the officers of the police appeared thenceforward more alert and vigilant; notwithstanding which it was difficult to bring the public to believe, that the project of insurrection was on foot; especially as the chief governor of the island, lord Hardwicke, and his family, had exerted themselves with uncommon condescension to acquire the public approbation. This state of delusion continued, until the 14th of July the anniversary of the French revolution, opened the eyes of many, and excited a considerable degree of alarm. Bonfires were publicly made in commemoration of that event, and collections of people, though not numerous, yet apparently strenuous and decided, formed and partook in the festivity. A day or two after, an explosion took place in the house where, as we have already stated, gunpowder was stored or manufactured. This circumstance tended to create an universal sensation of distrust

distrust and uneasiness, although it does not appear to have particularly stimulated the suspicions or the efforts of government: and as the leaders of the conspiracy apprehended that under such general impressions it would not be much longer in their power to machinate in security, they immediately determined to press forward the execution of their projected treason.

The interval of the ten days next ensuing after the explosion, was employed by the malecontents, either in deliberating on the propriety of immediately flying to arms, or in concerting the most practicable mode of commencing their operations. It was considered that the discontent, the levity, and the ignorance of the multitude would afford an abundant supply of men: but to arm them was essential, and in arms they were deficient. It was then proposed to seize upon the several depôts and arsenals in the vicinity of Dublin; and above all it was universally determined to gain possession of the castle, as in that case it was supposed they could more decidedly influence the public mind by having the seat of government in their power.

It is difficult to conceive, that a more absurd and impracticable project ever fascinated the mind of an heated and frantic visionary, than that such a force as was at that moment actually disposeable in Ireland, backed by the armed property of the kingdom, was to be subdued by 80 adventurers at the head of a tumultuous, half armed, and undisciplined rabble! Incoherently indeed did those deluded wretches calculate upon their means of success, when they flattered themselves with the

expectation of governing the most intractable of all mobs, or of compelling it to any principle of subordination. If they had even succeeded in carrying the castle, the booty it presented, would have unnerved their force, and dissipated their followers. How could they have impeded or prevented immediate succours from being thrown in by England? nor would their success against the castle have supplied them with a single ship of war,—or with one defensible position upon the sea coast.

As they approached the precipice, the greater part of the conspirators clearly contemplated their danger, and wished to defer the attempt. These were either the needy and the profligate who had fastened themselves on the spoils of Emmett; the agents of the French government, whose object it rather was to agitate and predispose the country to ferment, than to embark themselves in immediate action; or lastly those busy and depraved simpletons, who cherishing a morbid vanity and thirst of self importance, had imagined, that contrary to the obvious destination of their rank in life and endowments, they were called upon to act a part on the great theatre of public affairs; but who, startled at the near view of danger, were willing (although now too late) to shrink back and shelter themselves in their own insignificance. Mr. Emmett however was peremptory in the opposite way of thinking, and those who had assisted in feeding his illusions, were now urged forward in their turn. He represented with an impetuosity not to be resisted that the militia was about to be embodied: that the country would be



be placed every day in a more unassailable posture; and by its multiplied measures of defence, become impregnable.

After this conference, many of his partizans slunk away, and declined all farther participation in his designs; others however, and those the majority, resolutely determined to follow the fortunes of their beloved leader, and declared, that they would not desert him, although they advanced with the certainty of utter destruction to themselves and to their cause. The die was now cast, and all farther reflection was repelled, by the ardour and firmness of resolution.

Fortune, on this occasion not to be accused of fickleness, seems never, from their first embarking on this desperate adventure, to have been for a single moment auspicious to the devoted conspirators. Their negociation with Dwyer had failed—and a plan, even more specious, and on which they now grounded the most sanguine hopes of success, proved equally fallacious. A part of the plan of general attack determined upon, was to force the batteries and stores at the mouths of the harbour of Dublin, by the assistance of those working people from the counties of Wicklow and Wexford, who, in the months of June and July, repair in considerable numbers, for the purpose of hay-making, to the neighbourhood of Dublin. The minds of this class of men, appeared by no means more softened, nor their passions less alive to every motive of discontent, whether real or imaginary, than they were at the period of the rebellion of 1798; which they had principally supported, and the daring conduct of which had pre-

pared and habituated them for similar encounters; their enmities were fierce and vehement—their courage and resolution undoubted; it was therefore natural that they should be selected, as most useful and valuable auxiliaries. It appears that for some time they had manifested the most cordial concurrence; but on the 22d of July, the day before that appointed for action, for some cause of which we profess our ignorance, they formally declared their abandonment of the design. They did not, however, accompany their refusal with any discovery of the plot.

For some days prior to the 23d of July, Emmett passed his time entirely in his depôt, reposing at night upon a mattress thrown upon the ground, amid the implements of death, which he had there collected. Here, with pikes and gunpowder strewed promiscuously around, did this poor zealot indulge the wildest workings of his imagination. In such a scene as this, did this lawgiver of four and twenty, superior in his own opinion to the Platos, the Mores, and the Harringtons, (because he conceived himself, superadded to his own, in the full possession of their experience,) meditate a digest of their several principles, for the benefit of the future Hibernian republic; or perhaps he meditated whether it might not be better and more consonant to the will of the sovereign people, to divide the country into separate independent states, and connect them on some just and broad principle of alliance, of which the Achaian league, or some of the more modern federative unions of Europe, might afford the archetype.—How did he, in this den  
of

of treason and of massacre, elevate himself above the tribe of modern legislators, and look to posterity for that palm which his better genius had wrested from Penn, and Mounier, and Sieyes.—But who shall attempt to paint the enthusiastic reveries of this devoted young man, who for objects chimerical and impracticable, such as his were, had quitted his station in life, to associate with the vilest of the vile—to court danger, degradation, death?

Some papers found in a desk, which he had used in this forlorn residence, and which were seized on the suppression of the insurrection, give that insight into his peculiar cast of character, which we have despaired of doing: one of them, the contents of which we shall here adduce, in corroboration of our opinions respecting this unhappy wretch, and which appears to be the careless effusion of an unoccupied moment, contains the following rhapsody: “I have little time to look at the thousand difficulties which still lie between me and the completion of my wishes; that these difficulties will disappear, I have ardent, and I trust rational hopes; but if it is not to be the case, I thank God for having gifted me with a sanguine disposition. To that disposition I run from reflection, and if my hopes are without foundation; if a precipice is opening under my feet, from which duty will not suffer me to run back—I am grateful for that sanguine disposition which leads me to the brink, and throws me down, while my eyes are still raised to the vision of happiness that my fancy formed in the heavens!”

We have already stated that the 23d of July was fixed upon by this enthusiast to form the era of Irish liberty—on this day the capture of the castle of Dublin, and the subversion of the government and constitution of Ireland, were to take place. The date was determined by its coincidence with Saturday, when the resort of people from all parts of the country would be less liable to notice, upon the general business of the markets: it was also that on which the streets would naturally be filled with labourers and handicraftsmen, after their dismissal from work, and having been paid their weekly stipend by their employers. Another circumstance too would serve to cloak the extraordinary assemblage of people, or bustle of active preparation, on that particular day. It was the eve of the festival of St. James, on which occasion an ancient custom prevailed among the common ranks, of collecting in great numbers, in a considerable suburb of Dublin, for the purpose of repairing to the church-yard dedicated to that saint, and there dressing the burial places of their deceased relatives with flowers and other decorations, the evening being afterwards devoted to merriment.

It does not appear that the positive determination to act was communicated to the insurgents until the very previous day; even some who were considered the most resolute; and most to be depended on, were not admitted earlier into this great resolve. The failure of the former conspiracy was attributed to a minuteness of preparation—the actors in it were too eager to convince the entire public, that they were themselves the fittest persons to govern.

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and their proposed form of constitution was the most eligible; the present on the contrary, chose to prove their title to be obeyed, by their audacity. They hoped to gain on the side of concealment, more than they should lose by too anxiously bespeaking approbation; and storing up good will; and that at all events, by this latter mode they would advance with more security to the completion of their wishes.

On the morning of the appointed day for this momentous enterprize, the 23d of July, unusual crowds of peasants were observed on the great southern road to Dublin, directing their hurried steps towards the capital from all parts of the county of Kildare, which lies in that direction. Our readers will recollect that it was in the latter district that Quigley had succeeded in agitating the minds of the lower orders, and had disposed them, with very few exceptions, once more to try the fortune of rebellion. The city was filled at an early hour, and continued so during the whole day; indeed it was observed by travellers and others, that many parts of Kildare were completely emptied of their male inhabitants; women, and children, and feeble men, alone remaining in the tenements, deserted of their male population.

Towards evening the populace began to assemble in vast numbers, in St. James's-street\* and its neighbourhood; without, however, any visible arrangement or discipline: these were, however, the materials on which Mr. Emmett proposed to construct the edifice of repub-

licanism. The next object was to arm the body thus collected: for this purpose, pikes were deliberately brought out from the store provided for them in that neighbourhood, and with unmolested regularity placed along the sides of the street for the accommodation of all who might choose to equip themselves. The inhabitants during this dreadful and alarming scene, (the most extraordinary and unprecedented ever exhibited in a civilized country—in the metropolis—in day-light—within a mile of the residence of the chief governor; not half that distance from the barracks, where between two and three thousand men were lodged, and commanded by a most gallant, experienced, and vigilant commander in chief, under whom was a numerous and well appointed staff—and in the heart of a city whose police establishment was perhaps the most expensive in Europe) were panic-struck, and seeing no prospect of succour or protection, withdrew within their houses, barred their doors and windows, and betook themselves to the imploring the protection of providence, to avert from them the impending calamity.

In the subsequent altercations which have taken place on this subject, it has been asserted, that at the castle the guards were doubled, and that a regiment of infantry quartered not two hundred paces therefrom, had orders to hold themselves in readiness to act at the shortest notice. However this fact may be, certain it is, that at the moment when St. James's-street

\* This street is about a mile in length, leading from the side of the county of Kildare into the heart of the city of Dublin; it is throughout as wide as Oxford-road, and in which a military force could act with vigour and precision.



might have been cleared of insurgents, rebellion crushed, and the dreadful calamities which afterwards took place prevented; not a soldier was to be seen, and to the dismay of the loyal inhabitants of that quarter, it was speedily discovered that no post had been occupied, nor additional guard of any description placed in that vicinity!

The plot had been well concealed, its machinery was perfectly prepared, and it now only remained to be proved, whether it could be put in execution: every thing hitherto had favoured the designs of the conspirators, henceforward however, ultimate success entirely depended upon the conduct of that vast body they had set in motion.

Towards dusk the concerted signal that all was in readiness, was given by some men riding furiously through the principal streets; but general alarm was not excited until the firing at and severely wounding Mr. Clarke in the midst and most frequented part of the city, had taken place; an act as audacious as it was atrocious and brutal. This gentleman, the proprietor of a considerable manufactory in the neighbourhood of Dublin, in the direction of that quarter whence the force was collected for the meditated insurrection, had previously imbibed strong suspicions of approaching tumult, from the symptoms of fever and agitation universally perceived by the most incurious observer, to prevail in the actions and manners of the lower orders, and of which he thought it his duty to apprize the lord lieutenant's secretary. On the afternoon of this memorable day, some unusual appearances among his workmen confirmed his opinion; as he rode from town (as was his custom) to pay them off at

the conclusion of the week, he met nearly their whole body proceeding to Dublin, without waiting for their wages or the accustomed hour of dismissal from work.—On questioning some of the foremost as to the cause of this extraordinary conduct, he was rudely and abruptly answered; on which with great presence of mind he instantly turned round and rode with the utmost expedition to the castle, to apprize government of what he had seen, and thence conjectured. Here surely was ground for active and immediate measures of precaution. His men who observed this movement, and aware of his intentions reported the circumstance to their chiefs, who ordered them to way-lay Mr. Clarke on his return, and inflict upon him the dreadful punishment of death for this presumptuous interference: about nine in the evening as he rode homeward, a blunderbuss was discharged at him by one of his own workmen, which must have been provided for the occasion, as the party was yet unarmed when he first spoke to them. Such was the outrage which commenced the horrors of this barbarous proceeding. Providentially by the inexpertness of the assassin, or through some favourable circumstance, Mr. Clarke escaped with life although desperately wounded!

About the period of this premeditated assassination, a small piece of ordnance, which had been in readiness for the purpose, was discharged, and a sky rocket let off at the same moment, so as to be observed throughout the whole city. Mr. Emmett at the head of his chosen band sallied forth from the obscurity of his head quarters in Mar-

shalsea lane, and drawing his sword in the street, with a flourish incited his ruffians to action; before they reached the end of the lane in which they were arranged, a confidential member of the party discharged his blunderbuss at a person arrayed as an officer hastily passing along; and thus by a base and unprovoked act of assassination perished colonel Browne, a most respectable and meritorious officer. This circumstance is the more worthy of notice, as it denotes the very small reliance to be placed on the ostentatious display of lenity set forth in the proclamation which was subsequently discovered, and with which this wretched self-constituted authority proposed to commence its career of government. It marks too, how grossly its leader was the dupe of his own chimerical fancy, when he could believe that such men could be governed by any other principle of action, save their hope and thirst of plunder and massacre!—Here we lose sight of the general and his staff—here ended his short lived course of military and political achievement! it is to be hoped (and there is no evidence to counteract the presumption) that this unfortunate enthusiast did not participate in the subsequent horrors of the night. His education, his habits of life, the polished and elevated turn of his mind and general deportment, which marked him designed for better things, all concur to rescue his memory from the odium of those atrocities, which however, it must be allowed, had solely originated in himself. Emmett was a fanatic—not a fiend. Henceforward we do not discern him or his brother conspirators any farther conspicuous until we find them fallen from their

day dreams of empire, beneath the power of the offended justice of their country.

The prison for debtors is situated contiguous to where was the chief rendezvous of the insurgents: thither they directed their first onset, which could scarcely have any other object than that propensity to mischief, which ever distinguish the commotions of a rabble. The corporal of the ordinary guard there stationed, was inhumanly butchered; but meeting no encouragement nor succour from within, the assailants did not think fit to encounter the resistance of about twelve soldiers who stood on their defence; the unhappy inhabitants of this dreary abode called loudly for arms, to defend their prison against the ruffians by whom it was beset; wisely resolving to await rather the chance of relief from the compassion of their country, than to trust to the infuriated phrenzy of a mob.

The most vigorous attempt, or indeed the only one which could be so considered in the entire affair, was upon a few soldiers composing an out-post, who overpowered by numbers were put to death. A single dragoon riding on command from some of the generals on the staff of Dublin was fired at and killed.

A guard-house of the 21st regiment lay near the scene of rising; whilst the main body that composed the guard were absent on a patrol party, a band of the insurgents approached it; but the slight resistance which the remaining men could make, was sufficient to repel it. A watch house was also attacked, but with the like success, although in this latter instance, as in the former, the men were mostly on duty.

Having



Having wasted above an hour in those futile and ineffectual attempts, distinguished only by acts of individual atrocity, notwithstanding every effort of their leaders to direct them towards the castle, the grand object of attack; the insurgents seemed at length seriously disposed to assay that most difficult part of their enterprise, and had actually collected in an immense column, and had proceeded through James's into Thomas street, when the attention of its rear was diverted to the arrival of an equipage, which a moment's inquiry satisfied the rebels, was that of the lord chief justice of Ireland. A halt was instantly called, disorder and tumult again prevailed—the heads of the advancing party immediately returned upon their steps, and the massacre of the venerable lord Kilwarden, became the sole object of this infatuated and execrable mob.—The circumstances of this atrocious act we shall presently advert to—but the delay which the putting into execution the bloody deed, as strongly marked by its folly as its ferocity, added to the alarm which the outrages of more than an hour had universally spread, gave, though late, an opportunity to the military guards of the neighbourhood to act upon the insurgents.

It was at this period, that it is asserted Mr. Emmett and the other leaders, who had been somewhat more than an hour engaged in

a task far beyond their powers—that of directing effectually and with precision an armed Irish mob—retired in despair, at finding all command disregarded, all efforts to produce subordination ineffectual, and their favourite project of assailing the castle \* rejected for the slightest opportunity that occurred of indulging the predatory disposition to rapine and murder, of their associates! It has been urged in their favour, that shocked and disgusted at the murder of lord Kilwarden, the chiefs instantaneously came to the resolution of abandoning their vile associates.—But if that of colonel Brown, and of the corporal of the prison guard, had not lessened their appetite for revolution, it cannot well be conceived that the subsequent barbarities exercised towards the lord chief justice, would have rendered them all at once so precise and squeamish.—In effect, what must that man be, who could embark on an hostile design with a drunken, armed populace, and not calculate upon being the witness, the ACCOMPLICE, of every species of crime?

About half past ten the rebels were in their turn severely attacked—the mighty project and elaborate preparation of Mr. Emmett and his associates; the numbers their design had assembled; the lofty conceptions they had formed; were all discomfited and dissipated in less than half

\* It is very certain that the head of the advancing column never approached the castle, nearer than Francis street, which is thence distant about half a mile. The following anecdote, the authenticity of which may be depended upon, will serve to shew how little was to be apprehended from the adherence to each other in the moment of action, or from the subordination of this horde of barbarians. An inhabitant of Francis street, as the advanced ranks proceeded in that direction overheard from his window a leader calling out to his party "to advance," to which a reply was instantly made, with a tremendous oath—"We won't advance, you are no captain of mine, I NEVER EAT NOR DRINK WITH YOU!"



an hour by two subaltern officers of the 21st regiment, each having about 50 men under his command, a peace officer with 15 constables, and nearly 20 unattached regular soldiers and volunteers, who had thrown themselves together under an officer employed in the recruiting service.

The 21st regiment of infantry was stationed in several occasional barracks, in that part of Dublin called "the liberty" inhabited solely by indigent manufacturers, and the workmen employed in breweries, distilleries, and other sources of employment of the same nature. In this neighbourhood was situated Mr. Emmett's head-quarters; and Thomas street, the first chosen scene of action. After the rebels had taken possession of certain streets, and had put every person in military attire to death or severely wounded them; many other stragglers were then cut off, who were passing along in the unsuspecting confidence of security and also some volunteers, who at these hostile appearances were anxiously repairing to the rendezvous appointed for them in cases of danger. The attack which we have already mentioned, and the report that several soldiers had been intercepted by the mob, induced the officers at the principal barracks in "the liberty" to detach an escort for their colonel, who lodged at some little distance: Lieutenant Brady with about 50 men proceeding on this service, came unexpectedly upon the rear of the mob; in attempting to seize the first pike man he met with, a shot was fired from an entry by which one of his soldiers was wounded; and some other instances of aggression having taken place, Lieutenant Brady gave orders to

fire; in a few minutes the mob fled in every direction, and left him complete master of the scene of action. The commanding officer of the regiment whom this party was dispatched to seek out, was the unfortunate colonel Brown, who on the first alarm was proceeding to the quarters of his regiment, and who was, as we have already described, basely assassinated by an atrocious ruffian of the name of Howly, who has since met with that punishment he so richly merited. The light company of the same regiment was stationed in the street called the Combe, contiguous to Thomas street; lieutenant Douglas who commanded it, had had the precaution to place his men under arms. A column of rebels proceeding down Thomas street seemed desirous to attack them, two or three shots were fired, by which some of the soldiers were hurt, and the mob then ran forward as if to a charge, but on receiving a volley fell back; a second volley dispersed them, and no farther attack or resistance was experienced.

There has never been any return made of the lives lost on this occasion; of soldiers and volunteers there must have been nearly twenty, and perhaps about 50 of the populace. The affair would have terminated earlier, but for the indecisive weakness of a magistrate, under whose disposal was placed the Combe party of the 21st regiment; he patrolled the streets and brought it directly on the insurgents, but refused his permission to fire, and obliged it to retreat. On his return he abandoned them and secured himself, when the officer left to his own discretion, did his duty.

The great preparations which were

were<sup>a</sup> observed in Marshalsea-lane, and the number of armed men who issued thence, naturally attracted a good deal of attention. Lieut. Coultman of the 9th regiment, at the time accidentally in Dublin; partaking in the general alarm, collected a few men zealous and resolute like himself, some of which were of the regiment to which he belonged, others, volunteers of the barrack division, of a serjeant and 12 men whom he met on his way, and who all put themselves under his command; the entire party proceeded to the place whence so much mischief had appeared to issue. The house and the lane adjoining it were by this time completely abandoned, Mr. Emmett and his party not having prepared any measure for its security, or provided any means of retreat to it. The passage through the lane was strewn with pikes, which marked the way to the magazine already mentioned. Lieut. Coultman and his party, on entering it, found the entire apparatus of rebellion: a large quantity of ball cartridge, hand grenades, pikes, and gunpowder; some military dresses; but above all, a proclamation wet from the press, of persons styling themselves the provisional government, and containing their projects of a future constitution.

The authors of this instrument offer no sort of apology or vindication, for intruding themselves into a situation already occupied: they appear to suppose their claim and call to be perfectly notorious and allowed! Perhaps a higher effort of presumptuous pride and folly never was before presented to the world, than that displayed in this manifesto, which did not even

contain one word to attach or animate the people: thence it was supposed to be a surreptitious production of some of the meaner confederates. Nothing of the superior mind of an audacious contriver, was therein elicited. The entire is as formal as if it were an official document, from an acknowledged and undisturbed government; and as peremptory and decided as if its authors had ascended to authority, by prescriptive right and regular succession. It became the jest of the multitude as soon as made public. And perhaps no other circumstance could have more directly tended to produce in this class of people, a disposition favourable to the established authorities; as it was here taught, that the Irish were not to expect by a change of constitution any redress of their grievances, nor any other alteration, save a change of governors.

But the circumstance from which this hopeless and disastrous commotion, derived a degree of celebrity, far beyond that which would naturally belong to the ordinary acts of turbulence in a disaffected country, and in an ill-regulated metropolis; was, the dreadful catastrophe of the chief justice of Ireland, the lord viscount Kilwarden.

This unfortunate nobleman had, on the day of the insurrection, retired to his country seat nearly four miles from Dublin, as he was accustomed to do after having passed the week in fulfilling the duties of his exalted situation. The last judicial acts of his lordship on the morning of this calamitous day, were the liberation of confined debtors under the provisions of an insolvent act; and the prescribing



some humane regulations tending to alleviate the miseries of others of that description, who were not entitled to its benefit. His seat lay on that side of the town whence the insurgents were collected; and a degree of alarm was excited in his family towards evening by the reports which poured now fast upon each other, of vast numbers of suspicious persons having been seen flocking into the city, and of their obvious intentions, which latter were indeed no longer attempted to be concealed, and must have been by that time sufficiently notorious.

Lord Kilwarden had probably, as he had advanced in years, grown somewhat timorous; but certain it is, that since the period of the outrages of 1798, he was in perpetual apprehension of being surprized and assassinated by rebels; and had not ventured, from that time till within the present year, to pass a night beyond the limits of Dublin. On the first intimation of the circumstances which denoted disturbance being conveyed to him, his fears returned: his anxious mind retraced, in terrifying succession, the horrors and the audacity of the last rebellion. It probably suggested itself to him, that the moving directly forward upon the metropolis was an argument of the greater strength, confidence, and resources of the insurgents now, than on the former occasion. His situation was likewise peculiar; as attorney-general, it had been his duty to point out numbers of the disaffected to the offended laws of their country; and as a judge he had ordered in the course of his duty, many of that description for execution: he, therefore, in the event of their pos-

sessing power, however momentary, had much reason to apprehend the most dismal effects from their ferocious resentment. In an evil hour, obeying the impulse given to his mind by reflections such as these, did his lordship determine to repair to Dublin for protection; and for that purpose, accompanied by his daughter and nephew, set out in a post-chaise about the dusk of the evening.

They passed unmolested and undisturbed through the solitary and deserted roads leading to the capital, and so continued until they reached the city; as indeed they would have remained, had they not quitted the country. One chance for safety yet existed. From the termination of the road on which his lordship proceeded, he might enter Dublin either by the barracks or by St James's-street; but by the former road he would have had to pass about a mile farther than on the latter, and through a suburb thinly inhabited and little frequented; on the latter then he determined, naturally reasoning, that where there was most town, there would be most safety; and by an over-ruling fatality, directed his carriage to proceed through St. James's and Thomas streets, which were then triumphantly occupied by the insurgents! Had he providentially chosen the rejected avenue on the other side of the river, he would not have encountered the slightest interruption, nor witnessed the least appearance of disturbance: indeed several individuals of that quarter, who had retired early to their habitations, remained in total ignorance of the dreadful events of the evening, until they were apprized of the



the dangers they had escaped, by the clamor of the frequent patrols, the posting of guards, and the general trepidation and panic of the next morning.

It was darker than it usually is, at ten o'clock of a night in July, when the ill-fated party approached the scene of its sufferings: as it proceeded into St. James's-street, the mob had nearly evacuated it at the other extremity, and had advanced into Thomas-street, so that yet even in the town, his lordship did not experience any hostile interruption. A gentleman of no particular consideration had a few minutes before arrived in a post-chaise, and probably would have been the victim of this ferocious and insane banditti, but that the arrival of lord Kilwarden's equipage arrested his fate, and drew off their attention from him to an object of so much greater magnitude; and the former captive, bustling unobserved thro' the crowd, effected his escape.

The chaise conveying the lord chief justice and his family, was stopped about twenty yards from the entrance of Thomas-street—lord Kilwarden immediately declared his name, and earnestly prayed for mercy; but in vain—the three individuals were dragged from the carriage, the savages exclaiming they would sacrifice lord Kilwarden and his male companion, but must spare the lady! They then desired the latter to escape as well as she could, and permitted her to pass through their entire column without injury or interruption!

Lord Kilwarden and his nephew were then felled to the ground, of

course without resistance; but still imploring for some return of humanity—the savages to whom they sued were deaf to all entreaty, and pierced them with innumerable wounds. It was afterwards stated by his lordship's servant in evidence, that the ruffians violently contended and even fought for the distinction of stabbing with their pikes the prostrate and defenceless victims!

No portion of the conduct of assassins, which makes us shudder at their unfeeling barbarity, and blush for human nature, can ever be the theme of our applause; but in the permitting, in the moment of blind and infuriate rage, the escape of Miss Wolfe, we can trace some of the lineaments of the native character of the country, such as it exhibited before its people were corrupted by faction, brutalized by misrule, and maddened and depraved by the influence of that combination of all vice, and the source of every popular perversion—jacobinism!

The unfortunate young lady, having ran through the streets, scarcely knowing whither, fortunately reached the castle in a state, as might well be imagined, bordering on phrenzy; where she announced the situation in which she had left her father!

The alarm having been universally spread by the murder of col. Browne, and the other instances of outrage which we have already detailed, the approach of the small bodies of the military force hastily collected by the good sense, gallantry, and presence of mind of some subaltern officers, gave cause of other consideration to the murder-

ers, who now as cowardly as ferocious, abandoned their mangled prey, and betook themselves precipitately to concert some measures of defence. The slender resistance they made, and their flight and dispersion, we have already related.

As soon as the streets were a little cleared, some humane persons ventured to approach the scene of blood and massacre.—The body of the nephew was found at the distance of a few yards from the spot where the carriage had been stopped; whence it was conjectured that he had contrived in the crowd to escape that length, but was soon pursued, and his murder there consummated. Strange to relate, that of lord Kilwarden was found not totally bereaved of life! He was carried to the nearest watch-house, where he received such accommodation as that wretched place could afford. In this pitiable situation he breathed his last, having survived his carrying in thither about half an hour.—

But he lived long enough to immortalize his name by his last words, and to close a most useful and respectable life with an impressive testimony of the honest mind, which had, throughout its progress, been his safe and unerring guide. His last words, uttered in the agonies of a most cruel and painful death—bleeding, and bereft of friend or acquaintance—on the hard bed of a watch-house—were such as would have graced the lips of justice in her most dignified situation, and in the full possession of her most undisturbed reflection. A bye-stander, shocked at the dreadful scene, had exclaimed with a warmth, commensurate with the extent of the feeling it had inspired, that the assassins should be exe-

cuted the next day. That justice which this great man, (truly such at this trying moment,) was accustomed to dispense, arose to the mind, to the lips, of the expiring magistrate—that love of law and order, which governed all his actions, revived his drooping powers, and he raised his head for the last time, to exclaim, “ Murder must be punished, but let no man suffer for my death, but on a fair trial, and by the laws of his country.” Memorable words! which compose the noblest epitaph for his tomb, and which will carry down his name with veneration and applause to latest posterity.

Arthur Wolfe, lord viscount Kilwarden, was a native of the kingdom of Ireland, and had served the crown in the usual gradations of the highest law offices. He became solicitor general of Ireland, when the present viscount Carleton was promoted to the common pleas; and attorney general, on the late lord Clare’s accession to the seals. The earl of Clonmell was his lordship’s immediate predecessor in his last high office, that of chief justice of Ireland. As crown prosecutor, during a period which unfortunately called very much for the exercise of the duties of that office, he was fair, candid, and gentle; disposed to give the delinquent every reasonable advantage, and always less desirous to exaggerate guilt, than to ascertain innocence. As a judge, no man ever attempted to censure him on any ground, other than a strenuous, and what some considered in critical times, an overstrained assertion of the liberty of the subject. He was not, from his talents or attainments, calculated to extend the limits of science, or multiply the lights of his

his profession: but he was really what his dying expressions bespoke him, an upright honest man, who well knew how to appreciate law and justice, and whom unwearied sedulity, and long habits of the distribution of both, had fully and deeply impressed in his mind their soundest maxims. The situation in which he was placed, suffered in the hands of lord Kilwarden, no diminution of credit or respectability; happily for the country it has, since his decease, been delivered over to the custody of a gentleman, every way qualified, in point of honour to sustain, in point of ability to advance, the character which should appertain to so exalted a station.

From this digression, we shall now return to our detail of what yet remains untold of the fate of the conspiracy and its leaders.

Mr. Emmett, after he had acted the general for the short space of an hour, finding himself either deserted by his army, or at the head of a crowd, by whom his commands and even his entreaties were slighted, fled in despair and mortification from Dublin. The next morning, the secret history of the depôt, of the preparations there, and of his individual share in the transaction, were become perfectly notorious. A man who had been made prisoner, (passing by the magazine, on the morning of the 21st of July,) by the insurgents, and who were apprehensive of his having discovered their preparations; was saved by Emmett, contrary to the wish of the miscreants who acted with him. This person effecting his escape, on the night of the 23d, after he had been detained for two days, was able to detail with minuteness, all

the transactions of the place, and to describe the parties concerned. A hot pursuit was instantly commenced after the chiefs. Emmett, with twelve chosen men, had taken the road which led to the mountains adjacent to Dublin; there, for a few days, they marched about, in the guise of French officers; but they received no other succour than what compassion afforded; their appearance, and the character they had assumed, created sensations which could not long be kept secret—the alarm given, a search was made in every direction. The rebel leaders found this stratagem, which was indeed as puerile as the former part of their proceedings were weak and depraved, soon fail. Emmett again took refuge in Dublin, where he was quickly traced by the vigilance of the police, and committed to prison. Dowdall and Allen escaped out of the country; Redmond was arrested at Newry, as he was about to take his passage for America; Quigley, and a principal of the name of Stafford, fled into the interior of the country, and were not apprehended until after Emmett's execution.

The prisoners made on the night of the 23d, were some of the most wretched amongst the rabble. In about three weeks after the affair, a commission for trying all those charged with treason, and all taken in arms, and others of the like condition, against whom evidence appeared; and with Messrs. Emmett and Redmond were severally brought to trial, and executed. Mr. Emmett made no sort of defence; but being called to receive sentence, delivered an animated address to the court, in which he avowed his  
treasons,



treasons, and appeared to consider himself as suffering for the cause of his country. At his execution, he evinced uncommon intrepidity and composure; declared himself a member of the church of England, and accepted the services of a clergyman of that communion.

At the time that Emmett advertised his project in the metropolis, his friend and associate, Russel, made an appeal to the passions of the peasantry in an obscure corner of the northern province. He collected together some persons who coldly listened to his harangue, but were far from compliance with the meditated treason to which he endeavoured to incite them. In fact, these projects had lost their attraction; the enthusiasm which for some years had agitated the north of Ireland, had been permitted to subside; the animosities by which it was supported, had grown languid. We do not find any attempt made to secure the person of Russel, although some threatened him with immediate personal violence, and others went forthwith to disclose the facts to a magistrate. The catholic clergyman of the parish, who had by some means become aware of the projected rising, earnestly exhorted his people to be upon their guard against the specious delusions of the agitators. Mr. Russel, upon these un auspicious appearances, fled, but hazarded from the place of his concealment, a proclamation (somewhat indeed more modest than that of the provisional government already alluded to) in which he styles himself General of the Northern District; and endeavours to seduce the people, by that sort of language which, on former occa-

sions, had become familiar to their ears, and was then probably not unacceptable. After the arrest of Emmett Russel introduced himself clandestinely into Dublin, with a view to rescue his friend, if possible, under favour of some commotion. About two days after his arrival, it became known that some person was mysteriously secreted in the immediate vicinity of the castle. Information to this effect having been conveyed to the town major, that officer proceeded to the examination of a house in Parliament-street, where he was found, and to whom Mr. Russel, though well armed, surrendered without resistance. It was supposed he was in this act influenced by a religious scruple. He was immediately transmitted to Downpatrick, in the north of Ireland, where he was shortly after brought to trial, and upon the clearest evidence of his treason, convicted. After his trial, he manifested all that wildness of religious enthusiasm, which had for some time formed the prominent feature of his character. On conviction he addressed the court, at great length, and with remarkable firmness. He declared his adherence to the political opinions, for which he was about to suffer, and touched, in a tender point, the gentlemen of the County of Down, by whom he was surrounded. These gentlemen, although latterly become more anxious to preserve their property than to enlarge the circle of their liberties, had been foremost in the outcry for parliamentary reform and political independence. Russel reminded them of this circumstance, and declared that he was doomed to suffer, for endeavouring to put into execution the lessons imbibed amongst

amongst them; and concluded by begging for a few days of life, to complete a moral work, which he had in hand. The nature of this work sufficiently displays the state of mind of its unfortunate author. It was a collection of notes, on a publication of the celebrated millenarian, Mr. Dobbs, and calculated to enforce that gentleman's interpretations of certain prophecies, which, according to him and his disciples, indicated the near approach of the millenium. It appears, from Russel's conversation with some gentlemen who saw him shortly before his conviction, that he acted under an idea, that the great political events he had already witnessed, and others he with confidence looked forward to, were parts of the great change permitted by providence, in accomplishment of the prophecies contained in the Old Testament.

After the execution of Emmett and Russel, Quigley, and Stafford were apprehended, in the county of Galway. Government was however satisfied, by the examples which were made, and was inclined to lenity; the lives of these two, and of the other untried prisoners, were spared, on their making a full disclosure of the circumstances yet unknown of their treason.

Dwyer, and the band of outlaws whom he commanded in the county of Wicklow, struck with the impracticability of any treasonable attempt they could undertake, submitted on a similar stipulation, namely, that their lives should be spared; and thus was brought to a close, whatever remained of the rebellion of 1798; and the conspiracies of that period and of 1802,

were at once completely destroyed, and buried in the same grave. Whatever were the innate sentiments of the people, which is still a disputed point, the appearance of good order and cordiality were again re-established throughout the island.

It will readily be believed, that a very considerable degree of sensation was excited, throughout every portion of the British empire, by the developement and consequences of the conspiracy, the events of which, so far as they have come to our knowledge, we have detailed with impartiality, and we trust with accuracy. That a city of such magnitude (the second in his majesty's dominions), garrisoned by a numerous and well-appointed soldiery, under the command of an officer of the highest reputation, and the seat of the civil government of the kingdom, should have been for more than two hours in the hands and at the mercy of a wild and lawless mob, appeared a circumstance so unprecedented and surprizing, that investigation into the causes, and punishment to the culpably negligent, if such there should be found, were universally looked for, as a matter at once of right and of necessity.

No such proceeding however took place, and from want of the sanction of indubitable authority, we are precluded from laying before our readers the various statements on the subject, which have with equal eagerness and minuteness been obtruded on the world. Sufficient for us to observe that blame of the most serious nature was deemed generally attributable to the government of Ireland; and which,

which, in that unhappy country, the friends and partizans of the lord-lieutenant and commander in chief, endeavoured, in mutual re- crimination, to affix on each of those characters. The result may be easily conceived; it was found impossible to carry on the necessary business of the administration of affairs in Ireland, under circumstances so discordant; consequently general Fox was removed thence; but as soon as a situation of credit and importance presented itself, it was immediately conferred upon him—lord Hardwicke was continued in his lieutenancy. The English government, thus manifesting its intention of hushing up the affair, and of suppressing all farther inquiry.

From an attentive consideration of the circumstances we have narrated, it must be deduced, that either the government of Ireland was completely surprized, which, under every appearance and even fact, connected with the conspiracy which must have previously come to its knowledge, argues a degree of security totally inconsistent with wisdom or prudence; or, that being well served, and early apprized of the threatened insurrection, it neglected those means which the nature of the case suggested, and which were abundantly within its reach, of guarding against consequences so much to be dreaded. The judgment is thus suspended, between the imputation of incapacity, and one of a far more serious nature.

Certain however it is that information of the impending insurrection was given to the government, the extent of which, and the credit that

should be attached to it, we cannot pretend to ascertain, early on the day of the insurrection; and we must ever regret that it was not thought proper then to set on foot such precautionary measures, as might, if not entirely have diverted the meditated attack, at least have saved the lives of the innocent individuals, who were its victims. The heart sickens at the reflection, that the venerable lord chief justice, who might, at the short distance of four miles from the capital, have expected a summons to council; or the particulars of the information received; or the escort of a few dragoons, if any intimation of tumultuous assemblage had been communicated to the lord lieutenant, hesitated, between the doubts raised in his mind, by the rumours which were, towards the evening of that fatal day, continually pouring in upon him, and the total silence of government, until the moment when the increase of the former had amounted to conviction, and impelled him, though too late, to seek refuge in the metropolis!

The last subject, connected with the affairs of Ireland, which occurred within this year, worthy of engaging the attention of our readers, was a correspondence of an extraordinary nature, which took place within a short period of the suppression of the rebellion, between the lord chancellor of Ireland and the earl of Fingall.

The latter is a Roman catholic, and, from his long line of noble ancestry, possessed of considerable property in Ireland. From his high rank, extensive influence, and universally acknowledged good character,



character, his lordship was considered, and with justice, the most considerable person of that persuasion. During the late rebellion, at the head of his tenantry and the neighbouring gentry, he had valiantly and most effectually fought the battles, and guarded the interests of his king and the constitution. Influenced by those considerations, and by the advantage which might accrue thereby to the country, the lord lieutenant of Ireland proposed to put him in the commission of the peace. On the transmission to his lordship

of the instrument under which a authority derives, the lord chancellor thought proper to accompany it by a letter, in which originated the correspondence we have adverted to; and which, as it is inserted in another portion of this work,\* we shall not here recapitulate. Its having excited a considerable degree of sensation in both countries, is our motive for preserving it in our collection; and we are much deceived, if it afford not hereafter for the historian, a valuable and useful document.

\* Vide Appendix.

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## CHAP. XXI.

*State of Europe.—Effect of the Peace of Amiens upon Spain—Portugal—Austria—Prussia—Sweden—Denmark—Italy.—Only beneficial in its effects to France.—Discontent of Russia.—War breaks out between England and France.—Ambitious views of Bonaparte on the Turkish Empire in Africa—Europe—and Asia.—Mission of Sebastiani.—Views of Bonaparte frustrated by the War,—Directs his whole attention to the Invasion of Britain.—Vast preparations at Boulogne—At Brest—and at Bayonne.—Lexies contributions on Portugal.—Tyranical conduct to the Dutch.—Designs on Germany.—State of the Empire.—French invade and conquer Hanover.—Acquiescence of Austria, and Prussia thereto.—And why.—Spirited conduct of Denmark.—Insolence of Bonaparte to Russia, and violation of his Treaties with that Power.—Posture of Europe at the close of the Year.—Conclusion.*

THE year of nominal peace which Europe enjoyed in 1802, was to France alone ultimately beneficial. The French government, however it might affect moderation at the treaty of Luneville, never, in point of fact, gave up any of the advantages it had gained in the war over the different powers which had coalesced against her; but on the contrary, through the medium of that peace, contrived to increase both its territory and influence; and in some degree to restore its finances from the derangement, which interior disturbance and the first year's expences of the war had necessarily occasioned.

At the close of the year 1802, France was every way more powerful than at its commencement, while on the other hand Europe had grown proportionably weaker. It had been the undeviating system of the

French government, while treating with the other powers of Europe, to manifest a specious moderation, but which was followed by the assumption of the most absolute dominion over them. In conformity to this principle, it had some years before signed a peace with Spain on terms apparently equitable; but from the moment of the signature of that peace, Spain descended from the rank of an independent nation, to a state of absolute vassalage. In like manner the treaty of Luneville appeared in its conditions sufficiently reasonable, had France ever intended to have carried them into execution; and in the treaty of Amiens, from the moment that the preliminaries were signed which led to it, Bonaparte seemed to consider Great Britain (as well as Spain and Austria) to have fallen from the rank it formerly held to the condition of a  
secondary

secondary power, no longer able to cope with France, or of consequence enough to interfere in the continental relations of Europe. From the first establishment of her republic, France had followed closely the maxim of the ancient Romans, who only gave peace to those nations they were willing to receive as dependant tributaries.

Spain was not the only nation that descended from its elevated sphere, and became degraded into insignificance, by a specious peace. The German empire, which had been shaken to its centre by the disastrous events of the war, was still a greater sufferer by the short and deceitful pacification which ensued.

By the treaty of Luneville, the independence and freedom of Switzerland, Holland, and the Italian republic, were guarded by the most solemn engagements; but in the short interval of suspended warfare which succeeded, Bonaparte, so far from respecting those stipulations, established his dominion but the more firmly over those countries, in violation of the faith he had pledged to them and to all Europe. It had been provided in the same treaty, that the brother of the emperor Francis, the grand duke, should be fully indemnified in Germany, for his immense losses in Italy. This stipulation, although most immediately affecting the personal honor and feelings of the emperor, was most shamefully evaded. Bonaparte, well aware of the great difficulties that the jarring interests of the different German powers would throw in the way of that plan of indemnities and compensations, on which the treaty of Luneville was founded,

had the address to prevail upon the pacific disposition of the emperor of Russia, to co-operate with him in settling the affairs of Germany. The court of St. Petersburg, anxiously desirous of healing the wounds of Germany, and induced by the hope of restoring the different nations of Europe to permanent tranquillity, and the quiet enjoyment of their independence, allowed itself for a season unwittingly to enter into the views and projects of the wily Corsican. Opposed to such mighty powers as France and Russia, the German nation was necessitated to patient acquiescence, and with scarcely an exception, every point that was proposed at Ratisbon, by the French and Russian ministers conjunctively, was ratified by the diet. One solitary instance of successful opposition to the determinations of those powers however occurred. Originally, nothing equivocal to his claims was proposed to be given to the archduke Ferdinand for the loss of Tuscany; But the emperor of Germany had the spirit to protest so often and so strongly against this manifest violation of the treaty of Luneville, that France and Russia at length consented that the bishoprick of Eichstadt should be added to his brother's compensations. This event is principally remarkable, as it is the only stand which Austria has attempted to make against the overbearing influence of France in Germany, since the cessation of hostilities.

The question of the indemnities however having been thus disposed of, the relative situation of Austria to France at the termination of a year of peace, was materially deteriorated;



deteriorated; she and her allies not having received the benefit of those conditions which had been stipulated in their favour by the articles of the treaties of Luneville and Amiens, were positively weakened; while the French nation, retaining Holland, Switzerland, the Italian, and Ligurian republics, (all of which it had been expressly bound to evacuate by the letter and spirit of both treaties,) had acquired a prodigious acquisition of strength and influence: the balance of course turned decidedly against Austria, and from the day of the final settlement of the German indemnities, Bonaparte, and not Francis, must be looked to as the arbiter of Germany. Thenceforward the influence of the emperor may be considered as strictly confined within the limits of his hereditary estates.

In those transactions the views and policy of the court of Berlin were so extremely narrow and selfish, as even to disgust France, at the very moment she was exerting her all powerful influence, to advantage Prussia. The *Moniteur*, the official paper of the French government, did not hesitate to accuse the king of Prussia of obstructing the arrangement of the indemnities, by his confined views; and it must be allowed, that the uniform conduct of the cabinet of Berlin was such, as to merit, and draw upon it, the contempt of all Europe. The Prussian nation had no longer on its throne that Frederic, who made it his boast and glory to be the protector of the smaller states of Germany, and who, by a wise and liberal policy knew how to unite the force of the lesser powers to his own, in the common

defence of the rights and liberties of the Empire. The present monarch appeared to consider the acquisition of a petty district, however small, as an object of greater moment than that influence which should of right attach to his power in Germany, and which a spirited line of conduct must have insured. The consequence was such as might have been expected. The lesser states of the north of Germany, seeing no prospect of protection from a power whose politics were so mean and debased, naturally submitted to the authority of France. Frederick the great, by protecting the smaller states with the same zeal as he would his own territories, became formidable to the most powerful monarchs of his age, and obtained for Prussia the rank of a primary power. The policy which raised Prussia to such a Rank among the nations of Europe was abandoned at his death; and since that period, Prussia, although constantly increasing in territory, has visibly declined in importance; insomuch that Europe at present knows nothing of that power, save as the ally and instrument of France. It may with propriety be said of this kingdom, what one of the most accomplished orators of his age applied to France, "If we look upon the map of Europe we see a *chasm* where once was *Prussia*." Nor can it be expected from the present aspect of things, that a sovereign imbued with the spirit of the great Frederic shall again arise to crown the Prussian name with glory, and hold with steady hand the balance among the rude and restless nations of the north. On the contrary it appears,

appears, that Europe has much more to apprehend from its alliance with the common enemy, than to indulge in the hope of its ever adopting a magnanimous and generous policy. The history of modern times clearly demonstrates, that with states, as with individuals, independence can only be secured, by a steady perseverance in an undeviating display of true spirit and resolution.

Sweden and Denmark, who had chosen to preserve their neutrality while the rest of Europe was involved in war, did not at the peace appear to have gained much by their forbearance: on the contrary their relative importance seemed rather to have been diminished than augmented.

The German empire was so weakened by the defection of some of its principal states, that it was no longer able to oppose itself to France; and Russia appeared the only power on the continent of Europe, which was at all capable of prescribing limits to Gallic ambition. The remaining states of the continent seemed to have fallen entirely from the independent rank they had sustained for ages; and their sovereigns, although they preserved their crowns and titles, appeared in point of independent consequence, prefects or proconsuls, governing for the interests of France, and removable at her pleasure. The kingdom of Naples was perpetually menaced with the return of the French army, if its politics should not be agreeable to Bonaparte; and Portugal was insulted by the French ambassador, general Lasnes, in a manner totally inconsistent with the rank and dignity of any state that has ever been considered independent. In effect,

notwithstanding the letter and obvious meaning of the different treaties which France had signed, Bonaparte remained during the peace not only master of Holland, Switzerland, Genoa, and the Italian republic, but also of Naples, Spain, Portugal, and a considerable part of Germany. Such an immense and constantly increasing power, necessarily awakened the attention of those nations, yet possessed of the means of resistance.

Russia saw with pain and increasing anxiety the enormous aggrandizement of France, and her unwillingness to fulfil the treaties and engagements which she had entered into. The independence of the kingdom of Naples had been specifically guaranteed by Russia; and France had positively engaged to procure the king of Sardinia an equivalent in Italy for the loss of Piedmont. The honor of Alexander was as much concerned in the fulfilment of those engagements, as his interests were engaged in restraining the farther encroachment of Bonaparte.

While negotiations were set on foot between the courts of St. Petersburg and Paris respecting those objects, war was again declared between Great Britain and France.

The mission of Sebastiani, of which we have in the preceding pages given an ample account, threw the strongest light upon the ambitious projects of Bonaparte: he had in his imagination already possessed himself of the whole Ottoman empire. Egypt and Syria it was his object first to occupy; and when firmly established in those conquests, he was assured from the experience derived from the Egyptian expedition, that there was



no force in the Turkish empire adequate thence to dislodge him; and on such a foundation it was an easy flight for his ambitious fancy, to bound his oriental empire only by the farther limits of Asia! It became evident that the subjugation of European Turkey was also meditated, for it was not alone to Egypt and Syria, but to the republic of the Seven Isles, that Sebastiani's mission extended. This person had landed, on the 2d of January, at Zante, and immediately demanded an interview with the Delegate Regent; whom he immediately assured of the protection that Bonaparte meant to extend to all classes of the citizens of that republic; and having prevailed upon him to invite certain noblemen, merchants, and others, the principal inhabitants of the island, to the palace; he commenced a laboured harangue, in which he dwelt upon the anxious wishes of the first consul of France, for their prosperity and happiness, and his earnest desire that they should adopt a system of government analogous to that of France; that in such case, *so seductive an object held up to the view of continental Greece, might rouse up the ancient ardour and enthusiasm for liberty in that people, and by which the republic of the Seven Islands, would become a power superior even to its own expectations*; he then invited them to convey generally to the people, not only of the neighbouring coasts, but of the Seven Islands, those assurances and sentiments of Bonaparte; and concluded by expressing himself in terms of marked disrespect, of the emperor of Russia. Sebastiani had intrigued to get this speech applaud-

ed by some of the lower orders of the people; but the Russian commandant considered both the oration and his whole conduct, as an outrage to his master, and represented both in the strongest terms to his court. M. Romieu, the French chargé d'affaires, also wrote a letter to the prince of the senate, and the vicar-general of the Roman catholic churches at Corfu, informing them that he had received express orders from his government, to place the Roman catholic church of the republic, under the special protection of the first consul of France; and therefore expected that prayers would be put up in the different churches of that religion in the islands, for the prosperity of the French government, and the health and preservation of its consuls! A more decided demonstration of the intentions of Bonaparte to assume their future sovereignty, could not be given. When it is recollected what importance he affixed to the island of Corfu, on his first acquiring it from the Venetian state; that he had originally professed to consider it as the key of the Adriatic, and the direct medium through which Greece might be conquered, it may easily be supposed that he would make use of every possible means for its repossession. By the conduct of his missionary Sebastiani, he evinced his perseverance in that intention. It was therefore most evident, that he had marked the whole of the Turkish empire as his prey, and he did not conceive, that either England or Russia possessed the power or the will to obstruct the accomplishment of this object. Such was the



the position of Europe, when the war was renewed between England and France; an event which diverted the ambition of France to widely differing speculations.

The naval superiority of Great Britain was decidedly sufficient to protect the Turkish empire; as, after the complete destruction of the French fleet at Aboukir, it did not appear possible for France to collect together such a fleet, in the Mediterranean, as would be at all capable of coping in future with the English squadrons. The schemes of the first consul against Turkey, were therefore necessarily postponed, till a more convenient season; and, in the mean time, he employed his vast means, in the most unremitting exertions, and the most astonishing preparations for the invasion of Great Britain!

To this attempt he was urged forward by every motive: Great Britain, exhaustless in wealth and resources by the longest war, was at the moment of renewed hostilities, through the unaccountable providence of her government, comparatively very weak in the number of her troops; while Bonaparte stood in a situation directly the reverse: his armies admirably appointed, and flushed with conquest, were more numerous than his deranged finances could well support. It might therefore consist with sound policy in him, to venture considerable armies on an expedition which, if it succeeded, would make him master of the world; but failing, would leave him disencumbered of a dangerous and almost insupportable burden.

Well aware that every effort would be employed to increase the military strength of Great Britain,

after the war; he commenced, and nearly completed, with a dispatch perhaps unexampled in history, the most immense armament ever destined for the invasion of any country. Despairing of being able to raise the French marine to an equality with that of Britain, he conceived the mighty project of rapidly constructing and uniting at Boulogne, a flotilla, capable of conveying an army sufficiently powerful to attempt the invasion and conquest of England. It had been satisfactorily ascertained in the course of the last war, that any number of French gun-boats could sail with perfect safety along their own shores; and reach, under the protection of their numerous batteries, that port, where once arrived, they were equally safe from hostile attack.—Boulogne was therefore made the centre and head quarters of his vast preparations, and the point from which he meditated forcing the passage of the English channel.—The national vanity, and national prejudices of France, encouraged this project; and as no circumstance could flatter the pride, or increase the power of France, so much as the conquest of England, the hope held out of its attainment, made the war, at its commencement, popular in the extreme in the former country; and the immense preparations of Bonaparte, inclined most of the continental powers to consider Great Britain as already subjugated!

No truth can be more clear, than that the conquest of Britain would give Bonaparte universal empire; and if Europe has escaped that calamity, she owes it, under the divine providence, to that

spirit of rational liberty and genuine patriotism in the inhabitants of Great Britain, on which her government found, that in the moment of danger, the most unbounded reliance might be placed. Had the united kingdom been despotically governed, it could hardly have escaped the danger with which it was menaced. Its population would not afford, at the same time to maintain a naval superiority; and to keep up a *regular* force to cope with the immense armies of France. The spirit of that freedom, which had for ages animated the British nation, however made ample amends for every deficiency, baffled the calculations, and frustrated the object of the immense preparations of Bonaparte. An army of more than 300,000 volunteers was immediately formed, for the additional security of the empire, and there can be no doubt, from the spirit and enthusiasm in which that system was embarked, that such an immense auxiliary force, in conjunction with the regular troops, and the invaluable militia of the country, would be sufficient to repulse any force which France could spare, or her flotilla convey. The preparations and menaces of France still continued at the end of the year, though doubtless her hopes of success in the expedition, were very much abated. Those menaces and preparations, however, produced no other effect, with respect to England, than to consolidate and strengthen her defensive system, and teach her to know and feel her own strength and security.

Bonaparte was however not so entirely absorbed in his preparations for the invasion of England, or so

confident of the success of the enterprise, as to pursue no other measure of offensive preparations. At the same time that his grand armament was collecting in the neighbourhood of Boulogne, he had also an army encamped at Brest, which, with the fleet of that port, threatened the coast of Ireland; and another at Bayonne, which, at the same time that it might co-operate with the former, enabled him to intimidate Portugal into any loan, or pecuniary contribution his exigencies or caprice might require. The court of Lisbon, too feeble to manifest the slightest opposition, was obliged, although she had given no provocation, to yield to any terms that were imposed upon her; and the French commandant at Bayonne, demanded and obtained what sums he pleased from Portugal, merely to buy the continuance of the peace which already subsisted between the two countries! In every former period of war, this country maintained some shadow of independence: in 1762, she was protected by a British army; in the American war her neutrality had been respected; and even in the last contest, although she had been obliged to make some sacrifices for peace, yet she might well hope to keep, what that peace had left her; but those hopes, and all her fancied independence, were now no more, and Bonaparte was determined to exact every tribute he thought proper to demand.—Spain we have already noticed, as having descended from the rank of an independent power, to that of a tributary; and as the tribute levied depended merely on the moderation of France, it may surely be asserted, that



that not only Spain and Portugal, but all their rich possessions in South America, were in fact become the property of the first consul, from which he could derive, at pleasure, whatever contributions he pleased to exact. Such were the effect that, not war, but peace had produced on Spain and Portugal.

Italy remained in the same situation. Piedmont had been formally annexed to France; the king of Sardinia had received no compensation; Lombardy was directly governed by the first consul; and the newly-created kingdom of Tuscany was, to all intents and purposes, a French province. The pope was a mere dependant on his will; and the king of Naples had no other protection from the power of his neighbour, the first consul of the Italian republic, than a formal assurance of the friendship of the emperor of Russia. This protection, as might be expected, was of no avail. At the very commencement of the war, the kingdom of Naples was invaded by a French army, who seized on all the ports upon the Adriatic, and particularly on Tarentum, which was formerly declared to be occupied as an equivalent for Malta. The French army that invaded Naples, confined themselves to the eastern coasts; if they had possessed themselves of the city of Naples, it would have probably induced England to occupy Sicily; and, on that account, it must be supposed, that, for a season, they abstained from entering those districts, which would doubtless have been most desirable, as affording the richest plunder.

We have already seen, that Spain,

Portugal, Italy, and Switzerland, had not been gainers by the peace; on the contrary, they saw in that interval, their independence annihilated.

The Batavian republic too, which had been so formally promised independence, was forced, against its wishes and its obvious interests, to join in the war against England. The loss of the little commerce it possessed, and of its foreign colonies, was the necessary consequence of a contest, from which it could not by any possibility, derive the slightest advantage; but their sailors were necessary to man the flotilla of Bonaparte, and their docks and arsenals to contribute to its equipment; Holland was therefore forced into a war, the consequence of which to her must be utter ruin!

Not content with exercising the most unlimited sway over France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Switzerland, and Holland, the first consul was also determined to obtain a similar dominion in the German empire, in which project many circumstances promised him too great a certainty of success. The ancient rivalry between Austria and Prussia, had been artfully fomented, in the discussion of the question of the indemnities, while all the lesser states of the empire, which lay in the neighbourhood of France, saw in the first consul the only power that was able either to protect or annoy them. Prussia, as we have before observed, had, for sordid and selfish views, sold herself to the interests of France; and Austria, alone and unsupported, was no longer able to wage war, singly, against so powerful an opponent. Thus the German



empire may be considered quite decomposed, and reduced to utter insignificance, as a political body, since the ties which should connect its lesser states to the acknowledged head of that once august union, are now virtually dissolved.

No circumstance could evince more clearly the power that Bonaparte had, and meant to retain over Germany, than the invasion and occupation of Hanover. Austria and Prussia contented themselves with demanding explanation upon those points; to which the answer of the French government was, that it was solely the possessions of the king of England which were attacked, but that in other points the integrity and independence of the German empire should be respected. The emperor of Germany affected to be content with this explanation, as he was in no condition to war with France about Hanover, a country which had preserved its neutrality when he and the German empire, were in the greatest difficulty and danger. The king of Prussia also, whatever discontent he might feel, professed also to be satisfied: that monarch well knew, that the first consul would by no means abandon his plan, on account of any remonstrances he could make, and he therefore did not chuse to irritate him by a fruitless opposition. It must however have been very galling to that monarch to find, that the power of France had so soon stripped him of the title, which, while it suited the convenience of Bonaparte, he was pleased to allow him, that of "Protector of the north of Germany." From the moment that the French army had entered Hanover, he per-

ceived, as did the lesser states of the empire, that there was no power at hand to rescue the latter from the grasp of France. In vain did the imperial city of Hamburgh appeal to his protection, and to that of the head of the empire, when the French occupied Cuxhaven, and had demanded a considerable loan from them: no relief was obtained, or even a remonstrance issued, upon that unwarrantable proceeding.

Thus circumstanced, the government of Denmark was the only neighbouring power which displayed the slightest spirit. The Prince Royal speedily collected an army of 30,000 men in Holstein, and took vigorous measures to defend his territories; but when he found that Prussia had acquiesced in the encroachments of France, and that the official journal of Bonaparte had begun to threaten Denmark herself in unequivocal terms; unless she immediately dispersed the army of Holstein; the Prince Royal found himself (though reluctantly) compelled to submit to the imperious and over-ruling necessity of the case, and his German states were again placed on a peace establishment.

Although Russia was intimately connected with the interests of the north of Europe, and must doubtless have felt much displeased at the advance of the French army, and the violation of the Germanic empire, of which she was the guarantee; yet the emperor Alexander was so pacifically disposed as not to consider that aggression of France, as an immediate ground of war.—Bonaparte had solemnly alleged, that he only occupied Hanover, in order to induce the king of England

England to give up Malta, agreeably to the conditions of the treaty of Amiens: The emperor, who eagerly wished for the restoration of peace, would probably have been glad that England could by any means have been induced to execute that article which respected the island of Malta. The British government had however most imprudently rested the war entirely upon the possession of that island. The great and continually increasing aggrandizement of France; the violence and outrages committed by her, daily, against the independence of every nation in Europe; and her continued insult and injury to Great Britain, were all to be forgiven, if she would consent that the latter power might retain the possession of Malta. It was not at all surprising therefore that the nations of Europe evinced the most profound indifference upon the subject of the island of Lampedosa, or even of that of Malta. There were but three nations in the world that would have wished to be troubled with the possession of either, namely, England, France, and Russia. To any of these nations the possession of the latter island would be an important object, as the means of increasing or establishing their power in the Mediterranean: and Russia having evidently wished and demanded the possession of Malta for herself, it could not be expected that she would be very sanguine in her efforts to procure it for England.

As therefore England had embarked in war, on a ground in which the continental powers could feel no interest; and as it was evident that the neutral nations would be obstructed and cramped

in their commercial relations, as well in the prosecution of this as in every former war; it was natural for them to wish that a peace might be concluded upon any terms; and as Bonaparte professed solely to desire the execution of the treaty of Amiens; they were content to allow him to occupy Hanover as the means of compelling Great Britain to fulfil her engagements, and which must necessarily bring about that tranquillity so much the desire of Europe.

The real views of France, however, were soon more perfectly developed. The army of Hanover was but the advanced guard of that vast force which she could rapidly move into the heart of Prussia, or any northern nation that should resist her will. The armies at Boulogne and in Holland were in reality as formidable to the north of Europe, as to England. In Italy her armies had entered the kingdom of Naples, occupied all the strong places on its eastern coasts, and levied contributions throughout the whole country: at once a most flagrant violation of direct treaty with that power, but also a manifest insult to Russia. From the moment that Bonaparte had ascertained that nothing was to be apprehended from either Austria or Prussia, he evinced the greatest indifference towards the court of Petersburg; and it has been even said that he behaved with marked inattention and incivility to its ambassador, count Markoff. With respect to his solemn engagements formerly entered into with that power, he paid to them not the slightest regard. It had been agreed by treaty between Russia, and



France, that the affairs of Italy should be settled by those two nations in concert; that the king of Sardinia should have a compensation for the loss of Piedmont; and that the independence of the kingdom of Naples should be completely respected. On all those points Bonaparte evinced marked disregard, and as we have already observed, by the conduct of Sebastiani at Corfu, proved that it was his intention to dispossess the emperor of these islands. So many provocations and insults undoubtedly must have deeply affected the mind of Alexander: the year, however, was permitted to pass over, without any decided opposition to France, from him or any of the continental powers.

The attitude of Europe at the close of 1803, may be thus stated: while France was extending her giant-arms from the Adriatic to the Baltic, and scorned to bound her dominions on the north by the Rhine, or even the Elbe; Germany seemed lost in apathy or the sluggishness of despair! Italy was directly governed as a province of France; while Spain, Portugal, and the Hanse Towns, were necessitated to furnish such contributions in money, as were demanded by the French government.

Arrived at this height of power and military glory, there was no greater object left for the ambition of Bonaparte, than the conquest of

England. But vast as his fortune had hitherto been, when opposed to the continental powers of Europe, it seems to have been constantly kept in check by the better genius of England. In Syria, in Egypt, in Malta, and in St. Domingo, he has constantly found the greatest and most promising of his ambitious projects rendered abortive, by the valour of the British arms.—It is not then to be wondered at, that the tyrant of France should strain every nerve, and risk every danger, to destroy the only nation which has the will and the power to oppose him.

The exertions and the means however employed for the invasion of England, have only served to raise the spirit of the British nation, to defend their coasts and chastise an insolent invader. Although some alarm was created at the moment, by the preparations of France; long before the year had expired, all sense of fear gave way to a just confidence in the high and well-regulated spirit of a great, free, and enlightened nation, rising in defence of its independence and existence.—A confidence however in some degree damped by the consideration, that energies and resources so vast, were intrusted to an administration, whose wisdom and talents the nation considered by no means adequate to the arduous task, of employing them for its protection, and for the annoyance of so powerful an enemy.



## CHAP. XXII.

*Affairs of the West Indies.—Transactions of the French in St. Domingo.—Dreadful cruelties exercised by them towards the Black Inhabitants.—Yellow Fever breaks out.—Great ravages among the French Forces.—General Insurrection.—Partial Successes of the Blacks.—Great Distresses of the French.—Cape Town besieged by the Insurgents.—Sickness of General Le Clerc.—And Death.—Command of the Army devolves on General Rochambeau.—Cape Town relieved.—Action at the Mole.—Great slaughter of the Negroes.—Effect of the War between England and France, on St. Domingo.—British Squadrons blockade the several Ports of the Island.—Critical situation of the French.—Capture of the Towns on the Coast.—Out Posts successively fall into the hands of the Negroes.—Fort Dauphin taken by the English.—Gallant defence of the Cape Town.—French force Capitulate.—Carried off the Island by the English Squadron.—Freedom of St. Domingo proclaimed by the Negro Chiefs.—Reflections.—Effect of the War on the British West Indian Islands.—Greatly benefited thereby.—Disputes in Jamaica.—Not terminated.—Affairs of the United States of America.—French encroachments and designs.—Totally defeated by the declaration of War.—America thus rescued from the most serious danger.—Observations.—Glance at the situation of India.—Conclusion.*

OUR attention is next forcibly drawn to the events which occurred in the new world in the course of the present year: those with which we shall commence our narrative; as most interesting and certainly most important, are the transactions of the French force in Hispaniola.

The triumph of Bonaparte's general in chief, Le Clerc, and of his vast armament in St. Domingo, was not of long duration. The cruelty and perfidy which were exercised towards all the unfortunate negroes who had submitted, and particularly to their gallant leader, Toussaint L'Ouverture, was more

than sufficient to rouse the deepest resentment in their bosoms. Although the sufferings of a hero, or the injustice offered to an illustrious individual, usually engages more of the attention of the world, than is excited by multiplied acts of cruelty, exercised in secret, and on obscure persons; yet in the colony of St. Domingo even the barbarous act of seizing upon Toussaint after he had surrendered, and sending him to France to be made away with in cold blood, was lost among the frequent and atrocious acts of horror, committed by the French upon the unresisting negroes. Frequently were the latter, when

when barely suspected, of being likely to rebel, forced into vessels, the captains of which were instructed to throw them overboard, when they got out to sea! Other ships were fitted up on a new construction, for the purpose of their destruction. When a considerable number of these unfortunate beings were stowed in the hold, the hatches were closed, and sulphur burned below, the fumes of which in a short time occasioned suffocation. Those were acts that the French not only committed in the face of the world, but openly avowed. They even spoke of such transactions with their accustomed levity and gaiety, and to the mode of sending the negroes out to sea to be thus destroyed, they gave the appellation of *deporter en mer*, or, to transport into the sea. Tortures of the most cruel nature—burning their unhappy victims at a slow fire—and every other act of relentless barbarity, were daily and hourly practised by the French armies and government. Dessalines, and other of the black generals, who afterwards broke out into open insurrection, declared, and probably with truth, that the French generals had the unblushing audacity to propose to them, gravely, the extermination of the actual population of St. Domingo, in order to colonize it anew with natives of France! The idea of exterminating half a million of men, women, and children, appeared to those *professional destroyers* as merely a common act of policy, and they supposed that the black generals who had submitted to their arms, could be bribed by military rank and emolument to concur in the horrid scheme.

It will not be matter of surprise then, that Dessalines, Christophe, and the other generals, who were obliged to listen to such a proposal, should feel the most inveterate hatred against those polished ruffians, who, pretending to superior civilization, were not ashamed to perpetrate and propose acts, that the most untutored savage would shrink with horror from. Although the indignation of every negro in the island must have been aroused at such a proposition, policy obliged them for a season to stifle their emotion, and conceal their feelings. When, however, the time was come which allowed them to express their sentiments, they appear to have been still more aggrieved at the hypocritical cant of the French writers, than even by the cruelty of their soldiers.

These writers certainly possessed an admirable art of glossing over the foulest actions, which they sometimes described with a gaiety that turned the mind from a due consideration of their atrocity; and again, treated in the language and affectation of sentiment and sympathy. French gaiety or French sentiment, however, little tended to assuage the miseries of this unfortunate island. Whether the *hyana* laughed, or the *crocodile* wept, the unhappy victims were equally doomed to suffer! Those who survived, had the additional affliction of hearing all kind of calumnies thrown out in polished language against the living and the dead. "Ferocious Africans," and "horrible barbarians," were the terms constantly applied to the individuals of the black population of the island, which the French  
generals

generals had already resolved to exterminate.

Under these circumstances a determined spirit of resistance quietly though firmly arose among the negro inhabitants; and a determination to revenge their oppressions, the first favourable opportunity that might occur, was by them universally adopted. The hand of providence itself appeared to hasten that moment of their just determinations.

It was shortly after the infamous and perfidious arrest of the brave Toussaint, that the West Indian fever, the scourge of European avarice, broke out with the most destructive fury in the island; the blacks, however, suffered nothing from it; it was reserved with deadly effect for their imperious conquerors. Speedily did the courage and the strength of their ferocious invaders, wither away before the fiery breath of the pestilence! Their hospitals were crowded with sick—their ranks were thinned—and those who still escaped, were unable to pursue those active operations of war against the few revolted slaves who still remained unsubdued; from which alone they could have expected success, but which now they saw would expose them to an enemy far more terrible than they had yet encountered in the field.

The consequence was such as might have been expected: in proportion to the decrease of force and enterprise in the French army, the courage and activity of their adversaries increased; and a general insurrection took place, which soon confined the French troops to their strong posts on the coasts of their part of the island.

The only official account we have

of the progress of the renewed general warfare, is in the letter of gen. Boyer to the minister of marine and colonies: he says, that “after the arrest of Toussaint, the disarming of the negroes (an essential operation, and the first basis of tranquillity) was pursued with as much activity as success.” A few slight insurrections then took place. A man of the name of Sans Soucie, who was before unknown, assembled a number of Congo negroes, and set fire to some plantations. He was pursued by the French general commanding in the northern district, but escaped into the distant *mornes*. This event took place about the latter end of June: the heat then became excessive, and it was impossible for the French army to make any farther movements. Gen. Boyer states, that in that temperature the *mornes* of the smallest elevation presented almost insuperable obstacles. The number of the *brigands* (as the French termed the negroes) daily increased; while every day the sickness made new ravages in the French army. The blacks calculated its progress with a secret joy. The first attacks they made in force were on the French posts at Marmalade, Donder, and Moustique; they succeeded in all those attacks; the French, however, afterwards dislodged them, and retook their positions. In the latter end of August, Charles Belair, an atrocious African, (according to Gen. Boyer) rose in insurrection on the heights of Artibonite. Some of the black troops, who were in the French pay, deserted to him: he was however, at length defeated, and taken prisoner, with his wife, who had accom-



accompanied him hitherto, and now shared the dreadful punishment allotted for him by his cruel captors. Several risings of the blacks likewise took place in the south, particularly in the neighbourhood of Leogane and Joemel, but they were all suppressed, and many of their ringleaders executed.

The southern districts, after these successes, remained in tolerable tranquillity; and in the Spanish part of the island, the old colonists rose *en-masse*, and defeated the insurgents, who had attempted to penetrate thither.

It was in the northern portion of the colony that the insurrection was carried on with unabated vigour. Dessalines, Clervaux, and Christophe, headed the insurgents in this direction, and assembled an army sufficiently strong to invest the Town of the Cape, the head quarters of the French commander in chief general Le Clerc, at that moment approaching to his last hour, from the baneful effects of the fever, with which he had for some time struggled; and who now saw, in the dreadful hour of despair and death, that all the cruelties, of which he had been the willing instrument, were insufficient to attain the object with which he was entrusted—the extermination of the inhabitants of the island! He who but a few months before, had written to his brother-in-law, Bonaparte, a pompous statement of his conquest of the island of St. Domingo, now saw himself besieged in his head-quarters by those, whom he had considered as entirely defeated, and incapable of ever again making head against the power of the French. After an illness of

about a fortnight, he died on the second of November, nearly about the same time that the unfortunate Toussaint perished in a French dungeon. Thus, by the equitable dispensations of providence, had the French as well as the blacks to lament the loss of their leader.

Notwithstanding the dreadful slaughter which the French soldiers made, whenever they were victorious; the losses of the French army by the fever were at least equal to those the blacks endured by the sword. General Le Clerc, before his death, sent sealed instructions to general Rochambeau, to take the command of the French army in the island. Before the arrival however of the latter at the Cape, the French garrison, finding themselves much straightened, made a vigorous sally against the blacks, who were encamped on the plains in the neighbourhood, and drove them into the mountains. By this victory, the garrison at the Cape derived considerable temporary advantage; but still Rochambeau had the disagreeable office of taking the command of an army unfitted for active operations, and which he was necessitated to keep confined to the unwholesome limits of a few sickly towns. His means of defence were merely in the strength of the fortifications, and the facilities of transporting detachments by sea, from any one port on the sea coast to any other, whence he might have meditated an enterprize. His hopes of finally maintaining himself in the island, rested on the arrival of the reinforcements now expected from France. Those reinforcements however arrived but slowly, and by no means in time to enable him to resume active operations.

ations. Although the French government had calculated extremely well the force, which, according to all human probability would have been sufficient to conquer and retain possession of the colony, yet the dreadful fever which broke out in the beginning of summer in the French army; baffled all their measures, and rendered them totally unable to put down this second insurrection. The troops however defended themselves well against the attacks of the negroes, and generally routed them with great slaughter.

The first serious attempt made by the blacks in the north, was on the Mole, where general Brunet commanded. That officer permitted them to advance quite close to the works, but by an ambuscade, which he had previously laid, placed them between two fires, and forced them to retreat in confusion, and with considerable loss. In all the strong posts on the sea coasts, the French defended their positions with equal success. The insurgents, although completely masters of the interior of the country and of the mountains, were not able to cope in the plain with the French troops; and this inequality was still more observable, when they attempted to attack the French in their fortified towns, or strong positions.

Such then was the situation of affairs in this once flourishing and happy island, at the breaking out of the war between France and England. We have already observed, that the French were in possession of a line of posts, on the sea coast, which were mutually supported by the facilities which their fleet afforded them of mutual transportation. This great ad-

vantage the war with England totally deprived them of. The Cape, and all their principal positions, were immediately blockaded by British squadrons, which blockade not only broke the chain which had hitherto firmly bound the French force together, but by cutting off the supply of provisions and reinforcements, accelerated, or with more justice may be said to have been the direct cause of, their capitulation and surrender to the black force, which composed the besieging army; for, in all human probability, had not hostilities commenced between England and France, the insurgents must finally have been subdued and exterminated. While the French were masters of the seas, it does not appear that the negroes were able to possess themselves of even one of the towns on the coast; and there cannot be a doubt, but that so long as the ocean could be traversed in safety, France, in her immense population of thirty millions, would have found sufficient reinforcements to have finally subjugated the revolvers. And if in the course of the winter of 1802, she did not pursue this policy, it was merely because the first successes of Le Clerc made it appear unnecessary: and the second general insurrection would never have taken place, had it not been for the destruction which the fever produced among the French troops. —The English squadrons, however, by shutting up the ports of St. Domingo against all succours and supplies from Europe, contributed at least as much as the efforts of the insurgents, to the total abandonment of that great and valuable colony, by France.



It is extremely difficult to reconcile the powerful and effectual co-operation of Great Britain with the revolted French negroes; to the repeated declarations of the English government, but the year before,—that no force which France could send to St. Domingo, or keep there, would be half so dangerous to our West Indian colonies and the interests of Great Britain, as the existence of a black independent empire or republic. Governed, however, less by principles than by events, it was contented to abandon all theory, and contribute to the establishment of a power, which they had so much decried; for the sake of making a temporary impression on France, where she was most vulnerable.—

In consequence of those vigorous measures both by sea and land, the French garrisons were soon reduced to the most deplorable distress.— On the land-side, the Blacks were masters of the field, who not only cut off provisions, but hourly threatened them with assault.— Towards the sea, reinforcements and supplies were intercepted by the British cruisers, while the most terrible of all enemies, the pestilence, continued its ravages, and not only diminished their numbers, but paralyzed the spirit and strength of the survivors. Notwithstanding this dreadful complication of unfortunate circumstances, they still made an obstinate defence. The Cape Town, which Rochambeau now made his head quarters, and where he had collected the principal strength of the French army, made a long and powerful resistance. The English cruisers found it impossible to block up the harbour so completely but that sup-

plies of provisions were frequently thrown in by coasting vessels.— The other posts where the French were weaker, fell either before the attack of the negroes, or in consequence of the blockade. Port au Paix was the first strong town which fell into the hands of the insurgents:—the French garrison, consisting of 500 men, became their prisoners. In the other parts of the island, Port au Prince, Leogane, and St. Mark, fell successively before the besieging army, under the black general Dessalines. The English cruisers, however, in every practicable case, humanely made it a point of carrying off their garrisons, to save them from the revengeful fury of the blacks.

General Rochambeau was now obliged to confine his operations to the defence of the Cape:—he wished to escape to the city of St. Domingo, in the Spanish part of Hispaniola, but every route was completely occupied by the negro troops, who were masters of all the interior of the country. The English blockading squadron, finding that frequent supplies of provisions were carried to the cape, from Fort Dauphin, made a very spirited attack on that post, in consequence of which the garrison evacuated it and retired within Cape Town.— This being now the only spot in possession of the French, the entire army of the insurgents, commanded by general Dessalines, regularly and completely invested it and daily menaced giving the assault; all the out-posts successively fell into their hands, and even Fort Picolet was carried by them in a very gallant manner.

Under those circumstances, all retreat



retreat and supply being cut off; and the place every hour in danger of attack; Rochambeau, at length resolved to capitulate, on the terms, of being allowed to carry off the garrison. A negotiation to this effect was opened with general Dessalines, but on the English squadron coming into the road, a capitulation was signed on the 30th of November, on board the *Surveillante*, by which captain Bligh of the *Theseus*, on the part of commodore Truscot, and general Boyer on the part of general Rochambeau, agreed, that all the ships of war and merchant vessels belonging to France should be surrendered to the English, and that the garrison should be received by the latter, as prisoners of war.—The negociation was then continued with Dessalines, to prevent confusion or attack at the time of evacuation. Dessalines agreed, not to disturb them in the evacuation, but nevertheless, when they had embarked, and were waiting for a wind, to enable them to leave the port, it required all the influence which the British commodore had over the black general, to prevent his ordering the batteries to fire upon the French ships and sink them.—Without making much allowance for winds and tides he declared, that if in twelve hours they did not quit the road, he should drive them away with his cannon, and that when the English met them at sea, they were at liberty to treat them as they pleased. The French force having at length finally departed, Dessalines, Christophe, and Clerveaux, published a proclamation to the inhabitants, declaring the island free and independent. They

promised protection to those landholders who chose to remain upon their estates and *renounce their prejudices*, but threatened the most inexorable cruelty to whoever should talk of again restoring the system of slavery.

Although the French still retained the city of St. Domingo, in the part of the island which formerly belonged to Spain, yet the total evacuation of the northern part, forms not only one of the most important epochs of the history of the island, but an event which is likely to produce consequences of the most general interest to Europe and to mankind:—The experiment of a black independent nation, possessed of European tactics, and of arts which have never visited the deserts of Africa, but which are supposed by civilized nations to contribute much to human happiness and to the progressive greatness of nations—is now fairly at issue.

It cannot, we think, be doubted but the commencement of war between Great Britain and France, and the immediate effects it produced on the fate of St. Domingo, were most materially beneficial to the old British West Indian islands: they were thus freed from the perpetual danger and alarm that they must have constantly experienced, if a considerable French army had been permanently established in Hispaniola; and they were likewise rescued from the dangerous competition they would have been exposed to in the event of the French colonies being restored to peace and cultivation; circumstances which must have deprived them of what they may

now

now look forward to with confidence, namely, a permanent monopoly of sugars and colonial produce. Although in those lights they may be considered as the principal gainers by the war, yet did they appear very unwilling to contribute their proportion to its vast expences. A spirit of discontent, broke out with considerable violence in Jamaica, where the members of the assembly positively refused to grant the necessary supplies, for the maintenance of 5000 troops. To the long and laboured reply made to the requisition of government for that purpose, they concluded by stating, that their resistance to the measure was founded on constitutional right and justice; but that, if they could be induced to depart from their duty by an inclination to comply with the demand in question, the circumstances in which the country was at present involved, from the great depression of the price of its staple article of commerce—the exorbitant rise in all articles of British and Irish merchandize imported—the advanced prices of every article necessary for cultivation and subsistence—the injurious regulations and restrictions on its produce in the British market—the ruinous and oppressive duties existing and likely to be increased on its imports and exports to Great Britain—the difficulties attending its commercial intercourse with the American states, whence many most essential articles necessary for carrying on the cultivation of their plantations, and for the subsistence of the inhabitants of all descriptions, can alone be obtained, arising from the prohibition to export any article of their staple

productions, excepting rum and molasses, in American bottoms—and the pressure of a very heavy existing debt, for which a high rate of interest was paid, rendered it altogether totally impossible for the island to incur such an enormous amount of additional taxes, as would be necessarily required to support such an expensive increase of establishment. The language and tone of this answer, or rather remonstrance, appears to be that of complete dissatisfaction with the whole system of the mother country with respect to her colonies. Several other papers were also printed at the same time in defence of their conduct; wherein they stated, that the vast advantages derived by Britain from the monopoly of their trade, and the revenue raised on the importation of their produce, were fully adequate contributions from them to the general expences of the empire.

How far the state of the island could afford the military establishment proposed by the governor, it is impossible for us accurately to determine; but we can never admit the principle, that a colony, however rich and flourishing, is always to continue a dead expence and incumbrance to the parent country, and not to contribute its proportion for its own protection and security, or even for the general good of that empire, whose collected strength is the protection of every part of its possessions, however minute or consequential.

Those uneasinesses to which we have adverted, continued without any intermission throughout the whole of the year, and in the month of December, when the governor



governor prorogued the general assembly, he expressed a deep regret; "that it had not allowed him an opportunity of thanking them for furnishing the supplies required in aid of Great Britain, and for their own defence; but he trusted, that upon more mature consideration, they would feel the propriety of supporting government most effectually at the next meeting, and thereby restore to themselves its confidence in their loyalty and patriotism." Immediately after this speech the general assembly was prorogued, and there therefore was no opportunity afforded of reply.

This discontent and unwillingness to contribute to the expences of the war, still appear to continue; and it is certainly a disagreeable reflection, that those whose properties have been protected by the strength of the empire, and to defend whom, the flower of the British army has fallen in their pestilential climate, should afford the solitary exception of resisting the payment of (what we must suppose from the character, temper, and experience of their governor) a reasonable contribution—not for the defence of the empire at large—but for their own immediate protection.

A painful analogy has been forced upon our mind by those disputes, with the circumstances which produced the disastrous and unfortunate struggle with the revolted colonies of North America. Whatever parity, however, there may exist in the causes of complaint, the effects can never be the same, for reasons too obvious to need our exposition. Nor shall we pursue a subject so painful, farther

than to express our most heartfelt wish and hope, that before the expiration of another year, a reciprocal sense of duty between the government and the governed, will terminate those disputes and heart-burnings, to the general satisfaction; and thus restore the harmony of an empire, which can alone exist by the concord and union of its component parts: and which will be effected by the simple operation, of the West Indian proprietors contributing what is reasonably demanded of them, and by the government limiting those demands, to the exigence of the case, and the ability of the islands.

The affairs of the United States of America, were, in the course of the present year, peculiarly interesting. We have already stated in our last volume, that no sooner had the peace of Amiens been signed, but a secret treaty between France and Spain was produced, by which Louisiana was ceded to the former power. The views of Bonaparte doubtless extended to the dominion of the western world; and had he succeeded, through this insidious negociation, in obtaining firm possession of Louisiana; and had reconquered, by his vast armaments the colony of St. Domingo, he might well have hoped, not only to crush the British colonies in the West Indies at his pleasure, but even govern in future the American states, as despotically as those of his European neighbours. The combined fleets and armies of France and Spain, would, unopposed by that of Great Britain, be much too powerful for the Western Union; however gallant and high-spirited we may suppose



pose that people to be. Five millions of men, scattered over a boundless territory, could not seriously and for an interminable period, resist the efforts of a force tenfold more numerous. Were England necessitated to withdraw from all interference with continental affairs, as had been dictated to her by the imperious construction France appeared to put upon the terms of the treaty of Amiens, there would be no power on earth that could effectually interfere to rescue North America from the all-powerful dictation of France. The towns on her coast could have been destroyed, and her commerce utterly ruined; nor would it have been possible for the United States to keep up permanently, such an army for their defence, as France, assisted by her dependent ally, Spain, could maintain for their annoyance.

Before Louisiana was to be surrendered to the French, we have seen that the latter contrived to foment a quarrel between Spain, who was to evacuate it, and America. This measure seems however to have been intended solely to feel the pulse of the latter country, and enable Bonaparte to calculate how far she would permit aggression, before she would venture to demand redress and satisfaction.

The federal government had by treaty with Spain, the right of warehousing at New Orleans, all the produce of the western territory, which came down the Mississippi for exportation. Spain now, at the instance of France, pretended to abrogate that right, without which all those districts of the American union, na-

turally by far the finest and most productive, would become uninhabitable; as the Mississippi is the only channel through which their produce could be exported, and New Orleans the only port, at the mouth of that river, capable of accommodating vessels large enough for the purpose.

This audacious attempt, on the part of France, kindled the most violent indignation, throughout the population of the districts in question. The state of Kentucky loudly called for an immediate war with Spain, and the attack of New Orleans. These spirited measures did not however suit with the cold and prudential caution of Mr. Jefferson. — The President, well aware that to France this outrageous breach of faith was owing, thought it most advisable to dispatch ambassadors to Paris, to obtain that by negotiation and purchase, which assuredly, under every circumstance, America might have possessed herself of, by force of arms.

It is extremely probable that Bonaparte would have persisted in his original plan, and refused the offers which were made him by the American government, had not the approaching war with England convinced him, that to retain Louisiana was utterly impracticable, and that therefore it was better for him to sell it at the high price which the president of America was pleased to affix, than to risk both money and territory, by his non-acquiescence. France therefore appears to have made an excellent bargain in selling, at a high price, that which she was never possessed of, and, in the event of war with England,

land, had no possible means of ever acquiring. But we confess the wisdom of Mr. Jefferson is not so apparent, nor the transaction so beneficial to his country, in the giving thirty millions of dollars to France, for a territory to which she had a base and very disputable title, unaccompanied by any right of possession. Although the history of this event is the sole circumstance worthy of particular narration, which occurred within the year, it may however well be considered that, which will henceforward be deemed to have marked the most important epoch of American independency; as it may justly be pronounced that which has for ever secured America, from the grasp of French dominion.

Had Bonaparte completely succeeded in St. Domingo, then the armaments he would have constantly kept up in that island and Louisiana, would have protected New Orleans for ever against any American force which could be brought against it, while the coasts of the republic would be constantly exposed to the depredations of French and Spanish invaders. Louisiana and St. Domingo were undoubtedly connected in the projects of the French government. The disposable military force of either could reciprocally be brought to act in the defence of each, or be combined in any attack upon the British West Indian islands, or on America herself.

In the belief that England could never again presume to take the field against her, France had manifested the desire of extending to the most extensive degree, the boundaries of her newly-acquired

territories in the western world. Not only was the island of New Orleans, which belonged to Spain, to be given up to her, but, upon the construction she was pleased to put upon the treaties subsisting between Spain and America, all those countries which had ever been comprized under the general appellation of Louisiana, were to be considered as ceded to France, by the provisions of this secret engagement. The two Floridas, as anciently comprized within the limits of that great district, were therefore now to be annexed to her dominion. — Nor did her projected encroachments rest there. Any claims that France might make upon Spain in this part of the world, would have readily been conceded: nor would the latter have resisted the demand of a colony in that distant part of the world, when she had already given up so much in Europe. But a far more important circumstance arose in the progress of this transaction; France also claimed the fort of the Natchez, on the Mississippi, a post that the Americans had long been in possession of, and the surrender of which must have been productive of the most serious consequence to the future safety and security of their western districts.

These schemes and projects of Bonaparte were, however, all disconcerted, by the rupture between England and France, the first fruits of which were the quieting the claims of the latter upon Louisiana, and the abandonment of St. Domingo to its fate: circumstances of incalculable advantage to the future peace and tranquillity of the United States.

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Great Britain, however she might have been humbled by the peace of Amiens, was far from being crippled in her energies and resources: aroused from her lethargy, she still appeared the queen of islands—the mistress of the seas—the bulwark and refuge of the weaker powers of the world—and the eternal check to French ambition! And as by the

achievements of her fleets and armies, during the last contest, at Aboukir, St. Jean d'Acre, and Alexandria, she had completely frustrated the views of Bonaparte on the East; so now, did her bare declaration of war against France, annihilate his gigantic project of extending the dominion of that power over the continent of America.\*

\* It was found impossible to compress within the limits of the historical portion of this volume, a satisfactory narration of the brilliant achievements of the English arms within the peninsula of India, during the present year. The proofs which they afford of the talents, integrity, firmness, and success of the Marquis Wellesley's government of that country, far transcend our praise: and have opened too wide a field for their detail to be bounded by the narrow space alone, which the usual and necessary size of our volume would have afforded. One advantage will however accrue to the reader from this delay. He will thus be enabled, in our ensuing volume, to see at once, and view, not only the causes of the war in India with the Mahratta states; and the triumphant progress of the campaign; but also, the negotiations of 1804, which happily crowned the splendid victories of Lord Lake and Sir Arthur Wellesley; and terminated so favourably to the British interests, and gloriously to the British character, a most important and eventful contest.

Although we have thus reluctantly foregone a most pleasing part of our duty, in other respects the subject in question will be found to have engaged our wonted attention: the official details of the ever memorable and decisive battles of Delhi, Assye, and Laswarr, are comprized in our "Appendix," to which we beg leave to refer the reader; as also to an authenticated statement of a disastrous circumstance which took place in the island of Ceylon, the causes and consequences of which we purpose hereafter minutely to investigate.

In the "Appendix" will also be found a most important and interesting ROYAL CORRESPONDENCE, to which we have not referred in our text; and upon which we do not presume to make any comment.

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*Seeley, Printer, Buckingham.*



# CHRONICLE.

## JANUARY.

1st, **B**EING the anniversary of the UNION, was distinguished by the usual ceremonies; the imperial flag was hoisted at the Tower, and the guns of that fortress, and those at the Park, were fired.

4th. A person arrived in London, to communicate a shocking transaction to the English police, in order to procure assistance in tracing out the perpetrators, in case they should have crossed the channel. The horrid deed was committed at a small village between Marquise and Boulogne:—A written paper, with three signatures, was carried to the house of the mayor of the village, appointing a meeting upon business in the evening at a fixed place. A neighbour observed three men at the door, and the mayor to go out with his great coat on; leaving at home his wife, daughter, niece, and a maid servant. Early the next morning, a nephew of the mayor's, calling, found the door open, and, upon entering, first beheld the dreadful sight of the maid lying murdered in the passage, the mother and daughter dead in one room, and the niece a corpse in another! With a neighbour, whom he called in to his assistance, the

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nephew examined the house, but it appeared that nothing had been taken away; they found, however, the written paper, containing the three signatures, which induced them to proceed to the stated place; when, as their minds foreboded, they discovered the unfortunate magistrate miserably strangled. In one of his hands was grasped a large lock of hair, with a part of the skin to it. This was taken immediately to the municipality, and an embargo was laid, in consequence, on all vessels between Calais and Boulogne, and the most active search was made: the diligences were all examined, and every one obliged to take off his hat, but the monsters have remained hitherto undetected. The mayor was a very powerful man; he was much cut, and by the hair, which he must have torn from one of their heads, probably made a stout resistance.

5th. The following description of the first consul of France appeared in the *Moniteur*.

*Sketch of Bonaparte.*—The person of the first consul is small, below the ordinary size of men. The consular garb does not become him; he looks best in the plain uniform of the national guard, which he, at present, generally wears. His face

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is strongly marked with melancholy, reflection, and deep thought; the lines of premature age are very visible upon it. He is said to be impenetrable even to his friends. His head is remarkably large, and his eyes are well formed, and well set, animating a countenance which has been seldom known to smile. His voice is the deepest toned, and seems to issue as from a tomb. His mouth is large and handsome; and, in general, it may be asserted, there is that harmony of features which denotes an *entire character*. The various resemblances of him are tolerably exact; though they by no means do him justice, nor give his *look*, which is extremely interesting and impressive.

The image of the Holy Virgin, which had been carried to France from Loretto, during the revolution, was brought back thither from Rome, and welcomed with the discharge of cannon and ringing of bells. It was carried on a superb frame, borne by eight bishops, and placed in the Holy House. A concourse of above 50,000 persons had assembled on the occasion. In the evening Loretto and all the neighbouring places were splendidly illuminated.

9th. This afternoon, a boat belonging to the Neptune, with eight persons in it, five belonging to the boat, and three passengers (two of them young gentlemen of Gosport, who were going to the Neptune, at Spithead, to see their brother) was upset, in a gust of wind, near the hospital, and all drowned, except three of the boatmen. Four dead bodies were immediately picked up; two of them the young gentlemen aforementioned, who had held by the boat until exhausted, but

driving on the shore, were beat off, and perished.

10th. This evening, about 6, the Active, of Greenock, Capt. Hornby, a fine new West India ship, of 350 tons burthen, laden with 300 hogsheads of sugar, &c. bound to Greenock, parted from her anchor in the Margate Roads, and came ashore within half a mile of the pier-head, where she soon sunk. After the sea had made a complete breach on her weather-side, she drove in shore, with her fore and mizen-masts standing, upon the Nayland Rock, at three o'clock in the morning; to which fortunate circumstance may be attributed the safety of part of the passengers and crew, who, had she remained where she first struck, would, in all probability, have perished. They consisted of nineteen persons; and, from lashing themselves in the shrouds, ten out of the nineteen were saved. Five perished in the main top, by the falling of the mast; one lad was washed overboard, and three were taken from the rigging, who perished by the spray of the sea, and from the inclemency of the weather. Every means of resuscitation on them was used by Mr. Slater, a surgeon of this place, without success. Among the survivors are the captain, mate, and pilot.

At night, during the heavy gale of wind from the eastward, the Hussar, of 38 guns, commanded by captain Wilkinson, lying at Blackstakes, caught fire, by accident, in the gunner's store room, close to the magazine; and, from the explosion of some combustible matter, the ship's company rushed on the quarter-deck, and thence into a boat, which was hanging in the tackles astern; and, from too great a number getting

ing into her for the purpose of saving themselves, the davit by which she was hoisted up, gave way, and threw the whole of them overboard; by which unfortunate accident two master's mates, one midshipman, 14 men, and one woman, were drowned. By the exertions of the captain, officers, and remaining part of the ship's company, the fire was soon got under, without any damage to the ship.

12th. A few minutes before four o'clock this morning, during the very severe gale, the Hindostan East Indiaman, captain Edward Balston, parted with all her anchors, drove on shore off the Culvers, and shortly after went to pieces. One gentleman, of the name of Clarke, a cadet for Madras, and a passenger on board this ship, with sixteen of the crew, unfortunately perished. Every possible exertion was made to save the ship, but the fury of the gale baffled every effort. The cargo was estimated at 100,000*l*. She had a vast quantity of private silver bullion on board, on freight; but the East India Company had not a single dollar on board. The Hindostan was a fine ship, of the largest dimensions, being of the burthen of 1,248 tons, and was proceeding on her fourth voyage. Soon after the ship got on shore, she filled with water. Her dreadful situation was immediately observed upon land; boats put off to her assistance, and fortunately succeeded in saving about 120 of the people. On the ship striking the shore, the baker and boatswain flew to the shrouds for safety; but this hasty expedient unfortunately proved their destruction; they both perished in sight of the survivors, who could afford them no relief. The Hindostan was destined to Coast

and China. Her loss is to be attributed solely to the severity of the gale, which baffled every effort that could be used. The complement of men on board was 122. Being one of the largest ships, she had on board 30 guns; was completely stored for sea, and proceeding for the Downs, to take on board her passengers, when the terrible gale drove her on shore. When the ship struck, and no hopes of getting her off were left, she then being twelve miles from shore, two rafts were made, and several of the crew, passengers, &c. committed themselves to them, in hopes of floating on shore. These rafts, by the violence of the waves, were dashed against each other, and most of the persons on them were drowned or killed.

This morning, about two o'clock, a fire broke out at the house of Mr. Hayes, Patrick-square, near Bethnal Green, which was entirely consumed. A driver of one of the engines, on the occasion, was run over, and dreadfully hurt, the carriage having passed over the whole length of his body.

13th. The following letter, signed "Kelly," and dated from Cambo-rough, gives a most satisfactory statement of the efficacy of that inestimable invention, the life-boat.

"I have the satisfaction to inform you, that our St. Andrew life-boat performed wonders last Monday, the 10th, in saving the crew (12 persons) of the Meanwell, of Scarborough, Capt. Holiday. I happened to be in town that day, when it blew a tremendous storm from the N. E. with the sea running mountains high, and thick weather. About two, a ship appeared so near the shore, that she could not possibly clear the land. Hundreds of people

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turned



turned out to give assistance, every signal was made for the harbour, and the life-boat in readiness. Unfortunately, just as the ship was entering the harbour, a very heavy sea made her strike the ground, and hove her out of the channel, among the breaker's rocks, where the life-boat soon brought the crew safe on shore. Had I not been eye-witness to it, I could not have believed that any boat could have lived in such a sea and surge. The storm was so violent, that the fishermen could not be persuaded to enter into the boat till Mr. Dempster, one of the magistrates, and a major Horsberg, volunteered their services; also a ship-master, David Stewart, who made great exertions indeed. The famous and enterprising Mr. Honey was on the beach, ready also for exertions. The ship had goods from Bourdeaux, for Newcastle; they will be saved (partly damaged). The ship's bottom is out.—Please intimate this to the committee at Lloyd's, for encouraging the building and keeping of life-boats on different parts of the coasts of the united kingdom."

10th. A poor man was this day found dead in Liddington field. He was returning from Oakham, where he had been to offer himself as a substitute in the Rutland militia; and has afforded another instance of the dangerous consequences of persons, in a state of inebriety, venturing to go to any distance in excessive cold weather. Drowsiness, in that state, is almost irresistible, and the danger of being froze to death, if asleep, imminent in the extreme.

17th. This morning George Foster, who was convicted, on Friday last, of having murdered his wife and child, by throwing them into the ca-

nal at Paddington, was executed pursuant to his sentence. Till yesterday morning, he continued to assert that his wife had by accident fallen into the canal; and, the water being deep, he was fearful of attempting to lend any assistance, lest he might be drawn in also. A short time, however, before his execution, he confessed to doctor Ford, that he actually did push her into the water, and then came away, and left her to perish. He acknowledged the justice of his sentence. When he appeared on the scaffold, he was so much overcome with the sense of his unhappy situation, that he fainted, and was obliged to be supported while the cord was applied to his neck. About ten minutes past eight he was launched into eternity.

19th. A very numerous and highly respectable meeting was held at the London Tavern, "to consider of the best means to be adopted for the extermination of the small pox."

The right hon. the lord mayor took the chair at about a quarter after one o'clock; and explained, in a short, but impressive speech, with what pleasure he saw around him a meeting of noblemen and gentlemen so eminently respectable; how great he conceived to be the utility of vaccination; and how sublime the beneficence that would labour to make it, as soon as possible, the means of exterminating the ills of one of the most terrible afflictions under which humanity had ever suffered.

Mr. Travers, whose zeal and indefatigable exertions in the cause of vaccination cannot be too much commended, took an extensive view of the importance of the subject; and, after a well-deserved eulogium on the character and services of Dr. Jenner,

Jenner, entered largely into calculations of the mortality occasioned by the small-pox, and the decrease of that mortality since the introduction of the Jennerian discovery—a discovery, to the honour of which Dr. Jenner is wholly entitled. 11,800 persons, he observed, had been inoculated, in the short space of two years, and of 2,500 who had gone through the cow-pock, and were afterwards inoculated for the small-pox, not one person took the latter. He stated, that, for 1000 years, the small-pox had thinned the population of Europe, had robbed the affections of fathers, the yearning hearts of mothers, of their dearest joys; that the cooling practice of Sydenham, invented about 150 years since, tended to lessen the devastation; that inoculation, commencing at a later period, had, in fact, increased the mischief which it seemed to diminish; that the present annual deaths, by the small-pox, were, for the metropolis 3000, for the whole empire 40,000; that Dr. Jenner's invention, affording an effectual preventive, not communicable otherwise than by inoculation, yielded a sure hope of the ultimate extirpation of this most terrible of plagues; that, for this reason, the design of the present meeting, expressed in an address to the public (which he moved), was one of the most beneficent to which human beings could, in this state of existence, give their aid. He appealed to the numerous assemblage of medical men, friends to the system, who were then present; whether his observations and assertions were not founded in fact.

The proposed address to the public was then read, by the chief magistrate, from the chair, in the following words:

“The dreadful havoc, occasioned by that horrid pestilence the small-pox, which, in the united kingdom alone, annually sweeps away more than 40,000 persons, has long been a subject of deep regret to every humane and reflecting mind.

“The inoculation of this disease has opposed an ineffectual resistance to its destructive career. Although confessedly a valuable improvement in rendering the disease more mild; yet, such has been the consequence of the partial adoption of the practice, that it appears, on a careful review of the history of the small-pox, that inoculation, by spreading the contagion, has considerably increased its mortality.

“A new species of inoculation has at length been providentially introduced, by our countryman, Dr. Jenner; which, without being contagious, without occasioning any material indisposition, or leaving any blemish, proves an effectual preservative against the future infection of the small-pox.

“The house of commons, having investigated this subject with the most scrupulous attention, and being perfectly convinced of the superior advantages resulting from this discovery, have given their sanction to the practice; the safety, mildness, and efficacy of which, more than half a million of instances have fully confirmed.

“The unspeakable benefits which may be expected to arise from an extensive diffusion of this salutary practice, will be much accelerated by the establishment of an institution in a central part of the metropolis, on a broad basis, supported with a spirit equal to the design, and worthy of the character of the British nation. And, when the magnitude of the object is considered,

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which is no less than to eradicate a disease acknowledged to be the greatest scourge that ever afflicted mankind, there can be but one sentiment on the subject.

“The enlightened, the benevolent, the opulent, will doubtless vie with each other, in the zealous support of an undertaking which will reflect the highest honour upon their country; and, by saving millions of victims from an untimely grave, prove an inestimable blessing to the whole human race.”

Dr. Lettsom expatiated on the advantages the community experienced from establishments formed for checking the ravages of the small-pox, by the introduction of inoculation. But it was to be lamented, that one unfortunate circumstance attended the practice by inoculation; while it insured safety to the individual, it afforded the means of spreading the variolous contagion. This he confirmed by the production of tables, drawn up with elaborate accuracy, shewing the comparative mortality occasioned by the small-pox, for 42 years before the introduction of inoculation, and 42 years after that practice became known. He shewed that the mortality was annually increasing since the introduction of inoculation. In the 42 years before inoculation, 1100 died annually in London, or about 72 in every 1000; but in the last 42 years, the calculation is on the average 2000 deaths in *London only*, until the last two years, in which, from the adoption of inoculation with *cow-pock*, the number has decreased to 1500. He also expatiated on the increase of christenings and decrease of deaths, from the very excellent regulations adopted in hospitals and the establishments of dispensaries;

by which more than 300,000 poor, who could not otherwise afford to have recourse to medical aid in their various diseases, were relieved; by which it was very evident, from calculations made from the bills of mortality, that, in the last 15 years, there were annually, on an average, 1300 more christened, and 1500 fewer deaths, than in the fifteen years preceding. That it was no unreasonable supposition to advance, that if Dr. Jenner's discovery had been known 15 years ago, 30,000 lives would have been saved to the community in that short space of time. He concluded by seconding the motion for the address.

Dr. Bradley, in a most energetic speech, took a comprehensive view of the advantages resulting from the very great blessing with which we had been favoured, and of the honour which this country should derive from having the vaccine inoculation first promulgated by our own countryman, Dr. Jenner. That so great was the exultation, and so high a sense was entertained on the continent of Europe, of the very great advantages of the *Jennerian discovery*, that it was celebrated by *fêtes* and anniversary demonstrations of exultation. His being concerned in a widely-extended literary work, (the *Medical Journal*) gave him opportunities of knowing, from correspondents in various parts of the world, the high opinion entertained throughout the whole continent of Europe, he might say the whole world, of the *Jennerian practice*; and observed that our neighbours on the continent appeared rather surprised, that we, with whom that practice originated, appeared slow in the propagation of so great a blessing, and less sanguine in promoting it



it than the inhabitants of other countries in Europe. He combated, in a masterly manner, the vulgar error that other diseases are inoculated with the common small-pox, proving that this supposition is totally unfounded; at the same time calculated that, with respect to the natural small-pox, as many persons die of diseases consequent thereon, as of the disease itself; consequently, if, in a given number of years, 40,000 die of small-pox, 40,000 more will die of diseases originally produced by that disease. He signified his regret that prejudices of the people, which he convincingly enumerated, gave to Britain the shame of being slower than some foreign countries in putting vaccination (which was followed neither by disease nor blemish) into universal use; and concluded a most learned and interesting speech, by observing, that, if we received inoculation from Turkey, we have amply repaid the boon, *by sending back Dr. Jenner's discovery.*

Dr. James Sims recommended that the plan now proposed should be extended to every part of the united kingdom.

Mr. Wilberforce added his hearty concurrence with the intentions of the gentlemen who had spoken; entered feelingly into the sufferings which humanity had borne for so long a time, and the benefits that would accrue from the introduction of the vaccine inoculation; and proposed, that, through the medium of a committee, the meeting should apply to parliament, to address his majesty, to command the whole influence of the executive government, by all its servants, and throughout every suitable department, to be put in act for the extension of vaccination.

Mr. Highmore, secretary to the small-pox and inoculation hospitals, attended with instructions to say, that any assistance within the power of the governors and officers, towards the completion of so laudable an undertaking, would be most cheerfully rendered. He presented also a report from the committee of those hospitals to a general court, Dec. 16, respecting the increased public benefit of that institution, since the introduction of the VACCINE INOCULATION has been added to the former branches of its practice. It began in this hospital, under the direction of Dr. Woodville, in January 1799; and, from that period to the 1st of December last, 11,800 patients and upwards have been vaccinated, of which number, about 2500 were afterwards proved to be secure from the *natural small-pox*, by receiving a further inoculation according to the former practice, which took no effect; a number amply sufficient to satisfy the public mind of the security and success of the new practice of vaccination. And the committee have not heard of any complaint from any one of those who were not inoculated a second time, of their having since taken the natural small-pox, although they were chiefly indigent persons, and the far greater number of them living in places where the air is very confined, and particularly where it has been since ascertained that the natural small-pox was prevalent among those with whom many of them necessarily had continual intercourse. The success of vaccination has very rapidly increased during the current year. From the 1st of January to the 1st of December, 1802, of 373 patients admitted into the inoculation hospital, only 49 were inoculated according

cording to the former practice; and of 4005 out-patients, only 39 were inoculated according to the former practice; whereby it appears, that the relief of the institution has been afforded to 4378 patients by inoculation, of whom 88 having been inoculated according to the former practice, the blessing of vaccination has been extended to 4290 persons in eleven months, by this hospital; 159 patients in the natural small-pox have been received into that department of this institution; and medicines and advice have been granted to 55 children also in that disease, who were brought to the hospital as out-patients. This very extensive practice, under the skilful management of Dr. Woodville, the physician, and of Mr. Wachsell, the resident surgeon, have enlarged the sphere of this institution, rendered it more beneficial to the poor, and increased its claim on public liberality.

Mr. Wilberforce observed on the popular prejudice, that, out of every 100 who had been vaccinated at the small-pox hospital, not five would have submitted, had they not supposed it to have been the old-fashioned mode of inoculation.

Counsellor Gurney informed the meeting, that a number of gentlemen, who had first conceived the design of this important institution, were of opinion, that, if those present felt no striking objection, the whole meeting should now resolve itself into a society for the extermination of the small-pox.

Dr. Clarke viewed the subject as of the utmost importance, and agreed, fully, as to the necessity of the benefit being widely extended; and it appeared to him, that nothing less, viewing the small-pox as a

contagious pest, than an act of parliament for the prohibition of inoculation for the small-pox, unless with the special licence of a magistrate, would be a sufficient protection from its ravages.

Mr. Rutt, however, objected to this measure, as trenching too much on the liberty of the subject.

The question for the address having been put, and unanimously carried, a motion was made by Mr. Gurney, "That this meeting do form itself into a society for the extermination of the small-pox."

Mr. Wilberforce wished, that, instead of the actual formation of any society at present, a committee should be chosen, to which should be referred such plans as might appear to gentlemen likely to contribute most effectually to the accomplishment of the proposed object, and which should report to a meeting, to be appointed at a short period; and he proposed that, in lieu of any society for this purpose, a general application should be made to parliament, to carry the whole into effect, in order that the benefits of this wonderful discovery, which contained so much for the essential good of mankind, might be made as extensive as possible, and reach throughout the state, and ramify into every corner of the empire.

Dr. Lettsom produced a letter from Dr. Jenner, expressing his entire approbation of the subject of the present meeting; and his wishes to co-operate with the plan in its fullest extent, both by a liberal subscription and by personal assistance.

After several explanatory speeches from Dr. Clarke, Dr. Bradley, Dr. Lettsom, Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. Rutt;



Rutt; Mr. Gurney's motion was put, and carried unanimously.

Admiral Berkeley expressed his high sense of the advantages the community, and the world at large, would receive from the labours of Dr. Jenner; and stated, that he came officially, having it in command from the duke of Clarence, to apologize for the absence of his royal highness, who was prevented from attending the meeting, having it in his intention to move thanks to Dr. Jenner, for his *invaluable discovery*.

The duke of Bedford said, that as his royal highness was prevented, by unavoidable absence, from moving thanks so justly due, he would take on himself to make a motion to the same effect; and moved, "That the thanks of this meeting be transmitted to Dr. Jenner, expressive of the high sense it entertains of his merit, and the great importance of his discovery; and particularly for the liberal offer of his assistance to accomplish the great object it has in view."

This motion was unanimously carried.

Admiral Berkeley then rose again; and, as he considered patronage of much importance on these occasions, wished that, on one of so great importance to the interests of mankind, the highest patronage should be obtained for it; and, therefore, moved, "That his majesty should be humbly petitioned to become the patron; and that the institution should be called THE ROYAL JENNERIAN INSTITUTION;" which was also unanimously carried, as were successively the following resolutions:

"That a subscription be now opened to prosecute the laudable intentions of this society.

"That the following three gentlemen be appointed trustees; the right hon. the lord mayor, John Julius Angerstein, esq. and Benjamin Travers, esq.

"That a committee, consisting of the under-mentioned gentlemen, be desired to prepare a plan, and lay it before another general meeting, to be called by them, for the purpose of carrying into effect the important object of this society; viz:

Right hon. the lord mayor.

His grace the duke of Bedford.

Right hon. the earl of Egremont.

Hon. admiral Berkeley.

Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, bart.

Wm. Wilberforce, esq. M. P.

Henry Thornton, esq. M. P.

John Fuller, esq. M. P.

Dr. Jenner.

Dr. Lettsom.

Henry Cline, esq.

Everard Home, esq.

Benjamin Travers, esq.

John Julius Angerstein, esq.

Thomson Bonar, esq.

William Vaughan, esq.

Doctor Bradley.

Sir Walter Farquhar.

Doctor Denman.

Doctor Croft.

Sir W. Leighton.

John Gurney, esq.

Astley Cooper, esq.

Doctor Clarke.

Felix Ladbroke, esq.

Richard Sharp, esq.

John Everett, esq.

John Ring, esq.

John Furnell Tuffin, esq.

Dr. Woodville.

Dr. Hawes.

Samuel Thorpe, esq.

John Nichols, esq.

John Addington, esq.

Robert Barclay, esq.



John Towell Rutt, esq.  
 Nathaniel Fenn, esq.  
 Doctor Dimsdale.  
 John Abernethy, esq.  
 Joseph Leaper, esq.  
 Thomas Bernard, esq.  
 Thomas Baring, esq.  
 Edward Fletcher, esq.  
 George Godwin, esq.  
 Doctor Pett.  
 Doctor Skey.  
 W. Stephen Poyntz, esq.  
 E. L. Mackmurdo, esq.  
 Rev. Rowland Hill.  
 W. Allen, esq.  
 John Christie, esq.  
 George Johnson, esq.  
 W. Chamberlaine, esq.  
 Joseph Fox, esq.

“That the thanks of this society be given to the governors and officers of the small-pox hospital, for their very liberal offer to co-operate in the purposes of this society.

“That the thanks of this society be given to the right hon. the lord mayor, for his respectful attention, cordial support, and able conduct in the chair.

“That the bankers of London and Westminster, and the members of the committee, be requested to receive subscriptions.”

A subscription was then opened, to effect the purposes of the institution; when upwards of 500*l.* was subscribed on the spot. The business of the meeting, which consisted of about 300 gentlemen, was carried forward with the most unanimous enthusiasm we have ever witnessed on any public occasion; highly honourable to the benevolence which characterizes the metropolis of the British empire; and worthy of the well-digested design of the first projectors of the institution, which promises to be of the

most extensive benefits to our countrymen and to the world.

20th. This evening a horrid murder was committed in Greenwich hospital, by J. Innis, a pensioner, upon J. Price, another pensioner.—The perpetrator had been guilty of a breach of duty in the college; for which, on the charge of a fellow-pensioner, he was deprived of two months' pocket-money, and reprimanded. Exasperated at this circumstance, he went into the apartment of the deceased, and with a poker beat out his brains at a single blow. The murderer then examined the next room, where an old pensioner lay, intending he should share a similar fate, if he appeared awake, lest he might have heard what had passed. The man had heard the blow, but pretending to be asleep, the murderer left him, and retired to his own cabin: the man got up, alarmed the guard, and secured him. The evidence on his trial was decisive; and on Saturday, March 26, he was executed on Pennenden heath. The prisoner was brutal in his manner, and but little affected by his sentence.

Advices from India, arrived this day, bring the following intelligence, dated Fort William, Aug. 11, 1802. On the 9th inst. his majesty's frigate *La Chiffonne*, Captain Stuart, arrived in the river from Bombay, with dispatches from that presidency, to his excellency the most noble the governor-general in council, containing the afflicting intelligence of the death of his excellency Haujée Khuleel Khaun, ambassador to the British government on the part of his majesty the king of Persia.

In the afternoon of the 20th ult. a dispute unfortunately arose between the Persian servants of the ambassador,

ambassador, and the sepoy's of the corps of Bengal volunteers, composing his excellency's honorary guard, at the house assigned for his residence, near Massagong. An affray ensued, and both parties resorted to arms.

At the commencement of the disturbance, his excellency the ambassador, with his nephew, Aga Hoosain, and his attendants, descended into the court, for the purpose of quelling the tumult; and while his excellency was exerting his endeavours with the utmost degree of humanity and firmness for that purpose, he received a wound from a musket, which instantly proved mortal. His excellency's nephew was severely wounded in several places. Four of the ambassador's servants were killed, and five more wounded.--- Tranquillity, however, was speedily restored, and medical assistance was immediately procured for the relief of the surviving sufferers.

The most active and judicious exertions were successfully employed by the acting president at Bombay, J. H. Cherry, Esq. and by the civil and military officers under his authority, for the purpose of restoring order, and of tranquillizing the minds of the attendants and followers of the deceased ambassador, as well as securing the means of bringing to justice the perpetrators of this atrocious act.

A court of enquiry has accordingly been instituted at Bombay, for the purpose of investigating the causes of this disastrous calamity; the result of which has been so far satisfactory, as clearly to prove its having resulted from accident. An embassy has been dispatched to the court of Per-

sia, with the condolence of the British government in India on the melancholy event. And the body of his excellency was interred with all the rites of his religion, and every mark of honour, both civil and military, which could be bestowed upon it.

The special commission for the trial of Col. Despard and his partizans was opened this day, before Lord Ellenborough, and Sirs A. Thompson, S. Le Blanc, A. Chambre, and J. W. Rose. The commission being read, the noblemen and gentlemen who composed the grand jury were called over and sworn.

Lord Ellenborough, as president of the commission, immediately addressed the jury, in a charge of the most eloquent composition, explaining the heads of the law of treason, and also the nature, frame, and circumstances of the indictment, and the proof requisite to support it.

When the jury retired, twenty-one witnesses were sworn, one of which, named "Connolly," was admitted king's evidence. In the evening the grand jury returned a true bill for high treason, against E. M. Despard, W. Lander, A. Graham, T. Broughton, T. Phillips, D. Tindall, J. Doyle, J. S. Wratten, J. Wood, J. Francis, T. Newman, S. Smith, and J. Macnamara.—No bill was found against Winterbottom; and C. Pendrill, being ill, was left in Newgate. At the request of Col. Despard, Serjeant Best and Mr. Gurney were appointed as his counsel\*.

25th. This morning an alarming fire broke out in a warehouse at Ashton junction wharf, near Birmingham, which in a short time consumed the building, together with a  
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\* For a minute account of this interesting trial, *vide* the appendix to this vol. where it is minutely set forth.



very large quantity of grain, to the amount of near 2000*l.* which unfortunately was not insured. This accident was occasioned by a fire in the cabin of a boat (which lay under the warehouse) communicating with the floor: a boy who slept in the boat was fortunately awakened by the smoke in time to escape; the boat, however, was burnt, and a horse suffocated in an adjoining stable.

**DIED.**—Jan. 2*d.* At his house at Twickenham, Middlesex, in his 81*st* year, sir Richard Perryn, knight, late one of the barons of the court of exchequer.

16*th.* Aged 77, C. J. De Boeck, a native of Brussels, in Germany.—He was naturally attached to the study of painting, and from his infancy displayed marks of great genius in that art. Being of a volatile disposition, he set out on his travels, and went into Italy, with no other prospect than what the efforts of his taste and genius promised him.—There he became acquainted with the works of the most celebrated masters, and soon acquired a perfect knowledge of that art in which he afterwards so eminently excelled.—He thence returned to his native city, where, having produced several capital pieces, and exercised his talents successfully, he resolved to fix his abode in England, and to this end left his whole collection to the care of a friend. When he had arrived here, and become a little settled, he thought of disposing of his paintings to advantage, and sent for them; but the person in whose charge he had left them was not to be found, nor was he ever afterwards heard of by the lamented subject of this article. By this abominable act he was reduced to great distress; and, but for the unceasing exertion of those talents

which he was so happily possessed of, his family must have perished through want. This misfortune, as well as many others which he met with in the course of his life, he bore with a truly christian patience, never repining at his losses, but always possessing an air of cheerfulness.—Having a perfect knowledge of the German, French, and Italian languages, and, besides these accomplishments, possessing a thorough knowledge of the science of music, he commenced schoolmaster, and kept a very respectable academy for some years at Bethnal Green, with great credit; where he first became acquainted with that family who have supported him in his latter days. By a sad reverse of fortune, he was obliged to quit this profession, when he found a friend in the late Mr. Fairbone, mathematical instrument maker, of New-street, Gough-square, who, upwards of 14 years, besides giving him a room in his own house, and supplying him daily from his own table, allowed him a weekly stipend. This allowance was kindly continued after Mr. F.'s death, Nov. 18, 1801, by his surviving family, who, it is but justice to say, have used their utmost endeavours to make his last days comfortable. About a fortnight since, he lost the use of his reason, and continued lingering in this lamentable state, a few lucid intervals excepted, till his death.

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## FEBRUARY.

1*st.* The French government has definitively organized the protestant church at Paris. There is a consistorial church there; and the national edifices of St. Louis du Louvre, of St.



St. Marie, and one other, are granted to that communion, for the celebration of their religious ceremonies: the twelve members of the consistory have been already appointed.

An atrocious murder was lately committed in the department of the Sarre, in France. A Jew of Muscuheim having brought a quantity of merchandize to Neukirch, a peasant agreed to purchase part of it; but, not having money sufficient to pay for what he had agreed for, the Jew did not object to give him credit.—The peasant, to convince the Jew that he was able to pay, requested him to look at his stock of wine. When in the cellar, the unfortunate Jew received some blows with a hatchet, which instantly killed him. His long absence, and other circumstances, excited suspicion; in consequence of which, the house of the peasant was searched, where the goods were found, and the dead body discovered buried in the garden.—The peasant was immediately arrested, together with his wife, whom he accuses of having struck the first blow.

The Swiss are abandoning their country in great numbers. It appears that the pecuniary damage which that unfortunate country has received by the revolution with which the French have overwhelmed them, is immense, and that it is impossible to levy it on the remaining sufferers.—The emigrations are represented to be so numerous and general, as to call to mind the revocation of the edict of Nantes. The Swiss are one of the most industrious, virtuous, and ingenious people of Europe; and they will, in every respect, be a great acquisition to the countries in which they shall seek an asylum.

A letter from Berne, of the 1st

February, states, that, according to an official report laid before government, the loss sustained by the Swiss cantons, since the commencement of the revolution, amounted in May, 1801, to the sum of 14,257,590 livres; and that the assessment ordered for the purpose of repairing these losses, only produced 20,883 livres. The executive council has, therefore, sent a message to the senate, in which it states as follows.—“The insignificant produce of the assessment is an unequivocal proof of the wretchedness that prevails in the republic, as the generosity of its inhabitants cannot be doubted.”

By letters from Gothenburg, we learn that the number of houses burnt in a late fire there is 179, and the persons who have lost their homes 2761. The damage is estimated, at least, at 1,000,000 rix dollars.

3d. A singular phenomenon was lately observed in the parish of Noa Kopparbarger, in the province of Delecarlia, in Sweden. At two in the morning, the moon, at its full, was seen surrounded by a black circle, inclosed in a circle of blood red. From the east and west sides of the moon several rays escaped, which were prolonged to the circles, where two suns appeared distinctly, the one in the east, and the other in the west, having the colours of the rainbow, and emitting perpendicularly towards the horizon rays of light. In the heavens were seen a rainbow, which touched the circle round the moon, and on the sides of which were also two suns of the same form as the other, but of a paler colour. This phenomenon embraced nearly the whole horizon, and continued some time.

Early in the morning an alarming fire

fire broke out at the printing-office of Mr. Samuel Hamilton, Falcon-court, Fleet-street, which, in the short space of two hours, entirely consumed the whole of his valuable and extensive premises. The principal booksellers of London, together with several private gentlemen, are more or less sufferers by this dreadful conflagration. The property consumed is estimated at 11,000*l.* and an insurance was effected to the amount of 3,000*l.* only. One circumstance deserves to be recorded. Part of the works of the late Rev. Gilbert Wakefield remained in Mr. H.'s warehouses, and had been insured at the Sun fire-office for 1,000*l.* but which insurance had lately expired. With a liberality for which our country is so distinguished, the directors have, upon a statement being laid before them by a very active friend of his widow, presented her with 750*l.* a circumstance so much to the honour of the company, that it will doubtless be amply re-paid by the continued patronage of the public.—The fire burst forth again in the morning of the 18th, but, in the course of an hour, was happily extinguished.

5th. A person of the name of Warner lately lost himself in the woods on the banks of the Ohio, and continued in that state for 22 days, when he was found by some hunters. During that period he lived on the buds of the sassafras tree, a pole-cat, and a wild pigeon, which he eat raw: having lost one of his shoes, he was bitten in the foot by a snake, and was obliged for several days to go on his hands and knees.

Letters from America, of this date, give the following well authenticated details of the mutual barbarities exercised by the French and blacks on

each other, in their warfare of extermination, now carried on between them, in the once flourishing settlement of St. Domingo; and which deserve to be recorded, as specimens of the bitter fruit borne by the tree of liberty.

“A dreadful massacre of the black prisoners, on board the French ships at Cape François, took place about the middle of last November. It was computed that, in the course of one day, not less than 6,000 of these miserable wretches, after being bayoneted, were thrown overboard. A person who was on board a ship in the harbour counted 240 floating by the side of his vessel. About 900 blacks, who held a garrison in the island, were poisoned by a stratagem of the French. At Port Republicain the whites erected a gallows in the market-place; and the blacks another upon the hill, where executions on both sides were hourly taking place in sight of each other.

“The French have invented a new way of getting rid of the blacks:—they get a ship, called a stiller, on board of which they shut down a hold full of blacks, and stifle them to death, by burning brimstone. The morning after, they discharge the bodies into boats and launches, carry them off the harbour, and throw them overboard.

“The French have driven back the brigands from the cape; but, weary of shooting and putting them to the bayonet, and alarmed by the stench which issued from the numerous carcasses, they have adopted a new mode of extermination. They now drown the negroes; they send them out in boats, tie their hands behind them, and throw them overboard. Thousands have perished in this way!”

On the other hand, letters from Philadelphia mention the perpetration



tion of atrocities, by the blacks, that are of the most horrid kind. Some unarmed vessels, passing near the coast of Port Leogane, were boarded by several boats, from the shore, filled with negroes, who plundered the vessels, and butchered the greatest part of the crews. The passengers on board a packet bound to St. Marc were seized by the brigands, who, among the means of torture they employed, had recourse to corkscrews, for the purpose of depriving them of their eyes.

One of these boats, it is said, has been taken by a French frigate.—She was manned by twenty negroes, seventeen of whom were landed, and exposed to the rage of the populace, who kicked, stoned, and trampled them to death. Even women, to satisfy their revenge for the murder of their sex, stamped on their heads till they expired. It is certain that the most savage warfare is carried on between the French and the blacks, no quarter being given on either side.

7th. By a letter officially received this day from Bombay, it appears, that, on the 29th of July last, Captain Hayes, of the company's ship of war the *Swift*, received a requisition from the resident at Amboyna, to proceed to the relief of an outpost, named Amoorang, then closely infested by the Magindanao pirates; their fleet consisted of forty large proas, from which 1,200 men had been landed, with twelve pieces of brass ordnance, of eight and six-pounders. On the first of August, at half past five P. M. the *Swift* came up with the piratical fleet, and instantly opened a cannonade upon them, which continued till half past nine. Besides the annoyance of the enemy, Captain Hayes's attention was imperiously called to the critical

situation of his own vessel, which was surrounded by islands, and upon a dangerous reef: to this circumstance were the vessels which escaped destruction indebted for their safety. The *Swift*, however, captured two: one she passed over, and cut in two; seventeen others were run ashore, and about 600 of the enemy are supposed to have perished during the conflict. The company's settlements upon the Celebes, as well as granaries completely stored, have thus been protected from the most serious depredations, by the dispersion of these daring pirates, who had overrun the whole of the Sangir islands, reduced the capital Tairoon to ashes, and carried thence two hundred females captives, besides males, many of whom perished on the occasion of this attack; one only of the former was saved by the *Swift*, and one of the pirates from the wreck of the proa which had been run down.—Each of the enemy's vessels carried from sixty to eighty men, one six or eight-pounder brass gun forward, besides many smaller ones, with muskets, lances, &c.

Doctor Aldini, a native of Italy, exhibited, at the house of Mr. Hunter, some curious experiments on the body of a dog newly killed. The head of the animal was cut off; the head and body were put beside each other, on a table rubbed with a solution of ammonia; two wires communicating with the galvanic trough were then applied, the one in the ear, and the other at the anus of the dead animal, when both head and body were animated by the strongest muscular motion. The body started up with a movement by which it passed over the side of the table, and the head moved; its lips and teeth grinned violently.

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The body of Foster, who was executed for the murder of his wife, was likewise lately subjected to the galvanic process, by Mr. Aldini, in presence of Mr. Keate, Mr. Carpué, and several other professional gentlemen. On the first application of the process to the face, the jaw of the deceased criminal began to quiver, and the adjoining muscles were horribly contorted, and one eye actually opened. In the subsequent course of the experiment, the right hand was raised and clenched, and the legs and thighs were set in motion, and it appeared to all the bye-standers that the wretched man was on the point of being restored to life! The object of these experiments was to shew the excitability of the human frame, when animal electricity is duly applied; and the possibility of its being efficaciously applied, in cases of drowning, suffocation, or apoplexy, by reviving the action of the lungs, and thereby rekindling the expiring spark of vitality.

12th. The mortality by which Paris is desolated, in consequence of a catarrhal fever, which now rages there, may be said to exceed all bounds of credibility. Within the last ten days, the number of interments were officially reported to amount to 400 a day on the average, or 4000 in the whole of that term. The determining causes of the complaint are, as stated by a committee of the medical body of Paris, “the singular variation in the temperature of the atmosphere during the last two months; the blowing of the north and east winds during the night, and of the south and east winds during the day, and the rapid transition in the course of a few hours, from between four and five degrees below the freezing point, to five or six degrees above it.

14th. Guildhall sessions opened before the lord mayor, recorder, and aldermen; when Ann Brown was indicted for 23 assaults on Ann Harris, a child of 11 years old, her apprentice to pin-head making. The prosecution was brought on by the overseers of Bishopsgate parish; but, in consequence of the coroner’s verdict, the prisoner had been acquitted of the capital part of the offence. It appeared that the prisoner had, repeatedly, given the deceased child fourteen strokes at a time with a cane; that she used to knock her head against a leaden weight; and that, though her health was impaired, an hour-glass continually stood by her, and her mistress expected her to produce six ounces of manufactured pins in an hour; in default of which, pins were run into her arms and body till the blood flowed from the wounds. At one time two steel files were broken by beating her over the head; and, at another, the prisoner placed her on the hob of the grate, with a log of wood suspended from her feet, and her arm extended up the chimney, holding a brick-bat for two hours. The prisoner was sentenced to three years imprisonment in Newgate. Her husband, who had been indicted with her, lately died in prison.

15th. A lad, of Castor, in Lincolnshire, who had been witness to the execution of Pidgeon, at Peterborough, was explaining to his younger brother the manner in which the culprit made his exit; and, to make his representation the more striking, he fastened a rope over a beam in the barn, got a ladder, and placed a noose round his neck; when his foot slipped, and before the family could be alarmed, he was dead!

21st. This

21st. This night the Newhaven riding officers, and the crew of the Sea-ford boat, fell in with a gang of smugglers, about 150 in number, near the barracks at Bletchington, from whom, after a sharp conflict with bludgeons, cutlasses, and pistols, they seized 88 casks of contraband spirits and two horses, with which they were retreating; but, being pursued by the smugglers, the conflict was renewed, and obstinately maintained for about a quarter of an hour, during which time the officers kept firing their pistols at the smugglers, several of whom were wounded; as were many of their horses, in a shocking manner; some having their eyes cut out, others their ears cut off, and shot in different parts of the body. The smugglers at length gave way, and left the officers in possession of 39 casks more of spirits: and four small parcels of tea, which were lodged in the custom-house. None of the smugglers were killed.

At six o'clock on Saturday evening, the 19th, his majesty's warrant for the execution of col. Despard, and six of his associates, and also an order from lord Pelham, for the respite of the three others, under sentence of death, reached the New Gaol in the Borough; and at eight o'clock, on Sunday morning, col. Despard and his fellow-prisoners were sent for, by Mr. Ives, to attend the chapel. They all cheerfully obeyed the summons, except col. Despard and Macnamara; the former assigned no reason for his refusal; but the latter said he was a roman catholic, and it would not be consistent with his faith.

This morning, as soon as daylight appeared, the military took their different stations. Two troops

of horse were stationed at the Obelisk. Others patrolled the roads from the Obelisk to the Elephant and Castle, and down the Borough road. All parts that had a view of the scaffold were completely crammed. It is supposed that 20,000 persons might be assembled. — At seven o'clock, five of the prisoners, Broughton, Francis, Graham, Wood, and Wratten, went into the chapel; col. Despard refused to attend, remaining in his cell; and Macnamara, being a roman catholic, prayed in his cell with a priest. The five former conducted themselves with much decorum in the chapel. The sacrament was then administered to them. Before it was over, col. Despard and Macnamara were brought down from their cells. Their irons were knocked off, and their arms and hands bound with ropes. Notice was then given to the sheriff that they were ready. The hurdle had been previously prepared in the outer court-yard. It was the body of a small cart, on which two trusses of clean straw were laid, and was drawn by two horses. Macnamara and Graham were first put into the hurdle, and drawn to the Lodge, where the inner gates were opened, and they were conveyed to the staircase that leads up to the scaffold. The hurdle then returned, and brought Broughton and Wratten, then Wood and Francis; last of all col. Despard was put into it alone. Macnamara seemed intent upon the book in his hand. Graham remained silent. Broughton jumped into the hurdle, smiled, and looked up to the scaffold. Wood and Francis both smiled; and all of them surveyed the awful scene with much composure. Despard shook hands with a gentleman as he got into the

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hurdle,



hurdle, and looked up to the scaffold with a smile.

Macnamara was the first brought up: he held a book in his hand; and, when the cord was placed round his neck, he exclaimed, with the greatest devotion, "Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me! O Lord, look down with pity upon me!" Graham came second. He looked pale and ghastly, but spoke not. Wratten was the third: he ascended the scaffold with much firmness. Broughton, the fourth, smiled as he ran up the scaffold stairs; but, as soon as the rope was fastened round his neck, he turned pale, and smiled no more. He exhorted the crowd in these words: "I hope that every young man who witnesses my fate will avoid public-houses, and take a warning. Should they mix with certain companies, they will, perhaps, see more executions of a similar nature." He joined in prayer with great earnestness. Wood was the fifth, Francis the sixth. Francis ascended the scaffold with a composure which he preserved to the last. Wood and Broughton were equally composed. Of all of them Francis was the best looking; tall, handsome, and well made. He and Wood were dressed in the uniform of the foot-guards; and Francis, when he came on the scaffold, had on his full regimental cap. The rest were in coloured clothes. Col. Despard ascended the scaffold with great firmness. His countenance underwent not the slightest change. He looked at the multitude assembled with perfect calmness, and thus addressed them:

"Fellow citizens, I am come here, as you see, after having served my country faithfully, honourably, and, I trust, usefully, for 30 years

and upwards, to suffer death upon a scaffold, for a crime which I am no more guilty of than any man who is now looking at me. I do solemnly declare, I am no more guilty of it than any of you, who are now listening to me. But though his majesty's ministers know I am not guilty, they will avail themselves of the legal pretext which they have of destroying a man, because they think he is a friend to truth, to liberty, and to justice, and because he has been a friend to the poor and to the oppressed. But, fellow citizens, I trust and hope, notwithstanding my fate, and, perhaps, the fate of many others who may follow me, that still the principles of liberty, justice, and humanity will triumph over falsehood, despotism, and delusion, and every thing else hostile to the interests of the human race. And now, having said this, I have nothing more to add, but to wish you all that health, that happiness, and that freedom, which I have ever made it my endeavour, as far as lay in my power, to procure for every one of you, and for mankind in general." Immediately after this speech, the crowd cheered; but the impulse as immediately subsided. The clergyman now shook hands with each of them. The executioners pulled the caps over the faces of the unfortunate persons, and descended the scaffold. Most of them exclaimed, "Lord Jesus, receive our souls!" At 7 minutes before nine, the signal was given, the platform dropped, and they were launched into eternity. After hanging about half an hour, they were cut down; col. Despard first. His head was then severed from his body; and the executioner held it up to the view of the populace, exclaiming, "This is the head of



of a traitor, Edward Marcus Despard." The same ceremony was performed at the parapet on the left hand. There was some hooting and hissing when the colonel's head was exhibited. His body was now put into the shell that had been made for it. The other prisoners were then cut down, their heads severed from their bodies, and exhibited to the populace. The bodies were then put into their different shells. The execution was over shortly after ten, and the populace soon after dispersed.

Macnamara, was 50 years of age, he was born in Ireland; by trade a carpenter.

Wood, 26 years of age, born in Derbyshire; a soldier.

Francis, 23 years of age, born in Shropshire; a soldier and shoemaker.

Broughton, 26 years of age, born in London; a carpenter.

Graham, 53 years of age, born in London; a slater.

Wratten, 35 years of age, place of birth not known.

At the sittings before lord Ellenborough, and a special jury, at Westminster Hall, Jean Peltier, the celebrated journalist, and zealous advocate of the Bourbons, was found guilty of a libel, at the suit of the king, upon the prosecution of Napoleon Bonaparte, first consul of France.\*

27th. The remains of Graham, Francis, Wood, Wratten, Macnamara, and Broughton, were interred in one grave, in the vault under the rev. Mr. Harper's chapel, in the London Road, St. George's Fields; and on Tuesday, the 1st of March, the body of col. Despard was moved from Mount-street, Lam-

beth, in a hearse drawn by four horses, followed by three mourning coaches, with four gentlemen in each; and interred in the cemetery belonging to the parish of St. Faith, on the south side of St. Paul's Cathedral. A great crowd collected, but their demeanour was remarkably peaceable.

28th. Accounts received at Calcutta, from Assam, report extensive injury to have been sustained at Ghuyon, the capital of the country, in consequence of an earthquake, which had demolished a considerable part of the city. In the confusion incident to this awful visitation, a fire obtained such irresistible violence as nearly to complete the destruction of the place. It extended, likewise, to some extensive powder-works, which exploding, have done incredible damage. Several thousand persons are stated to have perished on this occasion.

A letter from Lisbon has the following singular article:

"General Lasnes is arrived. Scarcely had he entered his former hotel, when he wrote to his royal highness the prince regent, that he came to resume his diplomatic functions; but that he could not appear at any levee, before all the ministers who were in power when he left Portugal were dismissed."

The state of North Carolina has passed an act, by which all persons, who shall fight duels after its date, are, by that very fact, to become incapable of any public office, civil or military, within the said state; and all persons, by whose hand another shall fall in a duel, are made liable to conviction for felony, without benefit of clergy.

Dr. Bairi, a physician of Fojano,  
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\* For the particulars of this interesting and extraordinary trial, vide appendix.

in Tuscany, has discovered, that, by the addition of three ounces of pulverized quick-lime to one pound of gunpowder, its force is augmented one third. No farther preparation is required but to boil the whole together, till the surface appears no longer white.

A letter from Copenhagen, dated the 28th of February, mentions that there was then a woman in the hospital of that city, who had slept 11 weeks without interruption. Some attempts have been made to awaken her from this trance, by violently shaking her. While the motion lasts, it seems to revive her; but as soon as it is discontinued, she immediately relapses into a profound and death-like sleep. During this period she has not received any food, notwithstanding which, there is not the least alteration in her appearance. She is only 23 years of age, but remarkably corpulent.

A thief and murderer, who has confessed perpetrating 32 murders, among which were two of his own wives, and 180 burglaries, committed in conjunction with accomplices, was lately guillotined at Cologne.

DIED.—At Vienna, aged 82, the poet Casti, a Florentine by birth, and successor of Metastasio in the place and title of poet laureat of the court of Vienna.

14th. Mr. Thomas Trotter, engraver, son of the Rev. Dr. T. of Swallow-street. He served an apprenticeship to a calico-printer, which requires a talent for drawing, and when he was out of his time he took to engraving, and soon produced many excellent portraits in various works; also a very excellent head of the rev. Stephen Wilson, and another of lord Morpeth: his last principal performance was the por-

trait of Shakespeare, patronized by the late Mr. G. Steevens. A few years since he received a hurt in his eyes from the fall of a flower-pot from a chamber window, which prevented his following a profession he loved, and had adopted from choice; and he had, lately, been principally employed in making drawings of churches and monuments, in various parts of the country, for Sir Richard Hoare and other gentlemen.

16th. At Cambsbarren, near Stirling, in Scotland, James Hosier. He was born in 1699, while his father, who belonged to the parish of Gar-gunnoch, was butler in the house of Blair Drummond. He was about 45 years old when he first married; after which he served two years as a common soldier. During his life he had two wives, by whom he had 15 children; his second marriage was in 1772. He was 83 years old when he had his last child; and, though repeatedly exposed to the infection of small-pox, in his own family and otherwise, yet he was not affected till the age of 95, when he suffered under an uncommon load of small-pox: having recovered, he enjoyed a better state of health than he had done for some time before. He was naturally short-sighted; but, in the 80th year of his age, his sight was so much renewed, that, though reading small print, he never had occasion to use glasses. At this period of his life, he, all at once, gave up drinking spirituous liquors, to which, for a long time, he had been so much addicted as to produce frequent intoxication. His body was well made and stout; he was 5 feet 5 inches high; and walked remarkably upright; his chest was prominent, his neck thick and short, and his head of the ordinary size. He lived



lived chiefly on coarse country food, except that, during the last ten years of his life, he became particularly fond of tea. He wrought mostly in the fields at laborious work, which he continued till within a month of his death. In September, 1802, he walked for half a mile with a load upon his back, which, with difficulty, any ordinary man could have raised from the ground. Several years ago it was advertised in the public papers, that an admiral Hosier had died, and left a sum of money, which his relations might have upon application; and though, as he had an uncle of the name of Hosier, who went into the navy as a boy, there was little doubt of his being the same person, yet, considering that, at such an advanced period of life, ease of mind was preferable to the expectation of riches, he could not be prevailed on to make any application.

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### MARCH.

1st. His royal highness the Prince of Wales notified, in the most gracious and condescending manner, to the committee of the Royal Jennerian Institution, his permission "to make use of his name in any way that they might consider it as best calculated to forward their laudable purpose."

Doctor Jenner has received from the empress dowager of Russia, by the hands of lord St. Helens, a present of a most brilliant diamond ring, accompanied with a letter from her imperial majesty, announcing her successful introduction of the vaccine inoculation in the charitable establishments under her majesty's care in Russia; and acknowledging the signal benefit

rendered to mankind by the important discovery.

Government have purchased a tract of land adjoining Bagshot-heath, and intend enlarging it by an enclosure from the heath, and thereon to erect the necessary buildings and premises for the lately established military college. A superb design for which purpose has been prepared by Mr. Wyatt. This institution has two objects in view; one is to give a course of instruction to a certain number of military officers who have *seen service*, but who have risen by extraordinary merit, or been promoted through patronage, or by purchase, without all the previous and necessary acquirements. This department is now fixed at High Wycomb, where professors of superior abilities are engaged in the mathematics, drawing, fortification, the French and German languages, &c. and the course is calculated for furnishing every necessary information as well as accomplishment in the military profession. The other object of this institution is to educate a large number of boys for the military service, and professors of the first abilities in every branch of science connected therewith, are, or shortly will be, appointed. A considerable number of pupils are already admitted.

2d. The lord mayor, attended by the sheriff's, the recorder, and chamberlain of London, eleven aldermen, and about one hundred common-councilmen, went to the levee, and presented the following address to the king.

"We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common-council assembled, approach the



throne with the most lively and heart-felt congratulations on the timely discovery and defeat of the late traitorous designs against your majesty's person.

"Sensible as we are of the happiness we enjoy under your majesty's mild and paternal government, ruling, as we are persuaded your majesty does, not more over the persons, than in the hearts of a free and grateful people; allied as your august person is to the safety of our glorious constitution in church and state, and essential as your majesty's invaluable life is to the vital interests of the empire at large, and of every individual living under its wise, wholesome, and equal laws; we are unable in terms adequate to our feelings, to express our abhorrence at the nefarious and diabolical machinations, which were deliberately planned to overwhelm them all, by one fatal blow, in horror and destruction.

"Such sentiments of indignation must glow in the hearts of your majesty's faithful subjects throughout the united kingdom; and we entreat your majesty to believe, that your loyal citizens of London are sensibly alive to the mighty mischief which threatened them; and that their affectionate attachment and ardent zeal, will ever, if possible, strengthen in proportion to any danger to which your royal person may be exposed.

"We trust, however, that the firm and decided execution of the laws, upon the unnatural projectors of so foul a deed, will, while it warns the traitor of his punishment, convince the loyal of the protection our revered constitution affords, and effectually secure your majesty and the united kingdom, over which the

goodness and mercy of providence have placed and preserved you, from any such guilty attempts in future, to disturb the general tranquillity.

"Long may the Almighty guard the throne of this realm from the assaults of violence, and the insidious attacks of domestic treason; and long may your majesty, in your person and family, enjoy that quiet and happiness in governing, which are so intimately interwoven with the dearest possessions of the free and happy people who obey."

To which his majesty was pleased to make the following most gracious reply:

"I thank you for this dutiful and loyal address; and I accept, with particular satisfaction, the affectionate congratulations of my faithful city of London, on the signal protection of divine providence vouchsafed to me, and upon our common deliverance from a desperate and wicked attempt to destroy our invaluable constitution, and therewith the laws, liberties, and happiness of my people."

After which his majesty conferred the honour of knighthood on Richard Welch, and James Alexander, esqrs. the two sheriffs of the city of London.

3d. A superb sword, and the freedom of the city of London, were presented to Sir James Saumarez, by the chamberlain, for the victories obtained by the squadron under his command, over the Spanish and French fleets, off Algeiras and Cape Trafalgar.

Napper Tandy has inserted, in the continental papers, a challenge addressed to Mr. Elliot, the member of parliament, in consequence of his late public strictures on Napper's conduct. He offers to meet him in any

any city of the continent that he may name, to avenge the insult offered to him as a French officer. Mr. Elliot has, of course, treated this notice with the silent contempt it merited.

The following lamentable mortality lately occurred in the family of Mr. Williamson, of Gungley, near Gainsborough. On Monday sen- night, one of his children died; on the succeeding Wednesday, another; and the following day his wife, from grief, who was in a state of pregnancy. They were all buried in one coffin.

This afternoon, about 3 o'clock, part of the bank of the Paddington canal gave way, a little on this side the first bridge; the water rushed through the tunnel close to the spot, and the meadows on the other side were immediately inundated; the lock at the bridge prevented the water flowing from the upper part of the canal. The gap is about eight feet wide; a log of timber is placed across, and planks driven to secure the lower part of the bank. The water in the bason, and to the first bridge, sunk between two and three feet.

A court of common-council was this day held; when, upon an investigation of the expences incurred during sir J. Eamer's mayoralty, it appeared to the court, that out of 5315l. 7s. 6d. no less than 2893l. 6s. were expended for the state bed at the mansion-house, and the furniture of the room wherein it is placed.

Sir John Eamer explained what he had ordered, which amounted to about 760l. He said, that if he had ordered a bed amounting to the sum charged, it would have been a blot upon his character:—that he had represented to the court that a

state bed was necessary, and estimated the expence of it at 400l. curtains 200l. and other articles, in the whole not exceeding 760l. A spirited debate arose on the occasion; Mr. Phillips, the upholsterer, insisted that his charges were reasonable, and agreeably to the lord mayor's orders, and that the silk alone cost upwards of 1000l. It was at last agreed, that it should be referred to a committee to examine, and again report.

10th. A terrible fire broke out in the night at a cooperage, in Rosemary-branch-alley, Rosemary-lane, which consumed the whole of the premises, and also Branch's cloaths exchange, consisting of about 12 houses, chiefly built of wood, and inhabited by piece-brokers. The fire raged with great fury for more than one hour, through the want of water. Happily no lives were lost.

11th. This morning a most extraordinary duel took place in Hyde Park, between Lieut. W. of the navy, and Capt. J. of the army. The antagonists arrived at the appointed place within a few minutes of each other. Some dispute arose respecting the distance, which the friends of Lieut. W. insisted should not exceed six paces, while the seconds of Capt. J. urged strongly the rashness of so decisive a distance, and insisted on its being extended. At length the proposal of Lieut. W.'s friends was agreed to, and the parties fired *per signal*, when Lieut. W. received the shot of his adversary on the guard of his pistol, which tore away the third and fourth fingers of his right hand. The seconds then interfered to no purpose; the son of Neptune, apparently callous to pain, wrapped his handkerchief round his hand, and swore he had

another which never failed him. Capt. J. called his friend aside, and told him it was in vain to urge a reconciliation. They again took their ground. On Lieut. W. receiving the pistol in his left hand, he looked stedfastly at Capt. J. for some time, then cast his eyes to heaven, and said, in a low voice, "forgive me." The parties fired as before, and both fell. Capt. J. received the shot through his head, and instantly expired; Lieut. W. received the ball in his left breast, and immediately enquired of his friend if Capt. J.'s wound was mortal? Being answered in the affirmative, he thanked heaven he had lived thus long; requested a mourning ring on his finger might be given to his sister, and that she might be assured it was the happiest moment he ever knew. He had scarcely finished the words, when a quantity of blood burst from his wound, and he expired almost without a struggle. The unfortunate young man was on the eve of being married to a lady in Hampshire, to whom, for some time, he had paid his addresses.

13th. The following statement of a conversation which is said to have taken place between the first consul of France, and Lord Whitworth, the English ambassador at that court, on Sunday March the 13th, appeared in all the public papers of Europe; as such, and, without vouching for its *exact* authenticity, we give it a place in our CHRONICLE.

On the above evening, there was a grand circle at the Thuilleries. The ambassadors of the different powers were in the saloon, with a numerous assemblage of strangers and ladies of distinction, generals, senators, tribunes, legislators, &c. &c.

Bonaparte entered, with an unusual alertness of manner, and, after saluting the company, addressed himself to lord Whitworth, in a tone sufficiently loud to be heard by all who were present.—"You know, my lord, that a terrible storm has arisen between England and France."

Lord Whitworth. "Yes, general consul; but it is to be hoped that this storm will be dissipated without any serious consequences."

Bonaparte. "It will be dissipated when England shall have evacuated Malta. If not, the cloud will burst, and the bolt must fall. The king of England has promised by treaty to evacuate that place; and who shall violate the faith of treaties?"

Lord Whitworth. (surprised on finding himself questioned in this manner, and before so many persons) "But you know, general consul, the circumstances which have hitherto delayed the evacuation of Malta. The intention of my sovereign is to fulfil the treaty of Amiens; and you also know——"

Bonaparte. "You know (with impetuosity) that the French have carried on the war for ten years, and you cannot doubt but that they are in a condition to wage it again. Inform your court, that if, on the receipt of your dispatches, orders are not issued for the immediate surrender of Malta, then *war is declared*. I declare my firm resolution is to see the treaty carried into effect; and I leave it to the ambassadors of the several powers that are present, to say who is in the wrong. You flattered yourselves that France would not dare to shew her resentment whilst her squadrons were at St. Domingo. I am happy  
thus



thus publicly to undeceive you on that head."

Lord Whitworth. "But, general, the negotiation is not yet broken; and there is even reason to believe——"

Bonaparte. "Of what negotiation does your lordship speak? Is it necessary to negotiate what is conceded by treaty—to negotiate the fulfilment of engagements, and the duties of good faith?—(lord W. was about to reply; Bonaparte made a sign with his hand, and continued in a less elevated tone.) My lord, your lady is indisposed. She may probably breathe her native air rather sooner than you or I expected. I wish most ardently for peace; but if my just demand be not instantly complied with, then war must follow, and God will decide. If treaties are not sufficient to bind to peace, then the vanquished must not be left in a condition to offer injury."

Here this unexpected *conversation* terminated; if that term can be allowed, where the discourse was almost wholly on one side.

The following instance of remorse of conscience occurred a few days since at Croscomb, near Wells: A young man in the service of a farmer, had been prevailed on, by his father, to rob his master of hay, and was detected by his mistress in the act of putting it on his father's shoulders. He received some reproaches from the matron, but was promised forgiveness on the hay being returned. The unhappy youth, however, in a state of despondency, hung himself the same evening in an out-house. The coroner's jury returned a verdict of *felo de se*; but that part of the sentence which directs the body to be buried in the highway was dispensed with.

At a court of common-council, held this day, Mr. Nichols, in an animated and impressive speech, illustrated the benefits which have already been obtained from the introduction of the Jennerian method of inoculation from the vaccine pock. He felt a peculiar satisfaction in the question having been adjourned from a preceding court, as it had given the members a fortnight's more time for investigating a subject of the utmost moment to themselves, to their children, and to their children's children yet unborn. Investigation was universally the friend of truth; and the mists of prejudice, he was happy to observe, were hourly dispersing, as shadows before the mid-day sun. Throughout the continent of Europe, in the remotest corners of Asia and America, in the parching climes of Africa, the vaccine inoculation was established on the firmest basis. A report of the central committee at Paris had given it the completest sanction. At Geneva, one of the most virtuous and enlightened cities in the world, by the united exertions of the clergy and medical practitioners, the small-pox was already nearly exterminated. It was there enjoined, as a religious as well as moral duty, to sponsors at the font, to see that the infant should be protected, by vaccination, from the hazard of a dangerous infection by the small-pox; and the laudable example was now followed in some of the great manufacturing towns of the British empire, particularly at Dudley. After adverting to the unparalleled patronage the Royal Jennerian Society had experienced from the highest characters in the kingdom; he briefly stated the outline of the intended plan; the establishing a house in a central part of the metropolis,

metropolis, where an inoculator of the first rate abilities should at all seasonable times be in readiness to perform the operation gratuitously ; and it was proposed, he said, to establish twelve other public situations, in different suitable districts, where similar establishments should be formed ; that every inhabitant of the metropolis, in which 20,000 children were annually brought into existence, might have the opportunity of applying for inoculation with confidence and security. He then moved, " That this court, fully sensible of the benefits which have resulted to the community at large, and to the metropolis in particular, from the introduction of the Jennerian mode of inoculation, and desirous that the practice may be universally diffused, do subscribe the sum of 500*l.* towards the carrying more fully into effect the laudable purposes of the Royal Jennerian Society, for the extermination of the small-pox ; and that the said sum be paid by the chamberlain of this city, to the right honourable the lord mayor, one of the three trustees of the society.

Mr. Alderman Hibbert seconded the motion, and most energetically enlarged on the value of the discovery which had so providentially been brought forward into general practice.—The question was also ably supported by Mr. Vandercom, Mr. Thorpe, and Mr. James Dixon ; and, after an unexampled discussion (all the speakers being on the same side), the question was unanimously carried, in one of the fullest courts that has of late years assembled.

21st. This day being the anniversary of the memorable battle of Alexandria, the Turkish piece of ordnance, taken in that battle, was placed in St. James's park, amidst

a great concourse of people. It is 16 feet in length, but was originally 20 feet. The carriage for this cannon, on each side, in different compartments, was inlaid with copper ; the centre one representing Britannia seated on a rock, with a lion at her feet, pointing to the British camp ; the figure of a crocodile, four feet long, is executed in a masterly style of workmanship. The royal crown, with the initials G. R. the sword and sceptre at the lower part, added to the embellishments of several devices, have been recently finished, and give it a very noble appearance. At the breech is a sphynx, on which the gun rests. In the front are lord Chatham's arms, as master-general of the ordnance ; underneath is placed the letter C. with the motto.

26th. A few days ago, at Torsoot, about seven miles south-west of Strathaven, in the shire of Lanark, a boy, cleaning out a drain, at the foot of a rising ground, struck upon a glass bottle, which contained about 400 silver Roman coins of Trajan, Antoninus Pius, Faustina, wife of Antoninus, Crispina, wife of Commodus, and various other emperors and empresses, &c. They are, in general, in good preservation, and weigh about forty grains each. The bottle was an oblong square, and sealed with a greenish pigment.—About fifty of the coins were so much verdigreased and adhering together, that they were broken with a hammer, by a rude and unskilful hand, in order to separate them. It will be recollected, that an important discovery of coins and medals was made, in a manner equally accidental ; in October, 1799, near Medbourn, in Leicestershire. Upon that occasion, as a boy was nutting in  
Holt



Holt wood, his foot slipped into a ditch, and struck upon a glass urn, containing 230 pieces of silver Roman coins, in the highest state of preservation. Among this number were one of Gratian, one of Julian, one of Theodosius, and one of Arcadius, Roman emperors.

31st. A new institution has been established in London, under the title of "The British School." Its purport is to afford an opportunity for artists to display such of their productions as they intend for sale, and to contribute to support themselves and families in case of sickness, or of death.

A second voluminous, but curious, report on the crown lands has been published, in conformity with the directions of the act of the 31th of the present king, for the better management of the land revenue of the crown, and for the sale of fee-farm and other unimproveable rents. Mr. Fordyce, of the land revenue office, is the author of this report, which, after a variety of statements on the improveable rents, proceeds to those not of an improveable nature.—In the progress of the report, we notice the mooring-chains of the river Thames, held on lease of the crown by the Gwydir family; likewise the sunk island in the Humber, as highly improveable. But all we can say within our narrow limits will convey but a faint idea of the great mass of matter brought forth in this report.—As many of the holders of the crown lands had obtained them unfairly, and by various encroachments, so, of course, a variety of complaints have been made against the new regulations and reclaims on the part of the crown: indeed, we are not a little surprised to see, among the papers forming part of

the report, a copy of a memorial presented by a number of the tenants of the crown, complaining of the general hardships of leases granted in the manner now adopted, and putting several extreme cases of distress which may occur. It is rather remarkable, that, among the tenants complaining of these great hardships and possible distresses, the greatest number of names are those of peers, of the highest rank, members of parliament, and private individuals of high distinction and fortune. The titles of Richmond, Marlborough, Leeds, Queensberry, Essex, Harrington, Gower, Fife, Sheffield, and Whitworth, are not the only remarkable ones. The answer of the lords of the treasury to these was, that it was impossible to make any general regulation, where every two individual cases were different; but that no individual, who had a real cause for distress, should suffer hardship from the crown.

The following is a copy of a letter from the society of agriculture, at Paris, to William Marshall, esq. in London, the well-known author of several useful volumes on the rural economy of England:

"Sir—The agricultural society of Paris, ever since their installation, have been desirous to give you a proof of the very high esteem with which they regard your useful labours. But the war, which so long separated two nations formed to appreciate and assist each other, had broken the chain which unites the affections of men, of whatever clime, whose exclusive employments are the improvements of the useful arts, and who devote their study and experience to increase the happiness and prosperity of their native country. The society of Paris, now availing themselves



themselves of the general peace which permits that pleasing bond to be renewed, hastens to enrich the list of their fellow-labourers with the name of a man of science who is dear to agriculture, and whose important labours will form an epoch in the history of rural economy.

“The society have desired me to announce to you, that they have appointed you to the first rank among their foreign associates, and to beg your acceptance of this mark of their esteem.

“I am also directed to transmit to you the volumes which they have published, since peace has permitted them to unite their labours for the common good.

“The society farther hope, that you will have the goodness to keep up a correspondence with them, and to communicate the result of your researches and experience.—Health and respect.

“SILVESTRE, secretary.”

DIED.—Miss Butler, sole surviving niece of the wealthy and respectable Mrs. Porter, of St. Andrew's-street, Cambridge. While warming herself by the fire, which seemed sufficiently guarded by a screen, a chance spark communicated itself to her muslin gown, and she was very soon enveloped in flames. The gentleman to whom she was betrothed was the first person who heard her cries; but he arrived too late, for, before the flames could be extinguished, she was so much burnt as to expire the next morning in great agonies.

In her 86th year, Mrs. Margaret Jackson, of Old-street, supposed to be the oldest methodist in London.

Aged about 58, Mr. Daniel Cuer-ton, of John-street, Tottenham-court road, shoemaker, supposed to be the strongest man in England. He was

about 5 feet 6 inches high, rather corpulent, yet could put both his elbows together, take a glass between them, and drink in that position; could contract or swell himself over the chest, at a minute's notice, so as to be the least person, when measured, in company, or so extend himself as to measure more than four of the biggest persons together across the chest. When sitting on the ground, he could get up, without the aid of his hands, with three full-grown men across his shoulders and on his back, and dance a hornpipe with them with ease; and could perform many other feats equally incredible, unless seen. Many hundreds are alive who have seen these things, which he generally did of his own accord, and without profit.

At Metz, aged 105, Elizabeth Adam. She was 78 years the wife of Conrad Priess, who, at the age of 109, survives her!

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## APRIL.

1st. D. Wells, who was found guilty, at the late Derby assizes, of the murder of G. Bingham, was executed this day. After having been suspended, the rope slipped, and the wretched man fell to the ground, by which his leg was broken, and he was otherwise much bruised; but being immediately tied up again, he expired after a severe struggle. It is said that he acknowledged, at the place of execution, the commission of another murder, two years ago, when he drove a waggon over his unhappy victim, and reported that he had met his death by accident.

6th. This morning, as lieut. col. Montgomery and capt. Macnamara were riding in Hyde park, each fol-

lowed.

lowed by a Newfoundland dog; the dogs fought; in consequence of which the gentlemen quarrelled, and used such irritating language to each other, that an exchange of address followed, with an appointment to meet at 7 o'clock the same evening, near Primrose-hill; the consequence of which proved fatal. Capt. M.'s ball entered the right side of col. M.'s chest, and, taking a direction to the left, most probably went through the heart; he instantly fell, without uttering a word, but rolled over two or three times, as if in great agony, and groaned. Col. M.'s ball went through capt. Macnamara, entering on the right side, just above the hip, and, passing through the left side, carrying part of the coat and waistcoat in with it, taking part of his leather breeches and the hip button away with it on the other side. Col. Montgomery was carried by some of the persons standing by into Chaikfarm, where he was laid on a bed, attended by Mr. Heaviside. As they were carrying him, he attempted to speak and spit, but the blood choaked him. His mouth foamed much, and, in about five minutes after he was brought into the house, he expired, with a gentle sigh.

Capt. Macnamara is a naval officer, who has much distinguished himself in two or three actions, as commander in the *Cerberus* frigate. He lately returned from the West-Indies, and his ship was about two months ago paid off at Chatham.—He is about 36 years of age, a strong, bold, active man. He has fought two or three duels before, and was remarkable at Cork for keeping the turbulent in awe. Col. Montgomery was lieutenant-colonel of the 9th regiment of foot, son of sir Robert Montgomery, of Ireland, and

half-brother to Mrs. George Byng, and to the marchioness of Townshend. He was a remarkably handsome, genteel man, and he had also fought bravely in the service of his country. In the Dutch expedition, the Russians being put to flight, his regiment was thrown into confusion, and retreated, in consequence of the Russians falling back upon them: at this time a drummer was killed, and col. Montgomery took up the drum, beating it to rally his men, he himself standing alone; he did rally them, and at their head rendered essential service. On several occasions, in Egypt and Malta, he distinguished himself for his courage and spirit. He was remarkable, some years ago, for dressing like the late duke of Hamilton, from which circumstance he was called "the duke of Hamilton's double."—He was very intimate with the prince of Wales and duke of York. The former shed tears on being apprised of the melancholy end of his friend. Crowds of people were all Thursday and Friday viewing the spot where the colonel fell, which was covered with blood. The coroner's inquest, on a view of the body, brought in a verdict of manslaughter. The remains were buried on Saturday, in a vault in St. James's church. The funeral was attended by general Loftus, Mr. Byng, and Mr. Beresford, representing the three families to whom he was nearest related.

Capt. Macnamara was tried on the 22d at the Old Bailey; and was led into court supported by his friends, accompanied by Mr. Heaviside.—The evidence for the prosecution being closed, the prisoner addressed the jury, in extenuation of his conduct. Lords Hood, Nelson, Hotham, and Minto, and a great number of highly respectable



respectable gentlemen, gave capt. Macnamara a most excellent character. Mr. Justice Heath summed up the evidence, and stated, that, from the pressure of the evidence, and the prisoner's own admission, the jury must find a verdict of manslaughter. They were, however, of a different opinion; for, after retiring a quarter of an hour, they pronounced a verdict of—Not Guilty!

12th. This day the chamberlain, recorder, sheriffs, aldermen, and city officers, attended the lord mayor, and partook of a cold collation; after which they witnessed the ceremony of rewarding the respective merits of the scholars of Christ's hospital with half-guineas, half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences of a new coinage. They were also, according to custom, presented with two buns and a glass of wine each. They then preceded his lordship to Christ church, where an excellent sermon was preached by Dr. Glasse.

13th. A most violent tempest was felt at Olmutz. The lightning struck one of the towers of the cathedral, and set fire to it. This tower, with three others, were soon covered with flames, and in less than an hour the whole fell with a terrible crash. All the bells were melted, except one in the middle tower, of 30 tons weight, which fell through the roof of the cathedral. It was not till the next night that the fire was entirely extinguished.

19th. At Gårdenstown, coast of Scotland, it blew a tremendous gale from W. S. W. which increased towards the afternoon to a complete hurricane, abating only at short intervals throughout the night. Next morning a variety of wreck, scattered along the shore, announced the destruction of some vessel at no great distance.

Some of the inhabitants, eager to make a farther discovery, went to survey the western rocks, where, from the top of a stupendous promontory, in a curved shore, called Walcove, they discovered a large mass of wreck, which convinced them that this had been the scene of the unfortunate event they had anticipated. Actuated by a spirit of enterprising humanity, some young men adventured to crawl down the stupendous precipice; and, notwithstanding the fluctuating and furious gusts of wind peculiar to the time and place, actually descended to the depth of 900 feet perpendicular! On reaching the bottom of the rock, their attention and feelings were suddenly interested in a very striking object indeed;—the only survivor of an unfortunate crew (11 in number) insulated on a rock, near the wreck, in whom the tide of life was fast ebbing! nor was it till low water that these laudable adventurers were able to rescue him from this dread asylum. This, however, at last, they happily effected; and succeeded, weak and bruised as he was, in bringing him safe up the hill—an achievement which any stranger would certainly pronounce impossible. The wreck proves to be the *Reliance* of Newcastle, William Allen master, 198 tons register; sailed from Shields on the 17th, coal-loaded for Jamaica. The bodies of six of the crew have been found, and interred. The survivor, Colin Burn, a native of Montrose, only engaged with capt. Allen on the 16th—of course was very little acquainted with his shipmates, but thinks three of them were from Aberdeen. People are daily employed securing what little remains of the wreck may drift ashore; and the poor surviving tar is

now



now so far recovered as to be able to walk about occasionally.

20th. A fire consumed seven cottages at Sheering, near Harlow.

21st. This day the senior scholars of St. Paul's school, pursuant to annual custom, delivered public orations before the mercers' company, the trustees and patrons of the school, and a very numerous and respectable audience. The theses from which they spoke were in Latin and Greek, and did credit to the judicious selection of the high master, the rev. doctor Roberts; and the young gentlemen acquitted themselves much to the satisfaction of all present. The subject most interesting was, the long depending dispute concerning the ancients and moderns, with respect to literary merit and mental excellence; in the discussion of which, much spirit and ingenuity were shewn. On this subject, Hincks, senior, appeared to carry the palm for animated delivery and vigorous verse. His brother, in opposition, had much felicitous allusion and neat point. The strength of the argument, however, was certainly with the mediator Curtis.—Bentley (the third of the family) was very deservedly applauded, for distinct enunciation, correct conception, and action graceful and appropriate.

23d. About two this afternoon, a dreadful storm of thunder, lightning, hail, and rain came on at Biggleswade; during its continuance, a fireball fell upon a stable belonging to Mr. Wells, and set fire to the thatch, but was prevented doing any further mischief through the assistance of the inhabitants.

Two fine horses, (valued at 70l.) belonging to Mr. William Connell, farmer, of Needham-street, Suffolk, were killed by lightning, by a sudden

tempest, whilst at plough. Mr. C. himself, overlooking his workmen in the field, was struck by the electrical fluid; which affected his whole frame so much, as to occasion a temporary suspension of faculty, from which, however, he recovered in a few minutes, without any farther injury.

24th. At 12 in the evening, three Londoners driving a spirited but blind horse in a gig, were overset in a small pond on Bush-hill, the horse nearly suffocated, and one of the company, a son of Mr. Ibbitson's, of Durands, in Enfield parish, so sunk in the mud, under the carriage, the shafts of which were broken, that he died a short time after his return home.

The body of Mr. Smith Ramage, a merchant of eminence in Dublin, and one of the directors of the national bank, was found in the canal near that city. He rode out on Sunday, and his horse was found on the day following, near the spot where his body was afterwards discovered.

At Ackworth, Mrs. Townley and her son, who resided at that place, had removed to a new house, and, in order to dry their bed rooms, which had been newly plaistered, they burnt in them, during the night, a chaffing dish with charcoal. In the morning they were both found dead!

25th. As Dr. Bowen, an eminent surgeon of Bath, was riding in his carriage, this evening, near the Grove, his horses took fright, and ran down the street with great violence; his coachman was thrown from the box; a poor labouring man, in endeavouring to stop the carriage, was trampled under the horses feet, the carriage went over his body, and

he

he was killed on the spot. Soon after the carriage was stopped, and the doctor escaped unhurt.

26th. During a storm, as Mr. Cornell, a rich farmer, of Gazely, Norfolk, was in a field, he suddenly felt a shock at his ankle, and on looking down, observed the lightning playing about his shoes; it immediately affected his frame so much, as to occasion him to fall immediately into a state of stupor, from which he was, with great difficulty, recovered.

DIED.—3d. Hester Grenville, baroness of Chatham, &c. (*vide deaths.*) The remains of this great and virtuous woman, the dowager countess of Chatham, were removed, on the 11th of April, for interment in Westminster Abbey, from Burton-Pynsent in Somersetshire, an estate bequeathed by sir Thomas Pynsent to the late earl, as a tribute of respect to his great talents, and a mark of gratitude for their extraordinary exertions in the service of his country. On the 16th, a little before 12 o'clock, the hearse, containing her ladyship's remains, arrived at lady Warren's, Kensington-gore, where it was met by a party of her ladyship's relatives and friends, and a funeral procession commenced in the following order: The undertaker on horseback; two conductors, dressed in silk, on horseback; six mutes, with cloaks, on horseback; two porters, dressed in silk, on horseback; a state-horse, led by two grooms, covered with black cloth, bearing the arms of the Pitt and Grenville families, with a double coronet, she being a baroness in her own right, and sister to the late earl Temple; a herald on horseback, bearing the coronet on a crimson velvet cushion; a hearse and

six horses, the hearse elegantly painted with banners and intermarriages, with the Pitt and Grenville arms, with escocheon-flags, plumes of feathers, and velvet beautifully decorated; ten pages on foot; three mourning-coaches and six, with escocheons and feathers; followed by ten private carriages, among which were those of lords Chatham, Grenville, Hood, Camelford, Braybroke, Carysfort, Elliot, Fortescue; lady Sydney, and Mr. T. Grenville. As soon as the corpse entered the Abbey, the procession was preceded by the dean of Westminster, the prebends, minor canons, and the whole choir, who sung Purcell's Funeral Service. The burial service was very solemnly read by Dr. Vincent, dean of Westminster; and the body interred in the vault, alongside that of one of her ladyship's daughters, and upon that of the late earl.

Her death is severely felt by the poor cottagers in the neighbourhoods of Burrowbridge, N. Pether-ton, and Bridgewater. Her ladyship's bounty, during the inclement seasons, was the means of their very existence. When in health, it was no uncommon thing to meet her in the park of Burton-Pynsent, during the coldest weather, carrying a bundle containing necessities for the relief of the indigent. She has often been seen to enter the abode of distress, with blankets, warm cloathing, and food, which she has ordered liberally to be distributed where such were necessary. Fuel, and other comforts, never failed to flow from her charity; and Mr. Symonds, an apothecary at Bridgewater, had long her ladyship's orders to visit the objects of her bounty, and to give all the assistance which they might require



quire from medicine. Whenever a real appearance of want and poverty came within her knowledge, she never failed to change the scene of misery for health, comfort, and happiness. Her ladyship's humanity was continually directed towards the relief of private individuals in different parts of the kingdom, as well as those in her own neighbourhood, whom she established in their cottages, and supplied with all that could render them happy. The only return she required from these dependents on her charity, for the comforts they enjoyed, was, their regular attendance on every Sunday at the parish-church, where she also was accustomed to visit regularly. The countess had enjoyed the estate of Burton-Pynsent since the death of the late earl. She erected upon it, at the expence of 2500*l.* in the park, an obelisk to the memory of the patriotic donor, the late sir Thomas Pynsent.

At Trinidad, Henry Swinburne, esq. the celebrated traveller, youngest son of the late sir John S. bart. of Capheaton, in Northumberland, the long-established seat of that ancient roman catholic family. He was educated at Scorton school, in Yorkshire, and afterwards studied at Paris, Bourdeaux, and in the Royal Academy at Turin. He made the usual tour of Italy; and, in 1774, travelled with his lady on the continent, for the express purpose of indulging their taste for antiquities and the fine arts. He spent six years in France, Spain, Italy, and Germany; formed an intimacy with some of the most celebrated literati of those countries, and received some signal marks of esteem from the sovereigns of the courts he visited.

VOL. XLV.

On his return to England he retired to his seat at Hamsterley, in the bishopric of Durham, which thenceforth became his principal residence. He published his travels in Spain in a quarto volume, 1779; four years after, vol. I. of his travels in the Two Sicilies; and a 2*d.* two years after. Both these works have been reprinted in octavo, the first in two, the other in four volumes, with improvements.

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### MAY.

2*d.* A new table of rates, by which the fares of watermen are regulated, has been at length made out by the court of aldermen, under the authority of four members of the privy council, and began to take place this day. All persons hiring boats will now know what they are to pay; and watermen can no longer, with impunity, refuse to take a fare when called upon; because they are obliged, under a penalty of 40*s.* to carry, in their hats, badges containing the number of their boats.

5*th.* A most extraordinary forgery was practised in the city. At an early hour in the morning, a man delivered a letter at the Mansion-house, which he said he had brought from lord Hawkesbury, secretary of state, and requested it to be delivered immediately; it was accordingly given to his lordship, and soon after, the following literal copy appeared in front of the Mansion-house:

“ Lord Hawkesbury presents his compliments to the lord mayor, and has the honor to acquaint his lordship, that the negotiation between

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this country and the French republic, is brought to an amicable conclusion.

“*Downing Street,*  
“*Eight o’Clock, May 5, 1803.*”

Printed notices were then posted round the Custom-house, declaring the embargo to be taken off ships laden with saltpetre, &c. And, in consequence of this delusion, the funds experienced an immediate rise from  $63\frac{1}{4}$  to  $71\frac{1}{4}$ . A real treasury messenger, however, was soon dispatched to announce the falsity of the news; on which the genuine communication was read in the public street by the city marshall. The confusion which then prevailed was beyond all description. The stock-exchange was immediately shut, and the committee came to a resolution, “That all bargains made in the morning should be null and void.” The consequence of the detection of the artifice was a rapid fall of the funds from 71 to 63.

7th. A similar imposition was attempted to be practised on the public credulity, through the medium of “*The Times*,” a morning paper, notoriously in the interests of government, in which appeared a paragraph, stating the amicable termination of all differences with France. The committee for managing the stock-exchange, however, in order to guard against imposition, would not allow the doors to be opened, until the truth of the report could be officially ascertained. At their instance, the lord mayor addressed a note to lord Hawkesbury, soliciting information, and stating the occasion of his application. To this note the chancellor of the exchequer returned the following answer:

“My lord,  
“As lord Hawkesbury is not at the foreign office, I have opened your lordship’s note, conformably to the wish expressed through your messenger. If any information had been received by government, which could, possibly, be the subject of a public communication, your lordship may be assured that such communication would not have been withheld. I feel it, however, my duty distinctly to caution your lordship against receiving impressions of the description alluded to, through any unauthorized channel of information.

“I have the honor to be, &c.  
“*Henry Addington.*”  
“*Downing-Street,*  
“*Saturday Noon.*”

An extract of this letter was posted up at the Mansion-house, and exhibited at Lloyd’s, &c. and the stock-exchange was open soon after 12 o’clock.

The stock-exchange committee have reported, that no person belonging to their connexion appears to have been implicated in the late fraudulent transactions.

This evening, as Mr. Walker, of Hampton-wick, was returning home in a one-horse chaise, the horse took fright, and ran violently against a gate. Mr. W. was thrown out with such force as to fracture his skull, and when taken up, was entirely without signs of life.

9th. A fire, occasioned by singeing a horse’s ears in the stable, broke out at the Spread Eagle inn, near the episcopal palace, Buckden, near Huntingdon, which spread with rapidity in every direction, and consumed 13 tenements, and property to the amount of 2000l. A collection

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tion was immediately set on foot for relief of the sufferers, under the direction of a committee, of which Mr. Maltby, the bishop's chaplain, is chairman.

About a quarter before one o'clock in the morning, a very large and luminous meteor was seen in the air; apparently about 200 yards distant from the earth; it passed over the town of Cambridge, taking its course from S. W. to N. E. In size and colour it nearly resembled the moon, and had a tail of considerable length: its light was very splendid, and its velocity astonishing, being visible not more than half a minute!

An ewe belonging to Mr. Burton, of Barford, lambed at the usual time this season, and seven weeks after lambed again.

10th. Messrs. Easterby and Mac Farlane, the accomplices of Capt. Codlin, who was executed in December last, for sinking the brig *Adventure*, off Brighton, received his majesty's pardon!

11th. This day, about 3 o'clock, an obstruction took place in the narrow part of the Strand, near Exeter Change; in consequence of the breaking down of an hackney coach. Two men and a woman, crossing the street, unfortunately ran between two coal waggons, then in contact with each other; when the two men and the woman were so jammed in, notwithstanding their screams and shrieks, before any assistance could be given, that they were killed on the spot.

A child who was left in a cradle at Welling, Herts, was attacked by a number of rats, and when the family, alarmed by its cries, arrived to its aid, they found a great part of its face devoured. Hopes were, however, entertained of its recovery.

The first consul, driving a phaeton, with four horses in hand, was thrown from his seat in the Park, near St. Cloud, on the 11th instant. The shock was violent; but he lighted on the grass, and experienced no injury, except a slight bruise on the hand.

12th. Early this morning a fire broke out in an upper apartment of the left wing of Huntley Castle, the seat of the duke of Gordon, which originated from the snuff of a candle being left burning on the floor. This wing having been separated from the building by a stone wall, the door which communicated with it was quickly built up with turf, which secured the remainder from destruction. After burning for several hours, the conflagration was extinguished. Most of the property was saved by the villagers.

On this evening lord Whitworth departed from Paris, and landed at Dover on the 20th, where he met general Andreossi, the French minister to the court of London, on his way to Paris.

On the 17th appeared in the *Gazette*, dated the 16th. (the morning of the French ambassador's departure from London) an order in council, directing that general reprisals be granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of the French republic, or to persons inhabiting within any of the territories of the French republic. It also contains a proclamation, ordering an embargo to be laid on all ships in our ports, belonging to the French or Batavian republics, or to any countries occupied by the French armies. The gazette likewise contains a proclamation for granting the war bounty of five pounds to every able seaman who shall enter



on board the fleet ; and another, declaring, that any British subject found on board an enemy's ship, with intent to commit hostilities against this country, will be liable to suffer death.

18th. This day, by order of his majesty, a DECLARATION OF WAR on the part of Great Britain against France was laid before parliament : And thus, after a feverish interval of exactly ONE YEAR AND SIXTEEN DAYS, have hostilities commenced between the two countries, as it was predicted and believed they would, by every man in the empire, who aspired to the science or to the name of a politician !

19th. The following was the ceremonial of the installation of the knights of the most honourable military order of the Bath, which took place this day.

From the prince's chamber in the house of lords was a covered platform, which reached to the N. E. door of the Abbey, wide enough to admit six persons to pass in breadth ; this platform was lined with the guards. So strong was the expectation of the crowd, that as early as 6 o'clock, several houses were filled with visitors, and at 8 the windows and houses in New Palace Yard were crowded. At half past 8 o'clock, the life-guards were stationed in all the streets and avenues leading to the abbey, from the Horse-guards to Petty-France, Dean's-yard, Millbank, and all the leading avenues, with sixty horses, which guarded the platform on each side leading to the door, to prevent the pressure of the crowd. About 9 a passage was made to the platform, large enough to admit carriages, where the knights and esquires were set down, and after-

wards proceeded to the anti-chamber leading to the prince of Wales's chamber, where they were received by the dean and chapter of Westminster, pursuivants, heralds, and provincial kings of arms, who conducted them to the prince's chamber, preparatory to forming the procession. At 10, her majesty and the princesses arrived, and entered the great south door : and soon after, his royal highness the duke of York appeared in his state carriage, his horses ornamented with yellow ribbons ; his appearance was announced by the beat of drums and sound of trumpets ; his royal highness alighted near the door of the abbey, and proceeded upon the platform, attended by Mr. Stepney, his train-bearer, from thence to the prince's chamber, where the procession was in waiting. About 10 minutes past 11, the spectators were aroused by the sound of 15 knights trumpeters, six drums, and a kettle-drum. The old national air of " Britons strike home " was played, after several interchanges between the drums and trumpets. The procession advanced in slow march to the middle of the platform, where it remained for some time, till the remainder of the procession came on in regular succession. About half past 11 the procession entered Westminster abbey, by the south-east door, leading into the south cross, and passed down the south aisle in the following order :

Six gentlemen in dark crimson silk scarfs, uncovered, preceding the procession.

Drums of his majesty's household.

The drum-major.

Kettle-drums and trumpets.

The serjeant-trumpeter with his mace.

Twelve



Twelve alms-men of the church of Westminster, two and two, in their gowns, with the badges of their order.

The messenger of the order in his surcoat.

The esquires of the knights elect, three and three, their caps in their hands.

The esquires of the knights-companions, their caps on their heads.

Prebendaries of the church of Westminster, two and two.

The sub-dean, carrying the bible in his right hand.

Officers of arms according to their rank in their tabards, viz.

Pursuivants.

Heralds.

Provincial kings.

Knights elect, two and two, carrying their hats and feathers in their hands.

Gentleman usher—Register—

Secretary—

Bath king at arms—Garter—

Genealogist.

The dean of Westminster, Dean of the order, carrying in his right hand the form of the oath and admonition.

His royal highness the duke of York, first and principal knight companion, as great master, covered;

Twelve yeomen of the guards, to close the procession.

The proxies walked in the place of their respective knights, wearing the surcoat and girt, with the sword of the order; they carried the mantle on their right arm; they had no spurs, nor the hat and feather, but walked with a hat in their hands. The procession advanced to the end of the south aisle, where her majesty, the princess of Wales, and the princesses Augusta, Elizabeth,

Mary, Sophia, and Amelia, with the duke of Cumberland, were seated in a box lined with crimson, over Mr. Congreve's monument. The knights halted, and paid their obedience to her majesty and the princesses; the whole of the company in the nave of the cathedral at the same time standing up; the procession then crossed over to the north aisle, and proceeded down till they came to Henry VIIIth chapel, the trumpets continuing to sound till they reached it. The banners of the deceased knights were buried under the altar; the band, during the ceremony, playing the Dead March in Saul. The installation of the respective knights then took place. Divine service was performed; and the Te Deum composed by Dr. Cook, and appropriate anthems, were sung by the gentlemen of the choir of Westminster, assisted by the choirs of the Chapels Royal. Divine service having ended, the knights put on their hats and feathers, the proxies remaining uncovered, and approached severally with their companions to the altar, where each knight, standing and drawing his sword, offered it to the dean, who received it, and laid it on the altar. The knights then received their swords of the dean, who restored them with the proper admonitions. The ceremony then concluded; and Handel's Coronation Anthem, God save the King, having been sung, the procession returned back to the prince's chamber, in the same order it came from thence; except that the prebendaries retired to the Jerusalem Chamber from the abbey door, and the esquires and officers of arms, and officers of the order, when they came out of the church, were covered.—On the procession

arriving at the door in Poet's-corner, the king's cook, dressed in full court dress, bowed to each knight, and addressed him thus: "Sir knight, the great oath that you have taken, if you keep, it will be great honour to you; but if you break it, I have power, by virtue of my office, to hack the spurs from off your heels." Each of the knights bowed to him, and touched their hat. Some of them asked him if there were any fees to pay? to which he answered, he would do himself the honour to call upon them. He receives four guineas for this extraordinary speech, and ancient custom. This ceremony was conducted with the utmost regularity and order.

Seats were placed at the south cross, where the procession entered, which were occupied by ladies, splendidly dressed: all the way up the south aisle there were galleries erected between the monuments, which were likewise occupied by company of the most elegant description. At the west end of the cathedral, there were seats placed for the accommodation of the dean and chapter's friends: these were filled with ladies of the first rank and fashion. All along the north aisle there were galleries, in which we noticed a brilliant assemblage of the most beautiful ladies, arrayed in the most captivating dresses. Opposite the west end of the church, under the organ loft, was a spacious gallery, equally resplendent with beauty and fashion. The dresses of the ladies in general were distinguished for their elegance. Her majesty was dressed in white, with a white turban, decorated with diamonds; the princess of Wales was in white, and wore a white muslin turban, embroidered with gold. The guards

were placed along the cathedral, in order to preserve the regularity of the procession.

The old knights absent, who were not obliged to find proxies, were—lord Lavington, earl Macartney, sir R. Gunning, lord Dorchester, viscount Howe, sir Hector Munro, earl of St. Vincent, lord Grey of Howick, and viscount Bridport.

The old knights present: earl of Malmesbury, lord D. Blaquiere, viscount Galway, right hon. sir W. Fawcett, and the right hon sir G. Yonge.

The knights personally installed: sir Alured Clark, sir Henry Harvey, sir J. F. Cradock, lord Henley, right hon. sir W. M. Pitt, right hon. sir Joseph Banks, sir James Henry Craig, sir James Colpoys, lord Hutchinson, sir Eyre Coote, and sir David Dundas.

Knights installed by proxy: right hon. sir W. Meadows, by sir James Pulteney; lord Whitworth, by sir F. Whitworth; right hon. sir John B. Warren, by sir Edmund Nagle; viscount Nelson, by sir W. Bolton; sir T. Graves, by sir Rupert George; sir Thos. Trigge, by sir Charles Greene; sir James Saumarez, by sir Thomas Saumarez; sir R. Abercromby, by sir Samuel Auchmuty; lord Keith, by sir Francis John Hartwell; Sir Andrew Mitchell, by sir Richard Hankey; sir John Thomas Duckworth, by sir George Shee.

Her majesty, the princesses, and princess of Wales, remained in their box some time after the procession had passed; and then returned to the dean's house, where an elegant entertainment was prepared for the royal party. The last installation took place in 1788.

A maniac attempted to gain admission



mission to the levee. He said that he had just risen from the dead, and was sent by heaven to kill Bonaparte.

Capt. Brisac, and the purser of the Iris frigate, were tried in the court of king's bench, and found guilty, on a charge of conspiracy to procure false vouchers of expenditure, in order to defraud the victualling board. When the vessel was at Lerwick, in Shetland, the purser bought 5,355 lbs. of beef, at 2½d. and 3d. per lb. for which he paid about 54l.

The seller, and the other requisite witnesses to the purchase, delivery, &c. by desire of the captain and purser, subscribed blank forms of certificates, in which the quantity of beef was stated at 12,160 lbs. of beef, at 7d. and other articles were introduced, making in the whole 557l. which was paid by the victualling board.

20th. Lord Nelson, in the Victory, accompanied by the Amphion, sailed from Portsmouth to take the command in the Mediterranean.

22d. Extract from the register of the deliberations of the government of the French republic, of this date.

"The government of the republic, having heard read, by the minister of marine and colonies, a dispatch from the maritime prefect at Brest, dated this day, announcing that two English frigates had taken two French merchant vessels in the bay of Audierne, without any previous declaration of war, and in manifest violation of the law of nations.

I. It is prescribed to all commanders of squadrons or naval divisions of the republic, captains of its ships, and other vessels of war, to chase those of the king of England, as well as those vessels belonging to his

subjects, and to attack, capture, and conduct them into the ports of the republic.

II. Commissions will be delivered, in course, to those French privateers for which they are demanded.

III. All the English from the age of 18 to 60, or holding any commission from his Britannic majesty, who are at present in France, shall immediately be constituted prisoners of war, to answer for those citizens of the republic, who may have been arrested and made prisoners by the vessels or subjects of his Britannic majesty, previous to any declaration of war.

The first consul,

(Signed) BONAPARTE."

The third article of the above, contains such an open violation of the laws of hospitality against harmless strangers, not responsible for the conduct of their native government, as has only been equalled by the proceedings of Robespierre, and adds another indelible blot on the character of the ferocious Corsican.

23d. The following letter to admiral Cornwallis, commanding the channel fleet, announces the first capture of a ship of war, of the enemy's, since the commencement of hostilities.

"Doris; at sea, May 23.

"Sir,

"I have the honour to acquaint you, that while, in obedience to your order of the 18th inst. cruising off Ushant, in his majesty's ship Doris, under my command, I fell in with the French republican lugger l'Affronteur, commanded by Mons. Morce Andre Dutoya, lieut. de Vaisseau, mounting 14 long nines, with 92 men. As she made sail to



escape me, I fired a shot wide of her, with the hope that she would then have shortened sail, as I was gaining fast upon her; as this was without effect, I fired a second, which she returned, and kept up a running fire till the instant I laid her along side, nor did she then give up a contest so fraught with temerity, until the first captain and eight men were killed, and 14 wounded, one of whom is since dead of his wounds. I am happy to add, that the damage on our side consists only in one man wounded, and a few shot in the hull and rigging.

“I am, &c.

“R. H. PEARSON.”

Between 3 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon, a fire was discovered in that beautiful edifice, Boston church, which threatened its total destruction, but by the timely and judicious application of the engines, the fire was completely extinguished in the space of three hours. The accident happened by the carelessness of a workman, who had lighted a fire upon the lead in the gutter of the roof, which so rapidly extended itself along the spars and beams, that the whole interior space between the ceiling and the roof, was filled with such a volume of smoke, as for a long time to deny all entrance; but by the spirited exertions of the firemen, the water was at length conveyed to the very heart of the fire, and that elegant building was thereby saved. Meantime, an engine was very successfully employed within the church to extinguish the flames, as they appeared to spread along the ceiling. Considerable damage has been done by this accident, (it is supposed not to a less amount than 1000*l*.) but nothing equal to what

might have been expected; indeed, about 5 o'clock, it was the general opinion that nothing could save the roof, as the lead began to melt and run; fortunately the discovery was in the day time, and there was very little wind, or the church must have been a total ruin. Never were greater exertions used by all ranks and descriptions of persons than on this occasion, and it is but justice to say, that the officers and soldiers quartered at Boston, and every stranger there, felt a natural impulse in saving this pride and ornament of the town.

25th. The Hertford coach, coming to London, and crossing the new-laid gravel on Stamford-hill, with fourteen outside passengers, and driven by the proprietor's brother, was overturned; one of the outside passengers was killed on the spot, and a young woman, one of the two passengers who escaped unhurt from the fall, had her arm broken in two places by the other passengers trampling on her. The person killed was the foreman of the late Mr. Whittingstall.

26th. The anniversary meeting of the charity-children of the different parish-schools, took place, as usual, this day, in the cathedral of St. Paul, which was fitted up for their reception. An excellent sermon was preached by the Rev. R. Cray, D. D. and rector of Cracke, county of Durham. The appearance was grand and striking. More than 7000 children, clothed and educated in the metropolis, and a great number of them wholly supported by the voluntary bounty of individuals only, without any obligatory support from the laws, present, to the admiration of surrounding states, a picture of the British character, liberally and amiably

amiably pourtrayed; an affecting display of public benevolence; a grateful tribute to the memory of our generous ancestors, who established them; and an animating incentive to the present age to patronize and transmit to posterity these excellent institutions, so ornamental to this country, and unrivalled in any other.

A woman, who has for several years travelled the country as a pedlar, with four children, barefooted and in rags, called on Mr. Kerridge, at Stow-cum-Quy, Cambridge, and begged permission to lie in his barn, on account of illness, which was granted. On Friday May 27th, she died, when, on examining her baskets and clothes, property was found to the amount of 800l.

28th. A proclamation is just published by the elector of Hanover, stating that the differences between the crown of England and France, are of such a nature, that they concern only the former, and can, in no ways, relate to his majesty as elector, and a state of the Germanic empire. His majesty, in that particular quality, abides by the treaty of Luneville, and has a right to expect that the treaty will procure perfect safety for his Germanic states, in a war foreign to the empire. The preparations he has made are therefore merely defensive; and his majesty, in his quality of elector, will take no part in the war.

29th. This morning, at a quarter before one o'clock, a dreadful fire broke out in the house of Mr. Davis, No. 2, Union-row, Limekilns, Greenwich, which consumed that and six adjoining, besides materially damaging two others; from the violence of the wind, and scarcity of

water, the flames were not got under till four.

Letter from capt. Mansfield, of the *Minotaur*, dated at sea, May 30, to admiral Cornwallis.

"Sir,

"I beg leave to acquaint you, for their lordships' information, that I this evening saw the French republican frigate, *la Française*, safe off the *Dodman*, agreeably to signal made by the hon. adm. Cornwallis. She was captured by his majesty's ship under my command, on the 28th of May, in company with his majesty's ship *Thunderer*, having chased from the fleet, and during the chase was joined by the *Albion*, which ship had parted from the fleet some days before, in the thick weather. The prize proves to be the republican French frigate *la Française*, from *Port-au-Prince* 35 days, capt. Jurien. She is pierced for 28 twelve-pounders on the main deck, and 16 nine-pounders on the quarter-deck and forecastle, 10 of which were in her hold, and had on board 187 men."

31st. The duke of Norfolk has bought, by auction, at Mr. Jeffery's, Pall-Mall, a beautiful manuscript on vellum, intituled the *Golden Legend*, or *Lives of the Saints*, translated from the Latin into French by Jean de Vignay, at the particular request of Jane, daughter of Robert the second duke of Burgundy, and wife to Philip de Valois: it was knocked down to his grace at sixty-four pounds.

Astronomers for a long time suspected there was an error in the measurement of a degree of the meridian, effected in 1736, in Lapland, by Maupertuis, Lemonier, Outhier, and



and Celsius. M. Swanberg, and three other Swedish astronomers, have lately measured a degree, and found it to be 57,209 toises, which gives 196 toises less than by the French measure. This agrees better with other circumstances, and proves that the figure of the earth is not so irregular as it was believed to be after the first measurement. M. Mechain has set out from Paris, for Spain, where he will measure a triangle of 93,000 toises, terminating at the Balearic isles, and which will complete the great and important measure of the meridian, which has been for some years carrying into execution, by Mechain and Delamere.

DIED.—At Long Beckly, county of Northampton, aged 103, Mrs. Swinton.

## JUNE.

2d. A verdict of 700l. damages was given against Mr. Dickie, stationer, in the Strand, for defamatory reflections on the character of governor Aris, of Cold Bath-fields.

The same day an action was brought against a Mr. Shipley, for having received a bribe, at the time of the election, from Mr. Martin, one of the candidates for Durham. He was convicted in a penalty of 500l.

The knights' fete at Ranelagh was one of the most splendid entertainments ever given in this country:—there were present 2500 of the first characters in the kingdom. The supper consisted of the choicest delicacies of the season; amongst other rarities, there were cherries at a guinea a pound, and 900 quarts of pease, at 14s. per quart. A dramatic piece was got up for the purpose,

by Messrs. Fawcett and Byrne.—None but court dresses and regimentals were admitted; and those of the ladies were new and splendid in the extreme: the expence was 7000l.

4th. We have this day had, at Airds, one of the most violent thunder-storms ever remembered. The lightning struck an old thorn in the farm of Slogarie, in the parish of Balmaghie, and shivered it to pieces. It then divided into four branches, and killed nine black cattle belonging to Messrs. Bennets, tenants of Mr. Livingston, of Airds. One of the cattle had its head buried up to the eyes in the earth; and the lightning in its way tore up a stone which four men could not have moved.—There was no mark on any of the cattle, except that one of them had its hair singed on its hind legs and belly; and they were all very much swelled. It also killed a very fine cow. Mr. L. received a slight shock, similar to that given by an electrical machine.

A fire-ball entered the house of John Hubbard, the White Bull, in East Norton, Leicestershire, and did considerable damage; the chimney was thrown down, and many of the slates from the roof removed to a considerable distance; the windows were shattered to pieces, and the contents of the dairy and pantry thrown into one confused heap: the explosion was most tremendous, and a strong smell of sulphur remained for some time in every room in the house.

General Mortier announced to the French government, the surrender, by capitulation, of the electorate of Hanover, to the troops under his command. By the articles of the convention, dated the 3d instant, a total surrender of the country was agreed



agreed to by the commissioners.—The French general is to make what changes in the government, and levy what contributions he may think proper: the authority of the regency is suspended; the French cavalry is to be remounted, and the army to be paid and clothed at the expence of the electorate; the artillery, to the amount of 1000 pieces, the arms, to the number of 100,000 stands, with the whole of the magazines, are to be delivered up to the enemy; all funds have been sequestrated, and the effects belonging to the king of England are placed entirely at the disposal of the invaders; the Hanoverian troops are to retire behind the Elbe, and not to bear arms against France during the present war.

His majesty had just repaired his palace at Hanover, and sumptuously furnished it for the residence of the duke of Cambridge, to the amount of 50,000*l*. General Mortier now resides there.

6th. A vessel from Jamaica arrived off Dover this day, and brought the following particulars relative to St. Domingo: she left Jamaica the beginning of April, at which time the accounts were very unfavourable to the French: the blacks were very strong, well supplied with arms and ammunition, and kept the French troops from advancing. The French men of war are coming home, singly, with part of their guns dismounted, in order to stow cargoes. Since the treacherous conduct of the French to Toussaint, the blacks have refused all offers of settling the dispute, and are determined to perish rather than submit. They are reported to be between 80 and 90 thousand strong. French frigates are kept continually cruising off the cape, to intercept the supplies of arms and ammunition, which,

however, they are constantly receiving.

7th. Letters from the Hague state the departure of Mr. Liston, the English ambassador, to the United States. On the 24th ult. he notified to the Dutch secretary of state for foreign affairs, that if France would consent to withdraw, immediately, her troops from the Batavian republic, his majesty would engage to adhere to a reciprocal neutrality.—This the poor Hollanders were compelled to reject.

In consequence of the departure of Mr. Liston from the Hague, an order has been issued to arrest all the English in the Batavian territories.

A French brig, called *le Vigilant*, from Port-au-Prince, has been captured, and sent into Falmouth, by the *Resolution*. She is laden with sugar and coffee, being the whole produce of the island, and had been 55 days on her passage. The captain reports, that, just before he sailed, the French ship *la Virginie*, capt. *le Noir*, arrived there from Havre, having on board several ladies, as passengers, when she was boarded by the blacks, who murdered the captain and crew, and sent the women into the country; and after every thing had been taken out of the vessel, it was burnt. The French ships of war were waiting for instructions from France at the time the *Vigilant* sailed, and about twelve sail were lying at Port-au-Prince. The island was very healthy; the blacks were supposed to be 80,000 strong, and scarcely a night passed without the commission of some outrage.

The thunder-storm which occurred this afternoon did considerable damage. Several houses were greatly injured, and many persons struck down while walking in the streets.—A public-house, at the corner of Abingdon-

Abingdon-street, received great damage by a thunder-bolt, and every piece of iron in the structure was reduced to the smallest particles. The house of sir F. Whitworth, in Bruton-street, was injured in a similar way: the wire of the door-bell was completely destroyed, all the leaden pipes were melted, the wainscot burnt, and a great coat, which hung in the kitchen, was entirely consumed. The damage was considerable in other parts of the town, and in the fields much injury was done among the cattle.

8th. The following malefactors were executed at the Old Bailey, viz. A. Nicholas, in the employ of the general-post-office, for secreting a letter, and stealing bank-notes; P. Gregory, for forging bank-notes; and R. Smith, alias Gordon, for robbing several hackney coachmen.

A fine boy, five years of age, son to Mr. Watson, of Downham-market, Norfolk, was last week poisoned, by his having had a quantity of laudanum given to him, which was sold, through mistake, for another medicine. An infant, his brother, to whom a less quantity was given, was fortunately saved by the timely assistance of the faculty.

A few days ago, as three women and a girl were travelling in a cart from Walsbeck to Gedney-hill fair, in ascending the steep hill, near the former place, the horse's strength failed, and the cart backed rapidly to the bottom of the hill, into the river Nen, where two of the women were drowned; the third was fortunately saved by the exertions of a person passing by.

9th. This evening, at 5 o'clock, a most singular phenomenon took place in Panton-street, Haymarket. The inhabitants were alarmed by a violent and tremendous hail and

shower storm, which extended only to Oxendon-street, Whitcombe-street, Coventry-street, and the Haymarket, a space not more than about 200 acres: the torrent from the heavens was so great, that it could only be compared to a wonderful cascade from the brow of the most tremendous precipice, for seven minutes, so that the cellars of all the inhabitants in Panton-street and Oxendon-street were filled with water. Astonishing to relate, in the midst of this hurricane, an electric cloud descended in the middle of the street, and fell in the centre of the coach-way, and sunk in a great depth, without leaving a vestige, or any particle of matter, but formed a complete pit. The smell of brimstone, for some considerable seconds, was so strong, that the inhabitants expected every minute to be suffocated. Mr. Madden, who keeps a public-house near the spot, had water and beer butts thrown flat from the stillions, and no other damage whatever done.

This evening, a very heavy storm of thunder, lightning, and rain took place at Lewes. It commenced about six o'clock, and continued, with but little intermission, until eight. The lightning, which emitted a strong sulphureous smell, was extremely vivid, and the thunder alarmingly awful, particularly one clap, which must have been very low, and near, as it burst forth before the flash that preceded it had well disappeared. The rain fell in such torrents, that it inundated the streets, the roads, and lowest apartments of many houses; and, near Rottingdean, it washed the mould from the corn-fields over the cliff, in quantities that actually blackened the sea some distance from the shore. The lightning, it is said, struck the weather-cock



ther-cock upon the cupola of the town-hall; which is not improbable, as one side of it exhibits a sooty hue, as if discoloured by the fluid.

A mandate of cardinal Cambaceres, archbishop of Rouen, is couched in such blasphemous, as well as adulatory terms, as are truly shocking: let the following brief extract suffice:

“We are persuaded that the sovereign arbiter of the destiny of empires will favour our cause, and that he will refuse to our enemies his divine protection, without which the most formidable preparations for war can only be attended with the most signal defeat. That he will avenge the sanctity of treaties, of which he was appealed to as the guarantee, as well by our adversaries as ourselves. However, as we are not ignorant that God wishes we should implore those favours his paternal heart burns to grant, entreat of him, most dear brethren, that we may conquer the enemy that provokes us, and moderately use our victory. Let us demand of him, particularly, that the man of his right hand, the man who, by his direction and by his orders, has done so much for the re-establishment of his worship, and who proposes to do so much more, may continue to be, like Cyrus, the Christ of providence; that he may watch over his life, and cover him with his wings; that he may shield his august person from the dangers he may meet in combat, and those he has to fear from the envy of his detractors, on account of his merit; from the wicked, because his object is to do good; from impiety, because he is supporting religion; from policy and from foreign passions, because he is the first man of

a great state, and that the happiness of the empire he governs is essentially united with his preservation.”

11th. The gazette contains letters from capt. Wallis, of the Naiad, announcing the capture of L'Impatient French national corvette, of 22 guns and 80 men:—from adm. Montague announcing the capture of a small armed French privateer, having 22 men on board, by the Baodicia; and from lieut. Senhouse, stating his having, in the Hind revenue cutter, captured La Felicite French cutter privateer, a Dutch West-Indiaman, a Dutch galliot, and a French brig.

12th. Accounts from Cochin China, arrived this day, state that a dreadful action was fought near Hue, in December last, between the Imperial troops and the army of the Tonquinese, which terminated in the total defeat of the latter. Twelve thousand of the insurgents are stated to have been killed, and many were driven into the river, and drowned. Previous to this decisive engagement, the emperor ordered 100 rowing galleys, and 800 gun-boats, to intercept the vessels belonging to the insurgents; and, the day before the action, the emperor saw the whole of their armament in a blaze of fire, consisting of 200 gun-boats and 50 galleys. The enemy covered an extent of 6 miles. The emperor, after this brilliant action, determined to march to Tonquin, with 300,000 men, in order to be publicly crowned; and, at the same time, he issued a general amnesty to all those who should surrender. The object of the rebels was, to have seized the king and queen; and this they had nearly accomplished, by the means of one of the chief mandarins which attended at the emperor's court. The conspiracy



conspiracy having been found out, this mandarin, a man of letters, named Ong Thon Thew, was instantly beheaded, with 84 others.—In the above action the emperor fought himself, sword in hand.

At a meeting of the royal humane society, it was resolved that honorary and pecuniary premiums should be given by that body, for essays or models relative to the following questions:

1. What are the best means of preventing shipwreck?

2. The most probable means of keeping vessels afloat, if they spring a leak, or are in extreme danger.

3. The most certain methods of conveying assistance from shore to vessels in distress, and when boats dare not venture to their aid.

Honorary premiums, &c. to be kept open, and to be adjudged in March, 1806.

For the first in point of merit, an honorary gold medal. The second, an honorary silver medal. Third, ten guineas. Fourth, five guineas, Fifth, three guineas.

#### Regulations.

1. The models, drawings, and essays to be transmitted to Dr. Hawes, with some device on the outside, and, within, the name of the author.

2. The determination of their merits will be vested in an appointed committee, &c. and the prizes adjudged as above.

3. The successful essays will be published by the society; the others returned to the respective authors.

16th. This evening, as Mr. Orrell, of Winsley-street, Oxford-street, with Mrs. Orrell, were passing in their chaise over Goulder's-green, on their way to Hendon, about half past eight, they were stopped by a single highwayman,

who produced a pistol, and demanded their money. Mr. O. declared he would not be robbed; and after the highwayman had uttered violent oaths and threats, and put his pistol several times to the head of Mr. and Mrs. O. Mr. O. jumped out of the chaise, and seizing the highwayman, nearly pulled him off his horse, and laid hold of the pistol; upon which the highwayman struggled and spurred his horse, and having extricated himself, galloped away towards Hampstead. He afterwards stopped one of the Hampstead stages near Red Lion-hill, in which were six passengers, with two men and the coachman outside, and robbed them of upwards of forty pounds. He then coolly rode off. The robbery was committed in the presence of several persons passing on the road.

A decree for preventing communication with France, dated Paris, June 21, enforces that—"There shall not be received in the ports of the Republic, any colonial produce from the English colonies, nor any merchandize coming directly or indirectly from England. In consequence, all produce or merchandize coming from the English manufactories or colonies shall be confiscated. Captains of French or neutral vessels, who do not attend to certain forms of declaration, shall not be suffered to enter the ports of the French republic.

21st. At the sitting of the legislative body, at the Hague, this day, a message was read from the government, announcing, that "this republic is obliged, as an ally of France, to take part in the war; and it now only remains for us to put our trust in Divine protection, and the justice of our cause." It then announces that

that it has satisfied the desires of the first consul, and placed the Batavian army under the order of the French commander.

24th. About six o'clock in the evening, as a Richmond stage was passing along Fleet-lane, one of the fore wheels broke down, which caused the coach immediately to upset, and three passengers on the top, a man, a girl, and a boy, were precipitated on the pavement: the boy escaped without much injury, but the man was dreadfully bruised. The poor girl was in a much worse state than any of the rest, for, after she had fallen upon the ground, the coach fell upon her. In this pitiable situation she shrieked for assistance, when the passengers having extricated her, and carried her into a neighbouring chemist's, it was found that several of her toes and two of her ribs were broken, and her body otherwise much bruised. The coachman was very little hurt, and one inside passenger (a woman) received not the least injury!

The same day, a seafaring man lately arrived in the port of London, sent for his wife from the country, to come on board the ship, lying off Ratcliffe-cross; where she staid some time. On parting, as she was descending the ship's side, a ballast lighter, by the strength of the tide, struck the side of the ship, by which the unfortunate woman was jammed to death.

After an elegant dinner given by lord Athlone, in Sloane-street, his footman, a foreigner, packed up all the plate, with a variety of his lordship's apparel, and carried the whole off without detection.

Paris, June 25. Chaptal, minister of the Interior, has addressed a letter to the prefects, of which the fol-

lowing is the substance:—"In the position in which France is at present, and with the kind of enemies with whom we have to combat, the bravery of the French would remain fruitless on the shores of the ocean, if the means of reaching their enemy were not furnished them by numerous vessels. It is to the construction of vessels, therefore, that all our efforts ought to be directed: commerce, agriculture, and industry, will suffer the less, the more speedy the execution. A flat-bottomed boat of the first kind will cost 30,000 francs (1250l.); one of the second, from 18,000 to 20,000; and one of the third, from 4000 to 6000. Two feet of water are sufficient to carry a flat-bottomed boat not armed: there are few towns, therefore, that cannot execute an enterprize of this nature. These boats will be distinguished by the names of the towns and the departments which have constructed them. The government will accept, with satisfaction, from a ship of the line, down to the smallest transport. If each department, and each large town, by a general and rapid movement, put vessels on the stocks, the French army will soon go and dictate laws to the British government, and establish the repose of Europe, the liberty and prosperity of commerce, on the only basis by which their duration can be ensured."

All the ship-carpenters and boat-builders, every where in France, from the age of fifteen to sixty, are put in requisition, to work only for government.

In consequence of orders from the government, the English confined at Rouen, have been conducted to Dourlens, six miles from Amiens.

The English that were at Calais when



when Bonaparte visited that place, have all been sent to Lisle.

The English prisoners at Brussels have been ordered to repair to Valenciennes.

The great consul, like a politic shepherd, continually removes the pen of his bleating English flock from spot to spot; well knowing that the soil will every where be enriched by their temporary residence. How their wool will look when they return from their summer pasture is of little consequence!

*Population of Bengal.* An inquiry, was lately instituted among the collectors of districts, as to the population of their respective jurisdictions; when they gave an estimate amounting to 22,000,000 for Bengal and Bahar!

The beautiful mausoleum, erected by Hyder Ally, at Seringapatam, has been repaired and beautified, at the expence of the British government. The body of Hyder is in the centre; the mother of Tippoo on the right hand, and Tippoo on the left.

The territory of Louisiana, which has been ceded to America by France, comprises 450,000 square miles, and this acquisition renders the whole extent of the United States, not less than 1,680,000 square miles, sixteen times larger than Great Britain and Ireland united.

25th. Early this morning, the Wisbeach mail, from London, coming down the hill between Buckland and Royston, in Herts, was overturned by the horses taking fright, by which accident one woman was killed, and the other passengers much bruised.

As Mr. Thomas Roach, of Fordingbridge, was riding half a mile

from that place, he observed something creep into a pond, which he afterwards caught, and it proved to be a land tortoise, about half grown. It is well known that the tortoise is not indigenous to this country; and it is a circumstance of some curiosity to account for the mode by which this solitary animal was dropped, in a quarter where its species is scarcely known. The situation is at a great distance from any public road, or it might have been inferred that a public carrier had lost it. Every enquiry has been made to learn if one was kept in any garden in the neighbourhood, but this does not appear to have been the case. It is now in the garden of Mr. Roach, at Fordingbridge, and is very lively.

A letter from Montreal states, that a most destructive fire broke out there on the 6th ult. About thirty buildings were burned down, among which were the episcopalian church, the jesuit's church, the college, and the prison; the loss is supposed to be £.30,000.

A man named William Withers, some time since, formed a project of robbing the South Carolina bank at Charlestown, and with this intent, descended into the common sewer, whence he cut a passage to the vaults of the bank, in which the cash was deposited. He was ninety days employed in this work, during which period, he never took off his clothes; breathed any other air, than what passed through the drains with the refuse water; saw no other light than what proceeded from his lamp; or assumed any other than a prone position of his body: his food was let down at night by his accomplices! He was, however, detected, and severely punished.

26th. As Belcher, the famous pugilist,



gelist, was playing at tennis, in St. Martin's-street, Haymarket, the ball rebounding with great force, struck him in the eye, and forced it out of the socket.

27th. In the court of King's Bench, Phillips and Shipman, two sailors, who had conspired with others, falsely to accuse their captain of the murder of his apprentice at Demarara (for which he was tried and acquitted) were brought up for judgment; one of them having added perjury to his conspiracy, the sentence of the court upon them was, "That Richard Shipman should be imprisoned in the House of Correction, Cold Bath Fields, for two years, during which time he shall stand in and upon the pillory for one hour. That Benjamin Phillips do suffer the same sentence for the conspiracy; and for the perjury, be imprisoned one month in Newgate, and then be transported, beyond the seas, for the term of seven years."

28th. The account of a most gallant action was communicated in the following letter to Admiral Colpoys, by captain Maitland, of his Majesty's ship, the Loire.

"Loire, off L'Isle de Bas.

"Sir,

"I have the pleasure of informing you, that, last night, three of the boats of his majesty's ship Loire, commanded by lieutenants Temple and Bowen, in a most gallant manner boarded, and, after a very severe conflict of nearly ten minutes on her deck, carried the national brig Venteux, bearing four long 18-pounders, and six 36-pound brass carronades, commanded by Mons. Montfort, lieutenant de Vaisseau, lying close under the batteries of the Isle of Bas. When it is considered that the Venteux, perfectly

prepared, manned with eighty-two men, all of whom were upon deck, and covered with very heavy batteries, was opposed to the crews of two of our boats, (as the third, from rowing heavy, did not get up till the brig was completely taken possession of), I feel confident that you will view it in the light I do, as one of those brilliant exploits which add lustre to the British arms, of which, though so many instances occurred during the late war, no one has before been happy enough to have thrown in his way during the present. The success of Mr. Temple's daring attempt speaks sufficiently for his conduct, and that of every one under his command, to render it superfluous for me to enter into any eulogium on the present occasion. Mr. Bridges has served his time, and passed for lieutenant nearly a year; of whose conduct Mr. Temple speaks in the highest terms, together with that of every officer and man under his command. I am very sorry to add, that the loss, on our side, is rather heavy, as Mr. M'Guire, the boatswain, is also so severely wounded, as to render him incapable of doing his duty for a considerable time. Four seamen and a marine are also badly wounded, two of the seamen, I fear, past recovery. The Venteux had her second captain and two seamen killed; the captain, with four officers (all she had), and eight seamen, wounded. She was stationed at the Isle of Bas to guard the coast, and regulate the convoys of stores, &c. bound to Brest; is a vessel of large dimensions, being seventy-four feet long, and twenty-four wide, and perfectly in a condition immediately to be employed.

"I am, &c. F. Maitland."

D d

29th. A meeting of the livery of London was held at Guildhall, to consider the propriety of instructing the city members to oppose, with all their influence in parliament, the tax on income. A number of resolutions were read, declaratory of the impolicy, injustice, and inexpediency of the tax, which were all carried in the affirmative. At the close of the business, a resolution was proposed and unanimously passed:—"That the livery of London felt the importance of supporting government at this important juncture, and were uniformly ready to contribute, in all just and equal imposts, to the vigorous prosecution of the contest in which the country was engaged."

Being the last day of Trinity term, captain Brisac, late of the Isis, convicted of a fraud upon government, in the purchase of stores, was brought up to receive judgment; when Mr. justice Grose uttered the sentence of the court, viz. "that he should pay a fine of 300*l.* be imprisoned eighteen months in the king's bench, and once, during that time, stand in and upon the pillory; opposite the Admiralty." (The latter part of this sentence, the king has been graciously pleased to remit).

30th. The court of common council resolved, that 800 men be voluntarily raised for the public service, and referred it to the militia committee, to determine on the best mode to put the same into execution.

A man being discovered, about 3 o'clock in the morning, stealing lead from the top of a house in Russel-square, he was pursued by a number of persons from one house to another; at length, an inhabitant of Hunter-street, fired a blunderbuss

at the poor wretch, the contents of which entering his body, he expired in a few minutes.

The wife of Daniel Taylor, of Chalfont, St. Peters, labourer, was delivered of three male infants, all of whom, with the mother, are now living, and likely to do well!

DIED.—At Florence, after a short and feverish reign, the king of Etruria, a monarch of Bonaparte's manufacture! He was buried with extraordinary pomp and magnificence; the expences of his burial being calculated to have cost 300,000 livres! They put in his coffin two gold medals of great value; the corpse wore shoes, with a pair of buckles richly set in brilliants, and, on the king's finger, remains a diamond of great value. The queen has been declared regent for her son, an infant of three years old.

In her 92d year, Mrs. Harrison, relict of John Harrison, esq. the oldest inhabitant of Islington.

## JULY.

5th. The following action for crim. con. was tried in the court of king's bench—Smith v. Smith—the damages were laid at 6000*l.* Mr. Erskine, in addressing the jury, said, the plaintiff and defendant were brothers' children, living at Birmingham, the former about forty years of age, and the latter only twenty-four. The defendant was left an orphan, in his early infancy, and consigned to the guardian care of the plaintiff. He executed that trust with the greatest tenderness—He superintended his education, and brought him to his own home, in all the vacancies from school. When he became of mature age, he sought and



and found an apprenticeship, which might be the means of his future good. When that also was expired, he introduced him to business; and, that he might be at no expence, gave him part of his own house at Birmingham for a warehouse. Under these auspices, he had acquired a property to the amount of 3000*l*. The return he had made, shewed how well he had merited such singular attentions and kindness. The plaintiff married in the year 1790, had four children living, by his wife, who was a very handsome woman, and, till within a year of the injury taking place, they had lived on terms of mutual love and affection, the defendant being considered as a brother in the family. From that period, the plaintiff discovered an unaccountable change in his wife's conduct; her affections appeared to be alienated; as were her duties both of a wife and a mother. At this conduct the plaintiff was greatly distressed. At length, she begged she might be allowed to separate from him; she had private reasons for urging it, and actually removed a short distance from Birmingham, to a house in the town; from whence, on the 11th of March, 1802, she eloped with the defendant, went to Edinburgh (living together in open adultery), where she miscarried of a child, the fruits of their criminal connexion. From the time of their elopement, the peace of the plaintiff's mind had been ruined, his health broken, and he had, ever since, been labouring under the effects of misery and oppression. The marriage and the adultery were proved; the latter by a Mr. Hayward, who followed the plaintiff's wife to Edinburgh.

The defendant's counsel endeavoured to shew, by cross-examining

the plaintiff's witnesses, that he had neglected her, and been the means of his own shame: but this turned out to be so far from fact, that every witness concurred in giving him the best of characters, as a kind, tender, and affectionate husband.

Lord Ellenborough delivered an excellent charge to the jury: who, after a minute's deliberation, found a verdict for the plaintiff, *three thousand pounds* damages; being, as they observed, all the defendant was worth.

His majesty's frigate, *Resistance*, of thirty-six guns, was totally lost on Cape St. Vincent, early on the morning of the 31st ult. the crew saved.

*La Minerve* frigate, of forty-four guns, commanded by captain Brenton, unfortunately got upon a sand-bank, off Cherbourg, and is lost—the crew saved.

As colonel Baillie, of the West Middlesex regiment, brother to lord Uxbridge, was riding in front of the line at Coxheath camp, he was thrown from his horse, and had his collar-bone broken, and his shoulder dislocated.

A horde of wolves has committed the most terrible ravages in the department of Gers. The communes of Aignau, Risle, St. Grisiere, Plaisance, and Ladivege, have suffered in an extraordinary degree.

8th. At the Old Bailey, came on the trial of Robert Astlett, who, being put to the bar, was indicted, for that he, being a servant of, and employed by the governor and company of the bank of England, was entrusted with a certain paper-writing, called an exchequer-bill, of the value of 1000*l*. and another of the same value, and a third of the same value; on the 26th of February last, he be-



ing such servant, &c. did feloniously secrete and embezzle the said exchequer bills, and did run away with them, so belonging to the said governor and company. There were no less than ten different counts to the same effect.

Mr. Garrow was counsel for the prosecutor, and Mr. Erskine for the prisoner. The former stated, that the Bank of England, being in the customary habit of purchasing exchequer bills, on account of government, such bills are either brought to the Bank by one particular house; (Goldsmid and co.) or by the Bank broker, who purchases the bills in the market. On the delivery of these to the cashier, Mr. Astlett, he gives an order for payment, and the exchequer bills remain with him till a sufficient quantity are collected together, and made up in bundles, to deliver into the custody of the directors in the parlour. These bundles are then counted, and a voucher given to the cashier on their delivery. They are placed in a strong closet, shut under three keys, and two of the keys are kept by the directors. Conformably to this practice, on the 26th day of February last, there were transferred from the custody of Mr. Astlett, the cashier, to the parlour,

One bundle of exchequer bills to the value of 100,000

Another, value 200,000

A third 400,000—700,000

An entry was made in the parlour-book, and its correctness was vouched by the signatures of two directors, Messrs. Smith and Paget. The entry thus vouched, was; nevertheless, afterwards found to be for bills to the amount of 200,000l. more than the actual value of the

bundles. On this discovery it came out, that Mr. Astlett had been re-issuing some of these bills to raise money; and Mr. Bish, the stock-broker, who had been applied to, with some of them, by Astlett, suspecting all was not right, gave intimation of his suspicions to the Bank, when Mr. Astlett's criminality became evident.

After Mr. Garrow had gone through his case, Mr. Erskine, in behalf of the prisoner, insisted that Mr. Jennings, who had signed these purloined exchequer bills, in the first instance, had not had the proper authority renewed to him for so doing, as required by act of parliament; and so evident was this, that government had, since the commitment of Mr. Astlett, passed an act to remedy the omission.

The chief baron Macdonald observed, that the charge was for embezzling a valid bill of exchange. However great the crime in society, and the magnitude of the sum embezzled; though every one must regret the cause of it, and the effect upon society, yet it was the bounden duty of the court, to determine according to the regular, ordinary, and constant course of the administration of justice. It was certainly clear the present indictment was not to be maintained, as the charge therein alledged could not be proved. The late act of parliament had recognized the invalidity of the bills which the prisoner embezzled.

The other judges concurred in opinion, and the lord chief baron directed the jury to acquit the prisoner. He was accordingly found not guilty.

Mr. Garrow applied to the court to detain him in custody; it being the

the intention of the bank directors to issue a civil process against him for 100,000*l.* and upwards, the monies paid for the bills, which he had converted to his own use.

The prisoner was dressed in a lightish brown coat, his hair full powdered. He appeared quite collected, but held his head down; never once looking up, except when the application was made to keep him in custody, when he expressed symptoms of great surprise, and looked very stedfastly at the court.

The total defalcation of Astlett, by exchequer bills purloined from the bank, amounted to 322,000*l.* of which 91,000*l.* that had been pawned, was redeemed for 70,000*l.* so prosperous are the affairs of the bank, that there will be no reduction in the dividends of bank stock.

9th. Between one and two o'clock on Saturday, an alarming fire broke out in the roof of the tower in the centre of Westminster abbey. A sufficient quantity of water to work the engines could not be procured for nearly two hours after the flames burst forth; in consequence of which, the roof of the tower (which was framed of wood) fell in, and did considerable damage to the woodwork of the choir, both by the violence of the falling timbers, and by communicating the fire to the stalls, pews, &c. When, however, water was to be had in abundance, an end was speedily put to the progress of the devastation. The utmost possible exertions were used by firemen, soldiers, volunteers, neighbours, and by the populace at large. At half past 5, all danger was at an end. The accident was attributed to the negligence of the plumbers, employed in repairing the roof, who had gone to their dinner, and had

left their melting pot in an improper state. No injury was done to the monuments. Besides the engines, the soldiers, and others, formed lines to the Thames, whence they handed buckets of water to the abbey. The duke of York, and several noblemen, were present, encouraging the soldiery, &c. The damage is estimated at 5000*l.*

11th. In the court of King's Bench an indictment was tried, the King v. col. Hepburne, and another.

This was an indictment against col. Hepburne and captain M'Cummins, for conspiring to defraud his majesty and the public, by the act of captain M'Cummins, who was paymaster of the 31st regiment, in making up false musters and returns of the number of non-commissioned officers and privates of that regiment, when at Barbadoes, in the year 1796; and by colonel Hepburne signing the same, and certifying them to be true. The regiment had, at that time, been so reduced by the yellow fever, as to consist only of about 120; nevertheless, the first article of this muster was, to subsistence of 42 sergeants and 42 corporals during that period. The musters were so evidently false and fraudulent, that the counsel for captain M'Cummins could not attempt any defence for him. The question for the jury was, whether colonel Hepburne, who certified this to be a true muster, did it so, fraudulently, knowing it to be a false one? The evidence to induce the jury to suppose the colonel guilty of knowing it to be false when he first signed it was, 1st. The gross and palpable nature of the falsehood itself; which was so glaring that a single glance of his eye at that account, which he certified to be true,



true, must convince him that it was not so; in the second place, it was positively sworn, by a serjeant of the name of Martin, who was employed in the fabrication of these musters, that the colonel had taken an active part in it. The evidence of Martin was attempted to be disproved by a captain Sullivan, of the same regiment, but without effect. The jury, after a short consultation, found the defendants guilty.

13th. Mr. Gray, of the Bell Savage Inn, Ludgate Hill, went out this morning in a gig, with two children, boys: coming home down Grays-Inn-lane, towards Holborn, the gig unfortunately came in contact with another chaise, and the concussion was so great, that Mr. Gray and the children were thrown out; one child was killed; the other had his arm broke, and was otherwise dreadfully bruised. Mr. Gray himself was taken home speechless.

The same evening, near Kennington Cross, a drayman, riding on the shafts of his dray, from a very sudden jerk, fell off, when one wheel going over his body, killed him instantaneously.

About half past 10 at night, the house of Mr. Murphy, a jeweller and goldsmith, on Clerkenwell-green, was discovered to be on fire. From the quantity of wood with which the house was built, the flames soon spread with astonishing rapidity, and threatened the whole row of buildings with destruction. The roof and cieling of the second story were on fire before any supply of water could be obtained by the engines; and it was not till after 11 o'clock that any attempt to extinguish the fire was made. The engines then began to play, and continued to do so all night. When

the flames were extinguished, no less than five houses were entirely consumed. The cause of the calamity proceeded from a furnace in which Mr. M. was melting some gold, the fire of which flew out, and set the shop in flames, before any assistance could be procured. Fortunately no lives were lost; but three of the firemen belonging to the Phoenix Company were dreadfully bruised by one of the walls which fell in upon them, during their exertions to save the property of the sufferers; they were conveyed to the hospital. Mr. Murphy, we understand, is insured, but not sufficiently to indemnify him for the loss; the other sufferers are poor people.

14th. A half-yearly general court of the proprietors of bank-stock was this day held at the Bank, for the purpose of declaring a dividend. In the course of doing this, it became necessary for the chairman of the court of directors to state the loss which the company had sustained by Mr. Astlett. The actual loss he stated at about 320,000*l.* about 78,000*l.* had been employed in sources from which the directors think they will be able to recover, and they are determined to prosecute to that effect. On the part of the directors it was stated, that the loss by Mr. Astlett would make no alteration in the dividends.—That loss amounted to nearly the entire dividends of the half year; but the affairs of the company were in so prosperous a state, that they would be able to divide as usual. The chairman then proceeded to explain, that the court of directors were not to blame for the mal-practices of Mr. Astlett, who had succeeded in making away with the effects of the Bank, by interlining sums, and by calling



calling out false sums when the property was regulated. On this subject a very detailed and satisfactory explanation was given, in which the mode of doing the business was fully described. The directors too relied on Mr. Astlett's character and long fidelity. Under all circumstances, it would have required a supernatural power to have, at first, detected him.

This day, a numerous and respectable meeting of the friends and supporters of the literary fund, was held at the Ship tavern, Greenwich, sir John Cox Hippesly, bart. in the chair. Several new subscribers were announced, and a most flattering report was made of the state of the fund. After dinner some loyal and patriotic songs were sung; and the spirits of the company were roused almost to rapture by Tyrtæan compositions, recited by their respective authors. Words cannot convey an idea of the force and animation with which Mr. Fitzgerald gave some lines, or of the enthusiasm with which the recitation was encored.

15th. This day a very numerous and respectable meeting of the ward of Farringdon Without, was held in St. Sepulchre's parish church. The right hon. the lord mayor (as alderman of the ward) presided, and addressed the inhabitants in a very spirited and patriotic speech, calling on them to unite as one man in the common cause—the defence of our country against invasion and tyranny. The following spirited resolutions were then read, and agreed to with the most perfect unanimity, and amidst the loudest peals of applause.

I. That it becomes the patriotism of every subject of the united kingdom, of whatever rank, to forego, at

this moment, all private gratifications and considerations whatever, in order that he may be enabled to co-operate with the general power of government in the destruction of any force that may attempt the invasion of this island.

II. That, heartily and sincerely subscribing to the sentiments of the court of aldermen, the inhabitants of this ward consider the recommendations of that court to hold out the most effectual measures to be adopted at this juncture, as, in their opinion, they cannot fail to stimulate all orders in society to come forward and assist in defeating the hostile preparations of an implacable foe.

III. That the inhabitants of this ward, from the age of 18 to 45, will, as speedily as possible, form themselves into such associations, that they may be regularly trained and disciplined, in order to join the volunteer corps, established in the year 1798, when required.

IV. That the householders and inhabitants, above the age of 45, and free from infirmity, will enrol themselves to serve as constables, or any similar situation, in order to co-operate with the volunteer corps.

V. That, sensible of the great benefit derived to this ward in particular, and the country in general, by the manly exertions of all the late volunteer corps, the inhabitants embrace this opportunity of making their grateful acknowledgments to the gentlemen that composed the late West London loyal volunteer corps of this ward, and request they will again form themselves upon the same principles, and, after assisting, then select and admit, as they shall be found capable, the inhabitants now

to be enrolled agreeably to the third resolution.

Resolved unanimously, that the thanks of this meeting be given to the right hon. the lord mayor and alderman of this ward, for his very able and manly conduct upon the present important occasion—for his promptitude and zeal in forwarding the association of the inhabitants of the city, and of this ward in particular, in the defence of the kingdom—for his upright conduct in the chair, and his polite attention to the inhabitants at this meeting.

16th. A remarkable circumstance happened in Wych-street, opposite the gate of the New-inn. About 10 this morning, a woman, decently dressed, came up to a man passing that way, and, attempting to lay hold of him, fell back, and immediately expired. On being searched, there was nothing which could lead to a knowledge of her name, or who she was; for though some pawnbroker's duplicates were found in her pocket, the articles appeared to have been pledged under some other names, as the pawnbroker declared he was unacquainted with the person of the woman.—She was conveyed to the workhouse, where the coroner's jury sat on Sunday last, and found a verdict, "Died by the visitation of God." The most extraordinary part of the anecdote is, that the man who was so accosted by the deceased, and who appears to have been a porter in the Brownlow-street lying-in-hospital, as soon as he came home, said he had received a shock from which he should never recover, and died in the course of the day.

A letter from Hanover, of the 16th, says, "Yesterday was celebrated with much festivity, as Bo-

naparte's birth-day; every hour 30 pieces of cannon were discharged from the ramparts. In the evening was a general illumination, free entrance at the théâtre, a grand concert, &c. The States had been required to furnish 30,000 dollars for this fête, but 10,000 were accepted."

20th. This day, at the house of Isaac Salter and son, clothiers, at Langley, near Chippenham, a large fire-ball fell down the chimney, into a room, where a woman and four children were struck senseless, and that and the adjoining house were both in flames in a short time. A young child received some hurt by the fire. Had it happened by night, many lives would inevitably have been lost.

As Simpson, a bricklayer, was at work upon the roof of Albany-buildings, late York-house, Piccadilly, he was struck down by the lightning, and deprived of sight.—He was immediately taken up, and carried in a coach to St. George's hospital, where he now remains blind, and in the greatest agony.—His eyes and eye-lashes were quite burned. He recollects seeing, just at the moment of the accident, the lightning, like the blaze of a candle, running along his trowel.

The merchants, underwriters, and other subscribers to Lloyd's coffee-house, having this day met for the purpose of setting on foot a general subscription, on an extended scale, for the encouragement and relief of those who may be engaged in the defence of the country, and who may suffer in the common cause; and of those who may signalize themselves during the present most important contest: and feeling confident, that when our very existence, as a great and independent nation; is

at



at stake, it only becomes necessary to point out any means by which the exertion of our native spirits, and the application of our powerful resources, may receive an additional stimulus; begged leave to submit to the liberal consideration of their fellow-subjects, the following resolutions, which were unanimously passed at the meeting, and presumed to hope, that the object of the subscription will be so promoted and sanctioned by public bodies in general—by the higher ranks, and opulent classes of society—and by individuals of every description, that the mite of the labourer, combining with the munificent donation of the noble and wealthy, shall be the best pledge of our unanimity—shall insure our seamen, our soldiers, our countrymen at large, with a well-grounded confidence in the liberality and gratitude of the community; and shall impress on the minds of our enemies the appalling conviction, that the energies of this great empire are irresistible, as its resources are incalculable.

BROOK WATSON, esq. in the chair.

On a motion being made, the following resolutions being produced, were read, and passed unanimously.

I. That in a conjuncture when the vital interests of our country, when the peculiar blessings which, under our beloved sovereign and happy constitution, endear our social state, are involved in the issue of the present contest; when we are menaced by an enemy, whose haughty presumption is grounded only on the present unfortunate position of the continental powers, and when we seem to be placed, for the moment, as the last barrier against the total subjugation of Europe, by the overbearing influence of France—it be-

hooves us to meet our situation as men—as freemen—but, above all, as Britons. On this alone, with the Divine aid, depends our exemption from the yoke of Gallic despotism—on this alone depends, under the same protecting Power, whether this empire shall remain, what it has for ages been, the strenuous supporter of religion and morals, the assertor of its own, and the guardian of the liberties of mankind, the nurse of industry, the protector of the arts and sciences, the example and admiration of the world—or whether it shall become an obsequious tributary, an enslaved, a plundered, and degraded department of a foreign nation.

II. That, to give more effect and energy to the measures adopted by government for the defence of our liberties, our lives, and property—to add weight to those personal exertions we are all readily disposed to contribute, it behoves us to hold out every encouragement to our fellow-subjects, who may be in any way instrumental in repelling or annoying our implacable foe, and to prove to them that we are ready to drain both our purses and our veins in the great cause which imperiously calls on us to unite the duties of loyalty and patriotism, with the strongest efforts of zealous exertion.

III. That, to animate the efforts of our defenders, by sea and land, it is expedient to raise, by the patriotism of the community at large, a suitable fund for their comfort and relief—for the purpose of assuaging their wounds, or palliating, in some degree, the more weighty misfortune of the loss of limbs—of alleviating the distresses of the widow and orphan—of smoothing the brow of sorrow for the fall of their dearest relatives,



relatives, the props of unhappy indigence or helpless age—and of granting pecuniary rewards, or honourable badges of distinction, for successful exertions of valour or merit.

IV. That a subscription, embracing all the objects in the foregoing resolution, be now opened; and, to set an example to the public bodies throughout the united kingdom and its dependencies, and to our fellow-subjects, of every class and denomination, that, independently of our individual contributions, the sum of 20,000*l.* three per cent. consolidated annuities, part of the funded property of this society, shall be appropriated to this purpose.

V. That on Friday, the 29th instant, at 12 o'clock precisely, a general meeting of the subscribers to this fund be held at this house, for the purpose of appointing their committee; and that the committee of the house be requested to become, and they are hereby constituted a committee, *ad interim*, for the receipt and management of the subscriptions, and other purposes expressed in these resolutions.

VI. That the committee of this house, and the bankers in the metropolis, and in the cities and towns of the united kingdom, be requested to receive subscriptions; and that such part of the fund as shall not be used for the purposes now intended, be returned, in proportion to the sums subscribed.

VII. That all sums, however small, which shall be offered by the patriotism of the poorer classes of our fellow-subjects, shall be accepted—the cause affecting equally the liberties and lives of persons of every description.

VIII. That the thanks of this

meeting be given to the chairman, for his able and impartial conduct in the chair.

23d. A number of persons, armed with muskets and pikes, assembled in the evening in a quarter of Dublin that is called the Liberties, and, after committing some other outrages, attacked, in his carriage, lord chief-justice Kilwarden, and his nephew, the rev. Richard Wolfe, both of whom the ruffians inhumanly murdered on the spot, and several other persons were desperately wounded. The confusion that ensued is more easily to be conceived than described. General consternation and terror immediately pervaded the whole of the city; the drums beat to arms; the military were called out, but, in the mean time, the perpetrators of the horrid deed disappeared. On the same night, the mail-guard was attacked between Dublin and Naas, and, in consequence of the resistance that was made, two dragoons are stated to have been killed.

24th. This morning, soon after 2 o'clock, a fire broke out at Mr. Solomon's, broker and appraiser, Castle-street, Broker-row, Long-acre, which burnt with great fury for upwards of an hour, and entirely consumed the house before any water could be procured; but, being surrounded by strong party walls, in all probability prevented the flames communicating to the adjoining extensive timber-yard and manufactory of Messrs. Godsall and co.

This afternoon another fire also broke out at Mr. Walker's, baker, Wardour-street, Soho, which, in a short time, communicated to the adjoining houses of Mr. Lyons, cabinet-maker, and Mr. Smith, chair-maker,

maker, and burned with irresistible fury, for upwards of an hour, before any water could be procured, and then not in sufficient quantity to stop the progress of the flames, as the workshops and back-buildings have been entirely destroyed. Providentially, about 6 o'clock, a sufficient supply of water was obtained, and, about 7, the flames were entirely got under, without doing farther damage. Great praise was given to the St. James's volunteers, who contributed much to the safety and preservation of the property of the inhabitants. When the fire broke out, Mr. Walker's family were all from home, and the door of the house was obliged to be broke open.

25th. The forest of Culross was this day accidentally set on fire, by which an extensive range of trees have been burnt down, and many others damaged. The fire commenced about 8 in the morning, pretty far west, and was occasioned by the burning of some whins at a place called Keir. The wind being south-west, it took its direction to the north-east, and, at the time, burned with such fierceness, as to give reason to apprehend the whole forest would have been consumed: it, however, abated in the afternoon, and terminated in the evening.

26th. We have the pleasing task of recording a display of British feeling and patriotism, which the world and posterity must contemplate with admiration. A meeting was this day held, upon the Royal Exchange, of the merchants, bankers, ship-owners, traders, and other inhabitants of this metropolis, for the purpose of expressing their sentiments in support of their king and constitution, and the honour

and independence of their country. At 1 o'clock, between 4 and 5,000 of the most opulent and respectable of the mercantile interest filled the area of the Royal Exchange; while those who were more immediately instrumental in forwarding the meeting, occupied a temporary booth, erected within the walk, upon the east side. Among them we distinguished those who rank first in the city of London for character and wealth; men whose breath could, in an instant, raise millions of money, should the service of their country require it. Jacob Bosanquet, esq. was unanimously called to the chair, and peals of applause ratified the choice. Mr. D'Almeida, the secretary of the East-India company, read the advertisement under which the meeting had been convened: when the chairman, in a manly and energetic manner, and in a speech truly worthy of a Briton, entered more at large into the cause which had occasioned the assembly being called, and proposed to them the following "Declaration."

"We, the merchants, bankers, traders, and other inhabitants of London and its neighbourhood, deem it our bounden duty, at the present momentous period, to make public our unanimous determination to stand or fall with our king and country.

"The independence and existence of the British empire—the safety, the liberty, the life of every man is at stake. The events, perhaps, of a few months, certainly of a few years, are to determine whether we and our children are to continue freemen and members of the most flourishing community in the world, or whether we are to be the slaves of our most implacable enemies—



enemies—their own slaves of a foreign usurper!

“We look on this great crisis without dismay. We have the most firm reliance on the spirit and virtue of the people of this country. We believe that there exists a firmer as well as nobler courage than any which rapine can inspire; and we cannot entertain such gloomy and unworthy apprehensions of the moral order of the world, as to think that so admirable a quality can be the exclusive attribute of freebooters or slaves. We fight for our laws and liberties—to defend the dearest hopes of our children—to maintain the unspotted glory which we have inherited from our ancestors—to guard from outrage and shame those whom nature has entrusted to our protection—to preserve the honour and existence of the country that gave us birth.—We fight for that constitution and system of society, which is at once the noblest monument and the firmest bulwark of civilization!—We fight to preserve the whole earth from the barbarous yoke of military despotism!—We fight for the independence of all nations, even of those who are the most indifferent to our fate, or the most blindly jealous of our prosperity!

“In so glorious a cause—in defence of these dearest and most sacred objects, we trust that the God of our fathers will inspire us with a valour which will be more than equal to the daring ferocity of those who are lured, by the hope of plunder, to fight the battle of ambition.

“His majesty is about to call upon his people to arm in their own defence. We trust, and we believe, that he will not call on them in vain—that the freemen of this land, go-

ing forth in the righteous cause of their country, under the blessing of Almighty God, will inflict the most signal chastisement on those who have dared to threaten our destruction—a chastisement, of which the memory will long guard the shores of this island, and which may not only vindicate the honour, and establish the safety of the empire, but may also, to the latest posterity, serve as an example to strike terror into tyrants, and to give courage and hope to insulted and oppressed nations.

“For the attainment of these great ends, it is necessary that we should not only all be unanimous, but a zealous, an ardent, and unconquerable people—that we should consider the public safety as the chief interest of every individual—that every man should deem the sacrifice of his fortune and his life to his country as nothing more than his duty—that no man should murmur at any exertions or privations which this awful crisis may impose upon him—that we should regard faintness or languor in the common cause as the basest treachery—that we should go into the field with an unshaken resolution to conquer or to die—and that we should look upon nothing as a calamity compared with the subjugation of our country.

“We have the most sacred duties to perform—we have most invaluable blessings to preserve—we have to gain glory and safety, or to incur indelible disgrace, and to fall into irretrievable ruin. Upon our efforts will depend the triumph of liberty over despotism—of national independence over projects of universal empire—and, finally, of civilization itself, over barbarism.

“At such a moment we deem it our duty solemnly to bind ourselves  
to



to each other, and to our countrymen, in the most sacred manner, that we will employ all our exertions to rouse the spirit, and to assist the resources, of the kingdom—that we will be ready with our services of every sort, and on every occasion, in its defence—and that we will rather perish together, than live to see the honour of the British name tarnished, or that noble inheritance of greatness, glory, and liberty destroyed, which has descended to us from our forefathers, and which we are determined to transmit to our posterity.”

The motion having been mostably seconded by Edward Forster, esq. the declaration was agreed to without a dissentient voice.

“God save the king,” and “rule Britannia,” were called for; and the whole assembly having given thrice three cheers, the meeting dissolved. Such an expression of zeal, loyalty, and patriotism, as was exhibited in the whole conduct of the meeting, was, perhaps, never paralleled at the most glorious era of the histories of Greece or Rome, or any other nation under the canopy of heaven.

27th. The inhabitants of Lambeth, among other sensible and spirited resolutions, this day declared, “That it appears to this meeting, the first consul of France, having enslaved the people whom he undertook to set free, and plundered and subjugated all orders of the inhabitants, rich and poor, of Holland, Switzerland, and Italy, under the most solemn assurances of fraternity and friendship, is now determined on the invasion of this united kingdom, and is making the most formidable preparations for that purpose. That, although this meeting agrees with Bonaparte himself, that the suc-

cess of such an undertaking is highly improbable, and that he must sacrifice army after army if he perseveres in the attempt; yet the threat having been denounced, nothing can sustain the honour of our country, but the most energetic and universal exertion. It is not enough for our reputation that his success should be improbable—it ought, by the numbers and gallantry of our volunteers, under the blessing of Divine Providence, to be rendered impossible. By such a conduct only can this nation continue to enjoy tranquillity, and have a disposeable force in the hands of government for offensive operations; and share the glory of avenging the wrongs of Europe against the destroyer of its liberty, its happiness, and its honour. That this meeting, in thus calling upon its fellow-citizens to arm, hope they shall be excused for reminding them, they are invited to come forward in defence of the happiest and wisest constitution ever known to the world—in defence of a sovereign, who, for a period of more than forty years, has shewn himself to be the father of all those who have the happiness to live under the British government. In defending objects thus sacred and dear, we deplore that our country is called upon to encounter a people with whom England wishes to live in amity; but who, unhappily for themselves and the civilized world, have submitted to the degradation of being made subservient to the aggrandisement and ambition of one man—an obscure Corsican, who began his murderous career with turning his artillery upon the citizens of Paris—who boasted, in his public letter from Pavia, to have shot the whole municipality—who put the helpless, innocent, and unoffending inhabitants

inhabitants of Alexandria, man, woman, and child, to the sword, till slaughter was tired of its work—who, against all the laws of war, put near 4000 Turks to death in cold blood, after their surrender—who poisoned his own hospitals in order to destroy his own comrades, when disabled, by wounds or sickness, from furthering the plan of pillage which carried him to St. Jean D'Acre—who, having thus stained the profession of arms, and solemnly and publicly renounced the religion of Christendom, and embraced Mahometanism, again pretended to embrace the Christian religion—who, on his return to France, destroyed the representative system—who, after seducing the Polish legion into the service of his pretended republic, transferred it treacherously to St. Domingo, where it has perished to a man, either by disease or the sword: and who, finally, as it were to fill the measure of his arrogance, has dared to attack what is most dear and most useful to civilized society—the freedom of the press, and the freedom of speech; by proposing to restrict the British press, and the deliberations of the British senate. Such is the tyrant we are called upon to oppose; and such is the fate which awaits England, should we suffer him and his degraded slaves to pollute our soil. With these sentiments this meeting resolves unanimously, that they will use their utmost endeavours to carry into its fullest effect the bill now depending in parliament for the better defence of the country.”

28th. The attention of parliament was this day called to an object of the most serious importance, by the following most gracious communication from our beloved sovereign :

“ His majesty feels the deepest regret in acquainting the house of commons, that a treasonable and rebellious spirit of insurrection has manifested itself in Ireland, which has been marked by circumstances of peculiar atrocity in the city of Dublin. His majesty relies, with perfect confidence, on the wisdom of his parliament, that such measures will be forthwith adopted as are best calculated to afford protection and security to his majesty's loyal subjects, in that part of the united kingdom, and to restore and preserve general tranquillity. G. R.”

This message having been read by the speaker;

The chancellor of the exchequer addressed the house to the following purport: “ I am fully persuaded that there is, in the united parliament, a full participation of those feelings expressed by his majesty; and am convinced that this house possesses a disposition and determination to justify and repay the confidence of his majesty in such circumstances as the present. There was, indeed, reason to hope that contamination so malignant would have been, by this time, completely eradicated; we might reasonably have flattered ourselves, that the recollection of the calamities they had brought upon themselves by their former lawless and treasonable proceedings; that a sense of the blessings they since so eminently enjoyed, under a mild and paternal government; and, above all, that the experience exhibited to the world of all the hopes conceived from pretended and deluded reformers: and that the example of France, during the most bloody and afflicting scenes, in the most complete military despotism, would have operated favourably



yourably on a deluded and misguided multitude. But, unhappily, the event has shewn, that all these warnings and examples, so obvious to every eye, and so plain to every understanding, have miserably failed of their effect. I remember an expression of a very great man, who once said, "I should pity the loyalty of that person, who would attempt to aggravate or inflame the crime of treason." But surely it would now be felt as an aggravation and a shame, that, at the moment when we, in this country, are rousing up all our exertions, and uniting for the defence of ourselves, our government, and our constitution, against an insolent and presumptuous enemy, and while even, as I am well assured and convinced, a majority of the people of Ireland are actuated by the same noble and patriotic spirit, a comparatively small part of the misled inhabitants of that country should be guilty of any thing which could have the effect of encouraging that inveterate enemy, which there is, in both countries, so ardent, strong, and prevalent a disposition to resist. I shall not, at present, enter into the particulars of the information received by government upon this distressing subject; but, as soon as the present question shall be disposed of, it is my intention, first, to lay before them the proclamation, issued by the Irish government, upon that occasion, and afterwards offer such farther explanation as has hitherto reached his majesty's ministers. The mind, sir, recoils and sickens at the dreadful recital of the outrage committed, and feels oppressed with shame, regret, and indignation, when it contemplates the station and character of the upright and worthy

man, who fell a victim to murderous assassins, after having, by a long series of dignified and patriotic conduct, merited and obtained the respect and esteem of all the good subjects of the united kingdom. I move, sir, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, thanking him for his most gracious communication, expressing our regret and indignation at hearing that a treasonable spirit of insurrection and rebellion had manifested itself in Ireland, and was marked with circumstances of peculiar atrocity in the city of Dublin; to assure his majesty of our firm determination to take such measures as may seem best calculated to afford protection to the loyal inhabitants of that part of the united kingdom, and to preserve and restore the general tranquillity."

Lord Castlereagh seconded the motion, which was warmly supported by several other members, particularly Mr. Sheridan.

The question having been carried, the chancellor of the exchequer brought up a proclamation, by the lord lieutenant and council of Ireland, stating "that divers persons, engaged in a treasonable and daring insurrection against his majesty's government, did, on the evening of yesterday, the 23d of July instant, suddenly assemble in the liberties of Dublin, with fire-arms and pikes, and did there commit several outrages, and particularly in Thomas-street, in the parish of St. Catharine, within the said liberties, did assault the carriages of the right honourable Arthur lord viscount Kilwarden, chief justice of his majesty's court of king's-bench, and one of his majesty's most honourable privy council, and did drag



the said Arthur lord viscount Kilwarden, together with his nephew, the rev. Richard Wolfe, clerk, from his said carriage, and did there basely, and inhumanly murder the said Arthur lord viscount Kilwarden and Richard Wolfe, by stabbing them respectively with pikes in various parts of their bodies, of which wounds they both soon after died;" and offering, "in order to bring such enormous offenders to condign punishment, that if any person or persons shall, within six calendar months from the date hereof, discover any of the person or persons who committed the said inhuman murders, or either of them, or who aided and assisted therein, or who advised, encouraged, instigated, moved, stimulated, or incited the persons concerned therein to commit the same, such person or persons so discovering shall receive as a reward the sum of one thousand pounds sterling for each and every of the first three persons who shall be apprehended and convicted thereof."

30th. The following account of deaths by small-pox, extracted from the weekly bills of mortality, evinces a great decrease of deaths in the metropolis, since the institution of the Royal Jennerian Society:

Weekly deaths.

|                |    |     |
|----------------|----|-----|
| 1802, November | 2  | 72  |
|                | 9  | 74  |
|                | 16 | 61  |
|                | 23 | 65  |
|                | 30 | 88  |
| December       | 7  | 83  |
|                | 14 | 102 |
|                | 21 | 50  |
|                | 28 | 48  |
| 1803, January  | 4  | 49  |
|                | 11 | 39  |
|                | 18 | 37  |
|                | 25 | 56  |

|                |    |    |
|----------------|----|----|
| 1803, February | 1  | 31 |
|                | 8  | 30 |
|                | 15 | 31 |
|                | 22 | 29 |
| March          | 1  | 25 |
|                | 8  | 20 |
|                | 15 | 15 |
|                | 22 | 22 |
|                | 29 | 13 |
| April          | 5  | 16 |
|                | 12 | 19 |
|                | 19 | 14 |
|                | 26 | 12 |
| May            | 3  | 15 |
|                | 10 | 13 |
|                | 17 | 10 |
|                | 24 | 13 |
|                | 31 | 18 |
| June           | 7  | 10 |
|                | 14 | 16 |
|                | 21 | 10 |
|                | 28 | 11 |
| July           | 5  | 13 |
|                | 12 | 10 |
|                | 19 | 12 |
|                | 26 | 15 |

A contribution of 8,000,000 livres has been imposed on the electorate of Hanover. Of this sum there has been already paid 2,500,000 in ready money (110,000l. st.) besides the pay for the armies, furniture, horses, provisions, ammunition, &c. &c. The timber in the forests of Hanover, which is fit for ship-building, is to be immediately felled, by order of the French government.

The interior of Hanover has, since the French conquest, been as little known to the rest of Europe, as that of Japan. A few letters, however, have escaped from that place, from which the following statement has been extracted. Ever since the conquest, the whole electorate has been a scene of pillage and butchery, which is said to yield only to the state of Switzerland in the spring of 1798. The French soldiers

diers have the most unbounded indulgence of their ruling passions, of rapacity, cruelty, and lust. In the city of Hanover, and even in the public streets, women of the highest rank have been violated by the lowest of that brutal soldiery, in the presence of their husbands and fathers, and subjected, at the same time, to such additional and undescribable outrages, as the savage fury of the violaters, inflamed by drunkenness, could contrive. The names of some of these unfortunate ladies are mentioned, but the honour of their families, and the peace of their own future lives, forbid their publication. The baron de K——, a well known partisan of French philosophy and politics, went to the commandant of Hanover, and claimed his protection as an admirer of the French revolution. But he found no more favour in the sight of the Aga of sultan Bonaparte's janissaries, than the most loyal nobleman in Hanover. The French officer told him, "All that jacobinism is now out of fashion—go about your business!" Nor have we heard that the philosophers of Goettingen, the enthusiasts of equality and perfectibility, have been at all better treated.

What happens in the great towns, and what befalls persons of rank, are of course better known than the calamities of the body of the people. It is for this reason only that we have selected them. They are, in fact, a perfectly fair specimen of the treatment of the whole miserable people. Every village exhibits the same scenes in miniature. The peasants, who have more spirit, patriotism, and loyalty, than their superiors, have already, in several parts of the country, been driven

into insurrection; many villages have been burnt to the ground, and two districts have been delivered over to all the horrors of military execution. The whole electorate, which is one of the most prosperous countries of the empire, will, by a few months of such tyranny, be laid absolutely waste.

Intelligence was this day received of the unconditional surrender of the island of St. Lucia, to his majesty's forces under lieut. gen. Grinfield, commander in chief in the Windward and Leeward Caribbee Islands. (*for particulars, vide appendix.*)

The number of English confined in France, are said to amount to 11,000; those in Holland to 1,300 persons!

The Bombay Courier, received this day, gives the following account of a dreadful accident which happened to a boy on board the Ganges, on her passage to China.

"During our detention at Angar Point, on the coast of Java, on the 5th day of May last, John Walker, boatswain's boy of the Ganges, aged 13, swimming alongside of the ship when at anchor, and at a few yards distance from our boat with three men in it, was discovered by a shark, who immediately approached him; and, in spite of the exertions of the boat's crew to intimidate the hungry monster, he laid hold of the unfortunate boy, by including in his mouth the whole of the right leg and more than half the thigh, pulling him beneath the water close alongside the ship, when upwards of 100 men were spectators of the scene, and kept him below for near two minutes, in which time he had tore off his leg and thigh to the extent above mentioned. The boy once more made his appearance on the surface of the water

water, and the shark upon his back, with his jaws once more extended to make a finish of his prey, when a lad from the boat struck him with the boat-hook, and by the same instrument laid hold of the boy, and brought him on board. The boy had lost a vast deal of blood, the stump was dreadfully lacerated, and the bone splintered near an inch and a half, which required an amputation of the thigh close to the hip joint. Under all these untoward circumstances, the boy has recovered, quite well, within three months from the date of the operation. The fleet, as it was an extraordinary case, have subscribed upwards of 280*l.* for him."

31st. A report having been industriously propagated, that deposits of fire arms and ammunition had been frequently made in the night, in the English nunnery at Marnhal, county of Dorset, to favour the views of the French, should they make good their landing, and that a brother of Bonaparte's was hid there, the reverend Mr. Blackburne, one of the justices of the peace for the county, with the laudable resolution of ascertaining the truth or falsity of the report, made a visit to the nunnery, in company with several gentlemen, and one of the principal inhabitants of the parish, and narrowly inspected every room, closet, cellar, and out-house, belonging to the premises, but the only warlike instruments found there, were the **SHIELD OF FAITH, THE BREAST PLATE OF RIGHTEOUSNESS, and the HELMET OF SALVATION.** On the strictest examination throughout the parish, not a person could give the least colour of probability to the report. It would be injustice to the ladies, not to say, they received their visitors

with the greatest politeness and good humour. The venerable lady abess said, "We were not more surprised, when, in the beginning of the reign of tyranny in France, a domiciliary visit had been paid us at our convent, under the idea that Mr. Pitt, the English minister, was secreted there." Who the authors of the calumny are, cannot be traced, but it is impossible, for an instant, to believe, that women, with English blood flowing in their veins, connected with England by the strongest ties of blood and gratitude, who, by the cruelty and oppression of the French, were deprived of all their possessions, could, for a moment, give countenance or support to the mad and ambitious schemes of such monsters!

The sum raised by voluntary subscription, at the end of this month, for the purposes of rewarding individuals, who distinguish themselves in the defence of their country, and of relieving the relations of those who fall, exceeded 150,000*l.*!

Nicholas Martin, esq. a gentleman of the county of Galway, in Ireland, of an estate amounting to 4000*l.* per annum, was, last week, at Dublin, indicted for wilful and corrupt perjury, in swearing to an affidavit advanced on a chancery cause, relative to a subpoena served on him the 11th of May, 1782. The law-suit was concerning an annuity that he had engaged to pay to his wife, from whom he is separated. The jury found him guilty, and the court sentenced him to one year's imprisonment, and to stand four times in the pillory.

A reward has been offered by the Irish government of 500*l.* for discovering



vering the murderers of lieut. colonel Browne, and 300 for those of cornet Cole, of the 12th dragoons. Mr. Park, serjeant of the Liberty Rangers, in attempting to save lord Kilwarden, was murdered at his feet. Mrs. Browne, the wife of the col. is sister of the late captain Riou, of the royal navy, killed at Copenhagen.

The Seine, a fine frigate of forty-two guns, got a-shore on a sand bank near Schelling, when the efforts of the officers and crew proving ineffectual, they set fire to her. The Seine was taken from the French in 1798. This is the third frigate lost since the commencement of the war.

DIED.—28th. Of a brain fever, that very ingenious and distinguished artist, Mr. James Malton.

## AUGUST.

2d. A meeting of the freeholders of Middlesex, was convened at the Mermaid, Hackney, to consider of an address to his majesty on the state of affairs. Sheriff Welch took the chair, and alderman Skinner addressed the audience in an appropriate speech, illustrative of the object of the meeting; in the course of which, he observed, that whatever little differences might prevail, about internal matters, he trusted, all would join in one sentiment against the common enemy. Mr. Travers proposed, as an amendment in the address, that, instead of "our destructive enemy," the words should be, "our daring enemy, whose insatiable ambition, nothing short of

our destruction could gratify." A shout of applause followed, and the amendment was unanimously adopted. Sir Francis Burdett entered, and was received with murmurs and other signs of disapprobation. Alderman Curtis requested an explanation from the baronet, of his conduct at a late meeting\*, where he, sir Francis, was charged to have introduced sentiments highly out of season: the purport of which were, that if we meant, effectually, to resist the foe, it should be done by restoring the people's rights, &c. Sir F. Burdett then rose, and declared, that the statement of his speech, which had appeared in a certain print, was an infamous libel: denied that he had ever said, that the people ought not to defend the country, or that he had excited the fleet to mutiny; but admitted, that he had said, that the best mode of providing for the defence of the country, was to give the people their just rights at home. This speech met with universal disapprobation, which was marked by the hootings and hisses of the whole assembly; when sir W. Curtis observed, that the worthy baronet had by no means justified himself. It was not true, that sailors were influenced to perform their duty in consequence of boons: he was not aware that any boon had ever been offered, except what they, as sailors, were entitled to; such as their pay, clothing, and prize money. He was, certainly, very sorry for the conduct of the honourable baronet, but must now move, "that the sheriffs, in presenting the address, be accompanied by *one* of the county

\* At the Crown and Anchor tavern, on the 29th of July, being the anniversary of his return to parliament, for the county of Middlesex.

members only, Mr. Byng, which was carried *nem. con.*

3d. Letters from Newfoundland, by the Greyhound cutter, arrived at Portsmouth, contain some particulars respecting the capture of the little French islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon. Captain Malbon, of the Aurora, hearing of the renewal of war on the 26th of June, immediately sailed from Newfoundland for St. Pierre, and arrived there on the 30th; and, sending his boats on shore in the evening, they fell in with a boat having the governor on board, immediately after which the place surrendered. Captain Malbon made 180 prisoners, and took, by this very prompt and gallant enterprize, a French schooner, a brig, eleven small merchant ships, and one hundred boats. The vessels, fish, stores, &c. taken at St. Pierre and Miquelon, are estimated at 70,000*l.*

Some unpleasant discoveries have been made by the British commissioners of accompts in the West Indies. An arrest has been sued out against one gentleman, in pursuance of their directions, for the sum of 130,000*l.*; to which amount they have proved defalcations.

This day the lady of sir Hugh Munro, of Fowlis, went to her usual place, in the Bay of Cromarty, to bathe, taking three of her servant maids along with her; and, as was always her practice, a servant was placed at a considerable distance, to prevent any person from passing that way while she was bathing. Mr. Findlater, a merchant, coming near where the servant was placed, was alarmed by loud cries and shrieks, and insisted on going forward to see what was the cause, but the servant prevented him, saying he had orders to stop

any person going that way, and that the cries were only occasioned by his lady and the maids ducking. Mr. F. however, not being satisfied with this, persisted in his determination, and instantly getting into a boat, made for the place, which he had no sooner reached, than he saw the four bodies floating on the water. He soon got them into the boat and made for the shore. One of the servants revived when in the boat. Medical assistance was immediately procured for the lady and the other two servants; but, though every effort was made to recover them, all proved ineffectual. It is supposed, that some of them had gone beyond their depth, and the others, in attempting to save them, shared their fate. But no positive information has yet been obtained from the survivor.

10th. This day, a beautiful brig was launched at Thorpe, amidst the acclamations of a great concourse of people, assembled at Cattermoul's-gardens, and in the surrounding meadows. She went off the stocks in a very fine style, and without the least accident; but when she was towing ashore, for the company on board to quit her, almost every one endeavouring to get ashore first, the weight of such a body of people, added to those on the rigging, (being launched completely rigged), overset her; which created such a scene of confusion and distress, as it is impossible to describe. Nearly 100 men, women, and children, were suddenly plunged into the river, and, with difficulty, preserved from a watery grave. Although it was scarcely to be expected, but that several lives must have been lost, yet, there is reason to believe, no more than one fell a sacrifice,



fice, viz. Mary Hale, a girl aged fourteen.

11th. The steeple of Petworth church, Sussex, about eighty feet high, and measures, in circumference, about thirty feet, entirely covered with lead, with one vane, is going to be taken down, and the present tower heightened, and four pinnacles, with four vanes, added in lieu of the steeple, by order of the vestry.

Lately, as two young men were enjoying the amusement of shooting, in the moss of Auchlee, parish of Longside, one of them killed a duck in the Idoch-loch, and desired the other to go in for her: he went in a little way, but beginning to sink, he meant to return, when the other bid him go forward quickly; he made a second attempt, when, in an instant, he sunk in deep water, but arose up again; the other run in, and reached the gun to him, which he took hold of, and drew his companion along, and they both sunk and perished. Notwithstanding two men were on the bank, they could give them no assistance.

Martha Chapel, of Ackworth, near Pontefract, in Yorkshire, a young girl, only 19 years old, was, last week, executed at York, pursuant to her sentence, for the murder of her female bastard child. She acknowledged the justice of her sentence, and died a sincere penitent.

Rebecca Beaumont, tried for a similar offence, at the same assizes, was found not guilty; but, by virtue of an act of parliament lately passed, at the instance of lord Ellenborough, she was, for having concealed the birth of her child, and burying it, sentenced to be confined in the house of correction, at Wakefield, for two years.

12th. About a quarter before twelve, his majesty arrived from Windsor to St. James's, and thence proceeded, in the usual state, to the house of peers, to prorogue the parliament: which was accordingly prorogued to the 6th of October next. His majesty appeared in excellent health and spirits, and was received with the most ardent acclamations by the populace, who crowded the park and the streets leading to the parliament house.

15th. This day, advices were received of the surrender of Tobago to general Grinfield and commodore Hood. (*Vide Appendix.*)

This day (Monday) the notorious Hatfield was tried, on a charge of forgery, and convicted, at the Carlisle assizes. On being called on for his defence, the prisoner addressed himself to the jury. He said, he felt some degree of satisfaction in being able to have his sufferings terminated, as they, of course, must be by their verdict. For the space of nine months he had been dragged from prison to prison, and torn from place to place, subject to all the misrepresentations of calumny. "Whatever be my fate," said he, "I am content; it is the award of justice, impartially administered; but I solemnly declare, that, in all my transactions, I never intended to defraud or injure the persons whose names have appeared in the prosecutions. This I will maintain to the last of my life." The jury, notwithstanding this plausible defence of the prisoner, found him guilty on two indictments. At eight on Tuesday morning, the prisoner was brought up to receive judgment; when baron Thompson, after beseeching him to employ the remaining part of his time for eternity,



and hoping that he would find mercy at the hour of death, and day of judgment, pronounced sentence of death in the usual form. The prisoner heard it with firmness, bowed respectfully, and was taken away from the dock, and thence to the gaol. From the evidence which transpired on the trial, it appears that Hatfield is of a respectable family. He is a man of much address, and formerly himself kept his carriage in Devonshire: his motives for the extraordinary career he has lately run, are rather veiled in mystery, and will, most likely, remain so, as no hopes of pardon were held out to him on his condemnation; and he has been ordered for execution on Saturday the 3d of September.

The duke of Clarence has enrolled himself as a private in the Teddington volunteers.

17th. A fire broke out at Chumleigh, a market town in Devonshire, twenty-two miles from Exeter, on the road to Barnstaple, Biddeford, and Torrington. It began at Mr. Ford's, soap-boiler, and extended to the whole neighbourhood, the premises being mostly thatched. It raged for about seven hours, and destroyed one hundred houses; near three-fourths of the town. No lives were lost; but little property was saved. The damage is estimated at upwards of 25,000*l.*; and a subscription is opened for the relief of the sufferers.

19th. A fire broke out at the house of Mr. Henville, at Bradford, near Dorchester, which consumed that house, and that of Mr. Devenish adjoining, with three cottages and a hay rick. Peter Barret, a blacksmith, and Daw, a shoe-maker,

were much burnt by the roof of one of the houses falling in. Most of the property was insured; and the military at Dorchester prevented the progress of the flames.

20th. A whimsical exhibition took place on the race-ground at Brighton. Capt. Otto, of the Sussex militia, booted, and mounted by a grenadier of 18 stone weight, was matched to run 50 yards, against a poney, carrying a feather, to run 150; but capt. Otto's rider tumbled over his neck, which he was very near cracking, and consequently he lost the bet. The next match was, the same gentleman, mounted by the same grenadier, to run 50 yards; against a noble lord, carrying a feather, who was to run 100. He was considerably distanced by the latter.

The brass ordnance belonging to Norwich were lately tried, in a deep chalk-pit, by some of the artillerymen quartered there, when four of them burst. A fragment of one, weighing 30*lb.* was carried, by the explosion, over Eaton hill, a distance of three quarters of a mile. The gun was that used by Kett, of infamous memory, and its remains are preserved as antiquities;—the iron nine-pounders stood the test. At the bottom of an account, presented to the corporation, as the result of the trial, was the following *nota bene*: “It is customary for the corporal to have the old metal, when any of the pieces burst.” To which the corporation facetiously answered, “That the corporal appeared to have a sufficiency of *brass* already.”

Mr. Orme, the India company's late histeriographer, in addition to a very valuable collection of manuscript maps, plans, &c. has bequeathed to the court of directors 231 volumes of  
manuscript

manuscript books, containing a vast body of information respecting Indian affairs.

By the mode which, in future, will be adopted for arming the ships in the service of the East-India company, they will nearly supersede the necessity of convoy. Ships of 1200 tons will carry 40 pieces of ordnance, and men in proportion; and ships of 800 tons will be armed with 36 guns.

So few rainy days within a twelvemonth have not been experienced in any year since 1762, as during the last 365 days; from which extreme drought many inconveniencies have occurred. At Pevensey, a flock of sheep, consisting of 300, being, after long thirst, driven to a pond, drank so immoderately, that upwards of 100 of them died almost immediately.

22d. The commerce of the north of Germany begins to take a different direction. The rivers Elbe and Weser being shut against the English, they have resorted to Lubeck for carrying on their trade with the states of the empire.

23d. The distress occasioned in the city of Hamburg by the blockade of the Elbe, becomes every day more apparent. Upwards of thirty suicides have been committed here in the space of a week. The stagnation of commerce increases hourly. The port, which formerly displayed a forest of masts, now resembles a desert. No vessel can enter the Elbe; nor will the English suffer one to go out. This state of things may last for a long time. The French are determined not to quit the left bank of the Elbe; and the English, not to raise the blockade. It is certain that the Russians will preserve their neutrality in the Baltic, and that the coast of Elsineur,

and other points, will not be occupied by foreign troops.

The late overland dispatches from India, announce the assassination of the Jeypour Rajah by a priest, who had ingratiated himself with the prince. The murder was not discovered for some hours, when the assassin was pursued and taken. He was tied to the foot of an elephant, and trampled to death. The Jeypour Rajah was at the head of a powerful confederacy, and constantly involved in hostilities with the Mahrattas.

24th. The following cause was tried at the Trim assizes, in Ireland. It was that of Bryan Connor, for a certain assault on a little and uncommonly interesting girl, under the age of fifteen years, and of Judith Connor, his wife, for aiding therein. It appeared, from the evidence of the girl, which was also strongly corroborated, that these diabolical wretches enticed her into a hollow part of a field, near the duke of Leinster's demesne, where the woman tied her with whip-cord, and was present while the husband perpetrated the fact. The jury, in two minutes, returned a verdict of guilty against both. They were executed on the Monday following.

26th. A court martial held on captain Barlow, M. P. for Coventry, honourably acquitted him of every charge.

Early this morning, a fire broke out in a little wooden house, in St. George's fields, inhabited by widow Cox, and her daughter, who carried on an extensive carpet and rug manufactory. A neighbour saved Mrs. Cox and her daughter, but the whole property, very considerable, was destroyed in half an hour!

At Whitehaven, Wm. Knott, in a fit of passion, threw a knife at his  
E e 4 wife



wife, which missed her, but struck his son (a boy about nine years of age) on the side, and occasioned his immediate death. Coroner's Verdict. Manslaughter.

30th. Mr. James Locker, formerly a goldsmith in Dublin, but who had retired from business some years, was committed to the Fleet for running away with a ward in Chancery, not 20 years of age. They were married at Gretna Green, and afterwards at St. Luke's. The lady has a great fortune, and the gentleman is 70 years old. On Friday, the parties were examined before the chancellor, when a curious scene was developed. The lady is Miss Pearce, daughter of a rich brewer, in Milbank-street, who died in November. A few days after his death, his widow went to the theatre, picked up a young man there, a nephew of Locker, and shortly after married him. The mother assisted Locker in eloping with her daughter. His lordship, considering the whole transaction as base and mercenary, ordered Locker to be kept in close custody, and all the papers to be delivered to the attorney-general, for the purpose of instituting a criminal prosecution against the parties for a conspiracy.

In May last, Mr. Goring, of Staines, lost a valuable horse, for which he made the most diligent enquiry, but without effect. On this day, however, a gentleman driving through Staines in a gig, the horse made a sudden stop at Mr. Goring's house, from which no efforts could induce him to move. The circumstance attracting a number of persons, and amongst the rest Mr. Goring, who recognized his horse; and on reference to the person of whom the gentleman had purchased

it, the animal was at length traced to the fellow who stole it, and who has since been committed for trial.

King Edward's monument upon Brough Marsh, in the county of Cumberland, has been rebuilt by lord Lowther. The present monument is the same as the former, in appearance and dimensions (30 feet high) with the only difference of a flight of steps around it. The following is a copy of the inscription (the old one being omitted):

"Omni Veneratione prosequens  
inclytam EDOARDI primi Famam  
optimi Angliæ Regis,

Columnnam hanc

Humi fusam dirutamque

hic reponendam curavit

GULIELMUS Vicecomes de LOWTHER

Anno Salutis MDCCCIII."

All the English in Italy and Switzerland have been made prisoners, by order of the first consul, which affords one more proof of the contempt of every principle of justice, and of the despotic sway, over all parts of the continent, of Bonaparte.

31st. The special commission having met at Green-street, Dublin, E. Kearney was put upon trial for high treason.—The overt-acts were, assembling, with others, in arms on the 23d of July, and attacking the king's troops.—The following were the names of the jury: R. Allen, foreman; R. H. French, J. W. Fitzgerald, W. S. Magee, J. Halpen, W. Moore, J. Duncan, G. Byrne, R. Davison, T. Connor; W. Stanford, and T. Kinder, esquires.

The attorney general addressed the court, and, in a speech which lasted an hour and a half, elucidated the act of the 25th Edward III.

The



The transaction of the 23d July he considered as a visitation of Providence, to arouse the loyalty of the people; and dwelt with much energy on the difference between the governments of France and England: he then called the attention of the court to the conduct of government to the traitors of 1798; some paid their lives as the forfeit of their crimes; some were transported, and some escaped for want of legal evidence to convict them. Many of them had changed their conduct; but others had returned to disturb a constitution, the envy and admiration of the universe. He read a part of the rebel proclamation, and contrasted it with their late conduct; but admitted, that, at any time, there were not more than 500 persons acting in the riot. In the course of his address, he alluded to the assassination of lord Kilwarden, and, in the most impressive language, described the particulars of that horrid event. After passing many encomiums on the moderation of government, under circumstances of such provocation, he observed, that the rebel proclamation had the audacity to state, that the first execution of a prisoner should be the signal for a general insurrection; but, notwithstanding this threat, government was determined to shew its strength as well as its moderation, and prove that it as much despised the threatened as the actual hostility of treason. Three weeks had elapsed since the special commission was issued—a fair opportunity had been offered for the free trial of the accused; and he had the benefit of an enlightened jury, and the protection of a bench of judges, as anxious for his exculpation as for the maintenance of

the laws. He then recommended the lenity of government to be imitated by all loyal subjects; and, by this means, together with the courage of the yeomanry and militia, the country will ever be enabled to despise the threats of its enemies, whether foreign or domestic.

P. McCabe, the first witness, stated, that on the 23d ult. he was informed of the plan for rising, and that it was the intention of the rebels to attack the artillery barracks at Island-bridge, and get possession of the arms and ammunition; then to seize the magazine in the Park, and to attack the castle of Dublin, on the Ship-street side. He was posted, with a blunderbuss, in Rainsford-street, and received 40 rounds of ball cartridge. The remainder of his deposition went to prove the assemblage of vast numbers of the rebels, who were fired on by the Coombe guard, when most of them ran away. He admitted that he was concerned in the rebellion of 1798, and did not believe that any person was forced to take up arms on the 23d against his will.

E. Wilson, esq. a magistrate of Dublin, deposed, that he saw 300 or 400 people marching in a column towards the dépôt of arms; and that they appeared to be acting according to a pre-concerted plan. He ordered them to lay down their arms; when one of them wounded him in the belly with a pike. At length, on the arrival of the soldiers, a number of prisoners were taken.

Lieut. Brady, of the 21st fusiliers, deposed that he apprehended the prisoner with a pike in his hand, after his regiment had fired on the mob: he was making much noise, and endeavouring to escape. The prisoner

prisoner was seized by J. Stack, a corporal of the above regiment, who heard him call on the pikemen to advance and charge the military.

The prisoner's counsel represented his client as a poor industrious man, who had been surrounded by the insurgents, and forced to act against his will: he appealed to the boasted lenity of government in behalf of his client.

Several witnesses gave him a good character, but admitted that he was addicted to intoxication.

Lord Norbury summed up the evidence, having previously laid down the principles and practice in England, respecting the statute of 25 Edw. III. on high treason, from certain law reports of celebrity.

The jury, having retired about 15 minutes, returned a verdict—Guilty—at which the prisoner shewed a species of levity bordering on insanity.

A corps of yeomanry cavalry, in Leicestershire, having solicited earl Moira to command them, his lordship declined the honour, in a very long speech, the following passage of which is too remarkable to be passed over:—"You will have seen it mentioned, that the prince of Wales, with that glowing interest which he takes in all that may affect the fame or the welfare of Britain, had offered his services in a manner that might best evince his devotion to his father and sovereign. As colonel of a regiment of cavalry, his royal highness probably feared that *he might find himself stationed in a district remote from the descent of the enemy*; he was, therefore, solicitous for such eventual employment as would give him the chance of furnishing the example to his fel-

low-subjects, how every consideration of condition, of ease, and of personal safety, ought to be spurned, when the security of the country is at stake. We are given to understand that the offer has not been accepted; yet it is possible that his royal highness may still entertain the hope of being permitted to oppose himself to the enemy, as a volunteer, with the first corps of that description that may be marched against the invader. I infer some such view, not merely from the generous enthusiasm which swells his heart upon this occasion, but from the call with which he has honoured me. He has deigned to claim, from my humble attachment, that, upon the first notice of an enemy's landing, I shall hasten to place myself by his side, unless I should, in the interval, be ordered upon service by the king."

DIED.—At Balnacraig, in the parish of Aboyne, aged 103, Harry Troup, a shoemaker. He had experienced no bodily complaint, and retained his senses to the last; was sober and industrious, and never above thirty miles from his own house, in which he had lived upwards of 70 years.

In Kevin-street, Dublin, aged 112, Mrs. Lindsay, formerly in a respectable situation, but, having outlived an annuity, she was latterly indebted to a subscription of the nobility for those comforts which she had been accustomed to, and which, at her great age, were become more necessary.

By a fall from his horse, Mr. Isaac Troup, of Asbover, in Ireland. One of his sons, some time ago, was accidentally shot dead; another, shooting rooks, a short time since, the gun burst, and shattered his hand, which was immediately amputated, and he is in a fair way of recovery;



recovery; and, about a twelvemonth ago, his daughter, an infant, was scalded to death.

In White horse-street, Ratcliffe, at a very advanced age, and the oldest in the Greenland trade, having been 50 years in it, capt. R. Waterhouse; who, in his life-time, frequently said that he had survived every commander in the trade twice over.

### SEPTEMBER.

1st. T. M. Roche was indicted, in Dublin, for high treason. Evidence had been previously gone into, with a view to establish the fact of insurrection on the night of the 23d of July, viz. the testimonies of Mr. Wilson, and lieut. Brady, of the 21st regiment, who identified the prisoner as bearing a pike on that night. He further deposed, that he took the prisoner in the act of holding a pike, with both hands, across his breast, the iron part downwards. On conveying him, with 13 prisoners, from James's-street barrack to the Old Man's hospital, the prisoner there threw himself on his knees before gen. Fox, pleaded his age and distressed family, and protested the pike had been forced on him by the insurgents in Thomas-street. In the previous part of the witness's testimony, he proved that the prisoner, when seized on, made an hideous noise, grappled his pike, and offered a considerable resistance.—Several witnesses were called to his character; but none of them could say any thing in favour of his loyalty.—Sergeant Rice proved the discovery of 8000 copies of the traitorous proclamation. After an animated speech, from Mr. M'Nally, in favour of the

prisoner, Justice Finnucane recapitulated the evidence, and the jury, in a few minutes, returned a verdict of guilty.—Kirwan was also tried, and found guilty.

2d. J. Byrne was this day tried on the same charges as the former prisoners, and, after a similar routine of evidence, was found guilty. He was seized with a pike on his shoulder, by two soldiers of the 21st.

About half past two this morning, a dreadful fire broke out at Astley's amphitheatre, in consequence of the negligence of some of the persons whose duty it was to see the lights carefully extinguished. The accident originated in the repositories of the machinery and combustibles for the fire-works; and the immense quantity of inflammable materials caused the flames to rage with such incredible fury, that every effort to preserve the building was useless.—Consternation pervaded all the inhabitants of the adjoining houses, called Amphitheatre-row, the back parts of which almost touch the theatre: the wretched inhabitants were seen running to and fro, nearly naked, throwing their goods out of the windows, and increasing the horror of the scene by screams and shrieks. The same scene of misery and distress occurred in Phoenix-street, which runs parallel with Amphitheatre-row. In the latter the destruction proved fatal, nearly 20 houses having been consumed in that street alone; and the inhabitants being all poor, and chiefly industrious mechanics, their distress may be more easily conceived than described. The most melancholy part of the accident is the loss of Mrs. Woodham.\* The total number of houses destroyed is nearly 40. A number of wretches plundered the unfortunate sufferers, previous to the

\* *Vide deaths for this month.*



the arrival of the military. The royal amphitheatre and stabling, with the scenery, wardrobe, properties, music, &c. cost Messrs. Astley 30,000*l.* and were insured only for 1700*l.* in the Phœnix-office. All the horses are saved.

An accident of the same kind, and in the same place, occurred on the night of the duke of York's birth-day, August 16th, 1797. The destruction which then took place, and in a similar way, was as complete as in the present instance.

3d. This day the notorious Hatfield prepared, with great fortitude, for his execution. After praying for some time in the prison, with two clergymen, he was conveyed in a post-chaise to the place of execution. When he came in sight of the tree, he exclaimed, "O! a happy sight; I see it with pleasure!" Then he desired the executioner to be as expert as possible, and that he would wave a handkerchief when he was ready. The hangman then having fixed the rope, he put up his hand, and turned it himself. He also tied his cap, and took his handkerchief from his neck, and tied it about his head. At four o'clock he was turned off, and, after hanging the usual time, was conveyed to St. Mary's church-yard for interment. Hatfield was originally a rider to a wholesale linen-draper; and, in early life, contrived to marry a natural daughter of old lord Robert Manners, with whom he got 1500*l.* For some years he passed himself as nearly related to the Rutland family, and possessing large estates in Yorkshire, &c. On account of his marriage, he frequently obtained money from the late duke of Rutland, but was wholly discarded by his grace while viceroy in Ireland. Habituated to dissipation, he had

been an inmate in the king's bench prison, and for some years in a gaol in the north. After being liberated from the last-mentioned, he had the good fortune to connect himself with some respectable tradesmen in Devonshire, where he might have lived happily, secluded from those who formerly knew him, and acquired an honest independency; but deception was so rooted in his nature, that he could not shake it off. He was soon detected in fraudulent practices, and declared a bankrupt. His flight succeeded; and, unfortunately, some evil genius directed his steps to the once happy cottage of poor Mary of Buttermere. Her story is well known, and generally lamented.

J. Begg stood trial in Dublin for high treason. Lieut. Coltman proved that this prisoner was seized while endeavouring to conceal himself amongst some timber: he had no arms in his hands when taken, and asserted that he was endeavouring to conceal himself from some pikemen. The prisoner, who was a journeyman carpenter, received an excellent character from his employer. The jury found him guilty, but recommended him to mercy.

Kearney was executed in Thomas-street, and died with few signs of contrition.—Roche was executed yesterday, and, when at the scaffold, admitted he had been guilty of the crime for which he suffered.—Byrne was executed on Monday.

A circular letter has been addressed to the lord lieutenants of counties, stating that orders had been given to issue such a number of arms as may be sufficient for one-half of the quota of volunteers for each county. Sabres and pistols will be delivered to the cavalry, and pikes to the artillery.—A part of the new plan

plan relative to the volunteer corps, is, that such volunteers as may hereafter be accepted, are not to claim an exemption from being drawn for the militia, &c. The volunteers, in future, are to find their own arms, and are also to be formed into regiments or brigades; but to be occasionally reviewed by experienced officers, appointed to preside over certain districts.

6th. The king has been pleased to cause it to be signified by the right hon. lord Hawkesbury, his majesty's principal secretary of state, for foreign affairs, to the ministers of neutral powers residing at this court, that his majesty has thought proper, for the defence of his dominions, and the protection of his subjects, to take the most effectual measures for the blockade of the entrance of the port of Havre de Grace, and the other ports of the Seine; and that, from this time, all the measures authorized by the laws of nations, and the respective treaties between his majesty and the different neutral powers, will be adopted and executed with respect to all vessels which may attempt to violate the said blockade.

12th. Admiral Bruix has published the following curious proclamation, dated head-quarters, at Boulogne.

*“ E. Bruix, Councillor of State, and Admiral of the Flotilla destined to carry War to England.*

“ The first consul, when he signified to me your destination, honoured me with the title of your admiral. He sends me to you, to conduct your exertions in the career of glory, which his genius has prepared for you. What man, at this distinguished proof of the confidence of a hero, would not be raised

above himself? Who could doubt of his own powers? Brave seamen, the choice of Bonaparte renders me worthy to march at your head. Your zeal and your bravery are pledges to me that we shall fulfil his expectations. Already you hear the cry of vengeance—our towns and districts bring in their voluntary gifts in multitudes; all Frenchmen are ready to march to punish a government which is an enemy of the peace of the world, and especially an enemy to the glory and welfare of our country. You are first called to this great enterprize—to you your country first commits the care of satisfying her just vengeance. Be certain that you will fulfil your noble destination.—Recollect that the victory begins in your docks, and in your marine and military exercises. Those ships which insolently cruize along our shores, at sight of your labours, may return, and say to their government, ‘ A fearful day is preparing; the winds and sea, again favourable to the conqueror of Egypt, may in a few hours bring him to our coasts, and with him the innumerable companions of his glory.’ To hasten this result, it is my first duty to establish a severe discipline in the national flotilla. Subordination will regulate your efforts; that can alone add to the activity of your labours. Sailors, we are on the field of battle; to lose a moment, would be criminal cowardice. Redouble, therefore, your zeal; multiply your services; and the nation which oppresses the seas will be conquered by terror, before it experiences the fate of arms, and sinks beneath the blows of our heroes.

BRUIX.”

The York stage-waggon was overturned, from off the bridge, into the river,



river, at Casterton, near Stamford, in Lincolnshire. The accident was owing to the proper driver trusting to the guidance of a *caddee*, whilst he loitered behind. Fortunately, several passengers had previously stopped at the public-house at Casterton, or their limbs (probably lives) might have been sacrificed to the carelessness of the waggoner. The horses sustained little injury, though they fell a considerable depth. Several yards of the bridge-wall are beat down.

13th. This morning, as the first regiment of East India volunteers were practising street firing with cartridge, serjeant-major Brown stood before one of the six-pounder guns, dressing his men, when the gun being fired, the wadding carried away part of the flesh of his arm, and lodged near his ribs.

A few evenings ago, as a party of the Law association, in Temple gardens, were charging with the bayonet, a gentleman in the front rank fell, in consequence of which, two who were behind fell over him, one of whose bayonets was run through the coat of him who fell first, near the shoulder, but without injury; the bayonet of the third entered the ground, and was broken by the shock.

14th. Lately, near Halifax, Yorkshire, a person in a market-cart, with two spirited horses in it, ran full speed against Thomas Lambert, esq. of Elland-hall, who was on horseback; the cart was overturned, and the unfortunate gentleman thrown under the horse's feet. His face was disfigured in a most shocking manner, and six of his ribs were broken. He languished till this night, when he expired. He was 69 years of age.

The house of Lindo, in London, has lately failed, owing to its connexion in business with the French government. It made, during the peace, immense shipments to the French West India islands, on the faith of the consular court; and we understand it now holds a bill, drawn on the republic by the late general Leclerc, for 260,000*l.* which, like most other demands on it, has been dishonoured. The pretext under which the payment of the bills is resisted is, that they were issued at an improper discount, or that full value was not given for them.

Gen. Rochambeau lately caused the following to be inserted in the official gazette at Cape François:—  
“The general in chief gives, in the most formal manner, the *lie* to the letter of the minister of marine, addressed to the first consul, under date 5th Floreal, inserted in the *Moniteur* of the 10th of the same month. This letter falsely censures the government bills drawn on France, and particularly those of Alexander Lindo. I am compelled to remove this notorious calumny; and I owe it to gen. le Clerc, who, alone with me, has issued them, to unmask the falsehood of such an assertion.

(Signed) “D. ROCHAMBEAU.”

15th. A man, who some time ago leaped from London, Blackfriars, and Westminster bridges into the Thames, in three-quarters of an hour, undertook, for a wager, to perform the same exploit again. Having leaped from London bridge into the water, he sunk and rose no more; when the body was found, it appeared, that having gone down with his arms in a horizontal, instead of a perpendicular position, they



they were both dislocated by the force of the water.

16th. M. Carney was indicted at the Old Bailey, for the wilful murder of his wife. It appeared that the prisoner had long used the deceased in the most barbarous manner, and on the 2d. ult. the wounds he inflicted by beating and kicking her, were such, in the opinion of medical men, as to occasion her death. The jury, in a few minutes, found him guilty, and he was executed on Monday.

A copy of the following letter addressed to admiral Duckworth, commander in chief of his majesty's fleet in Jamaica, arrived at the Admiralty-office.

*"Cumberland, between Jean Rabel, and Cape Nichola Mole, June 30.*

"Sir,

"Having parted with the convoy, as I had the honour of informing you in my letter of yesterday, I stretched in with the squadron, during the night, for St. Domingo. Soon after day-light, a large sail was seen near the Fortugas, steering down Cape Nichola Mole, and from the cut of sails I judged her to be a French ship of war; the Cumberland, with the Vanguard, were soon close up to her, the latter on the starboard side, and the former on the larboard bow; in this position he received a few shot from the Vanguard, and, having fired one, struck to his majesty's squadron, and was immediately taken possession of. She proved to be the Cfeole, a remarkably fine national French frigate, of 44 guns, carrying eighteen pounders, and commanded by citizen le Bastard, from Cape François, bound to Port au

Prince, at sea one day, having gen. Morgan (the second in command at St. Domingo) and staff, with troops on board, the crew of the frigate consisting of 150 men, two of whom were badly wounded. While we were taking possession of the prize, a small national schooner, commanded by a lieutenant, came into the squadron, and was taken: she came from Cape François, and bound to Port au Prince, having on board 100 blood-hounds from Cuba, intended to accompany the army serving against the blacks.

"I am, &c.

"H. W. BAYNTON."

17th. Drowned, in the canal facing Chelsea-college, about two o'clock in the afternoon, Miss Mary Anne Staker, a very amiable young lady, in the 21st year of her age, rather delicate, with sandy hair, and of a sickly habit. Her mother is a widow lady, having no more children, except a son, who is abroad in the service of his country. She took lodgings at No. 9, Upper Eaton-street, Pimlico, where she resided a few months for the benefit of her daughter's health, of whom she was remarkably fond; and every fine day, generally took a walk in the gardens of Chelsea-college, commonly called the Water Garden, owing to a canal which went through it. On the fatal day, the mother and daughter walked there as usual; and, after walking for some time, they sat down on one of the benches. The mother complained, that the place they sat in was rather cold; on which the deceased replied, "I will run and find a warmer situation." She then got up, and ran down the green, which went aslope towards the water. Her mother, thinking

thinking that she had staid longer than necessary, went in search of her; but not finding her, she became alarmed, particularly as there was no other way out but the one they came in at. She therefore ran to see if the deceased went back; but meeting two gentlemen who were going into the garden, they assured her that she did not go out that way. The alarm being given, Mr. Garthshore came with a boat-hook, and, in a little time, hooked her cloaths, and she was taken out of the water lifeless, and brought into the infirmary, where every method, prescribed by the Humane Society, was used without effect. Thus perished an amiable young lady, in the bloom of youth, and under the immediate care of an affectionate mother.

Yesterday evening, between six and seven, major Sirr, attended by Hanlon, the keeper of the tower in the castle, surprised an offender, against whom there was an information, as an insurgent, in a carpenter's shop in John-street, in the liberty, where this fellow was at work. The major, on entering the place, where two others were also employed, threatened, that if any should offer resistance, he would fire; this did not deter, for the ruffian whom they wanted, finding himself nearly secured, sought for a pistol he had; on doing which, major Sirr snapped his at him, which missed fire. Hanlon immediately went to seize the fellow, but before he could, the latter fired, as did Hanlon, at the same time, but he was unfortunately killed, and the desperado only shot in the left hand, where the ball lodged. The offender, with the two other persons, were seized and lodged in the castle-

guard house last night: the delinquent is a young man between 20 and 30 years of age.

At the Old Bailey sessions, Mr. R. Astlett was again put upon his trial, by a fresh-constructed indictment, charged with the embezzlement of the property and effects of the Bank of England. The evidence was nearly the same as on the former trial, which proved that the prisoner had embezzled exchequer bills to an immense amount.

Mr. Erskine, in behalf of Mr. Astlett, took his former ground of objection; viz. that the exchequer bills embezzled had been informally issued, and were no more than waste paper.

Mr. justice le Blanc said, he would leave that point to be determined by the judges. The jury found the prisoner guilty in the facts, and the point of law will be argued next sessions.

The Hereford journal of this day says, "Mrs. Read, who was tried at Gloucester, in 1796, on a charge of poisoning her husband, died lately at Southampton, after acknowledging her guilt in that, and another transaction of equal atrocity. No language can describe the severity of her feelings, and her contrition bordered on despair."

A very fine mastiff dog, at Heckle Grove, Yorkshire, suffered an extraordinary fate a few days ago, being actually stung to death by a swarm of bees, who attacked him where he was chained in the garden. Many of these vengeful insects were found, afterwards, in the dog's mouth and throat.

19. *Dublin*.—R. Emmett, esq. was this day arraigned for high treason. The prisoner pleaded not guilty. Several persons deposed to his



his activity in the different manufactories; other witnesses proved the seizure of arms in the prisoner's store-houses. The prisoner did not make any defence. Lord Norbury impressively recapitulated the evidence; and the jury, without leaving the box, returned a verdict of guilty. The prisoner, before receiving sentence, boldly avowed his treasonable actions, and expressed, in strong terms, his detestation of the existing government, but positively disclaimed having any connexion with the French government, the degrading oppression of which he had witnessed in every country through which he had travelled. He was executed on the following day. This unfortunate young man was the youngest son of Dr. Robert Emmet, a licentiate of the college of physicians in Ireland, physician to the lord lieutenant's household, and to the hospital for lunatics, founded by the celebrated dean Swift, at Bow-bridge, near Dublin. The doctor, having purchased the situation he now holds from the late Dr. Robinson, upwards of 30 years ago, removed, with his family, from Cork to Dublin, where he has continued to practise, though not in the first line, yet with considerable celebrity. He is a man of venerable appearance, grave deportment, impressive manner, and easy, unaffected politeness in conversation and address; and, though he has been always remarkable for giving his opinion freely respecting men, measures, and the conduct of political affairs in general, he has never been suspected of any tendency to assist at treasonable or seditious cabals. He bestowed uncommon pains on the education of his three sons, Temple, Thomas-Addis, and Ro-

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bert. The first was bred to the law, in which he soon distinguished himself, and was for several years looked up to as one of the most ingenious, industrious, and eloquent young men at the Irish bar, when he was cut off, in the prime of life, by a fever, which he caught on a circuit. His second brother, Thomas-Addis, had just at that period returned from Edinburgh, where he had taken his degree as a doctor of medicine; but, either conceiving that his talents were better adapted to the forum, or encouraged by the eminence his deceased brother attained, in a few years he relinquished his original profession, entered himself at the temple, and, after the ordinary course of study and attendance, was called to the Irish bar; to which he bade fair to become a no less shining ornament than his brother had been; until, dazzled by the seducing prospects which the separation of Ireland from the mother country, premeditated by the Irish jacobins, opened to his enthusiastic and sanguine imagination, he became an active and conspicuous leader in the councils of an association of revolutionary traitors, who called themselves United Irishmen. In this situation, he, in concert with Tone, the two Sheare's, Mac Nevin, Bagnal Hervey, and several others, continued to issue manifestoes, and digest a code of laws and regulations for the government of the country after it should be delivered (to use their own language) from the tyranny and oppressive slavery of Great-Britain, until he was arrested by an order of the privy council; and, after a full confession of all the plans of his party, before a committee of the Irish house of commons, he was

F f

sentenced



sentenced to be confined, with several of his associates, at Fort George, Scotland; whence he was, by the mistaken lenity of government, permitted to transport himself to France, after the signing of the treaty of Amiens; but, whether he remains there at present, or has found his way back into his native country, which he has contributed to seduce from its allegiance to the best of sovereigns, is a matter not yet accurately ascertained. He is not, however, most probably, in Ireland, where, from the very singular appearance that his being remarkably short-sighted gives him, it is impossible he could venture to go about without being immediately recognized by some of the loyal persons with whom he was acquainted. The youngest son, Robert, was also intended for the bar; but, having been convicted of an attempt to introduce the spirit of disaffection into the Irish university, in which he was a student, he was, with 18 other young rebels, publicly expelled in the year 1798; since which he has been rambling over various parts of the continent, when the renewal of hostilities revived his hope of being able to effect the long wished-for object of himself and party—the separation of Ireland from its connexion with Great-Britain. This induced him to return, and enter upon the daring attempt of seizing the castle of Dublin, which was fortunately frustrated, and so deservedly brought him to an ignominious death upon the gallows.

At noon this day, as a pleasure boat from Deal was entering the harbour of Ramsgate, apparently under an easy sail, at highwater, with rather a swell in the offing, she was by a sudden heel upset in a moment,

and the company on board (ten in number) were precipitated into the watery abyss. Two visitors at that place, Mr. Innes and Mr. H. Mair, were the only persons at the time on the extremity of the north pier, who witnessed this most distressing scene. They instantly hailed some Ramsgate boatmen in the harbour, who did not delay a moment to push off to the relief of their unfortunate fellow-creatures; five of whom had got on the bottom of the boat, but only one could keep this perilous situation. Mr. Innes and his friend threw a rope from the pier-head, which was eagerly laid hold of by three of the boat's crew, and, with the assistance of two other gentlemen, who most providentially ran up to them from the further end of the pier, they got the rope so fixed as, in a few minutes, to bring three poor fellows once more upon dry ground. The fourth, by extraordinary efforts, got round to the bathing ground, and was saved. The boats by this time had removed the gentleman who was clinging to the wreck; and a lady (Mrs. Dore), who was floating with her face downward, apparently a lifeless corpse, was next picked up, and, by timely medical assistance, was soon restored to life. Mr. Dore had floated out so far, that every attempt to recover him proved fruitless. Mrs. D. whose life was preserved from the circumstance of her riding habit keeping her afloat, has, in consequence of the distress occasioned by the loss of her husband, brought forth an untimely birth, which, it is thought, will end in her death. The following are the unfortunate sufferers on this melancholy occasion: Mr. Deny, a Deal pilot, who was chosen by Mr. Pitt to be his

his pilot at the late sham fight; Miss Sharpe, the mayor of Deal's daughter; and Mr. Eggleton, the only son of a banker at Deal. Some sailors of this port were out all night dragging for the bodies, but to no effect. A subscription for the four sailors who were spared in the above accident, was immediately set on foot at the library, and the men were, within a few hours, clothed.

21st. Mr. Moody and Mr. Parks, two midshipmen of the *Leyden*, lately quarrelled slightly at Sheerness. They were, by their captain's interposition, mutually reconciled; but, within less than half an hour after, Mr. Moody, taking up a pistol in the cock-pit, which he supposed not to have been loaded, sportively levelled it at Mr. Parks. Mr. Parks sank on the floor in the agonies of death, and soon after expired.

A quaker was committed to Gloucester gaol, for the space of three months, by T. B. Delabere, and another magistrate, for refusing to be sworn in, or to provide a proper substitute, for the county militia.

23d. A bet was made to run a poney, about thirteen hands high, from London, to the fifty mile stone on the Colchester road, and back again, in thirteen hours. The poor animal went to the extent of his journey, and returned to the Black Boy inn, Chelmsford, in about six hours, and did not appear much distressed; but when it reached the Cauliflower, at Ilford, about eight miles short of the place whence it started, its strength and spirits became totally exhausted, and it dropped down and expired.

24th. The king's horses from Hanover were landed at Perry's

dock. They consist of nine black stallions and eleven mares, two cream-coloured stallions and eight mares, ten white stallions and five mares, five mouse-coloured stallions and one mare, and two brown mares; in all fifty-three. There were, likewise, brought with them, several stallions and mares belonging to the duke of Cambridge; with them came thirty grooms, belonging to his majesty, from Hanover.

Advices were received at the admiralty office of the bombardment of the towns of Granville and Dieppe, on the French coast, by the squadrons of sir James Saumarez and capt. Owen. The inhabitants of both places sustained considerable damage and alarm, without any material loss to the English force.

27th. About two o'clock this afternoon a melancholy accident occurred at Ibbetson's hotel, in Vere-street, Oxford-street—an accident which is the more to be lamented, as it has deprived the country of a valuable officer, at a period when such a loss must be doubly felt, and inflicted a deep wound on the mind of his surviving friend, who, unintentionally, was the cause of it. Thomas Best, esq. an officer in the army, had lodged at Ibbetson's for some days, and was on the eve of departure to join his regiment, on its march to the coast. A post-chaise was at the door of the hotel to receive him. His particular acquaintance and friend, lieut. Charles Jones, of the East India company's service, had, in the mean time, called on, and was to accompany him to the country. Their pistols were lying on the table, ready to be put into the pockets of the post-chaise. In the course of a conversation about highwaymen, excited by their intended



journey, lieut. Best took up one of the pistols, to shew what he would do if attacked by any of that fraternity. At this period the pistol unfortunately went off, and shot lieut. Jones through the body. There were some carpenters at work in the hotel at the time, so that the report of the pistol, if heard at all, was not believed to be a pistol-shot, and lieut. Best, wild and distracted, ran for assistance into the coffee-room, where he was the first to announce the fatal catastrophe which had happened. No time was lost in carrying his wishes into effect. Mr. Ibbetson, with the most humane attention to the deceased, ran himself to surgeons Ford and Heaviside, who, with the most commendable alacrity, were at the dying man's bedside in an instant after; but human aid was, unfortunately, of no avail. After exchanging forgiveness with lieut. Best, declaring, in the most generous manner, that his death was accidental, and that he felt more for his friend than for himself, lieut. Jones expired in less than an hour after the accident had taken place, but in full possession of his senses till the last. He was a man of very polished manners, of a very respectable family, and had returned a few months before from the East Indies. Lieut. J. was a West Indian, and the same gentleman who was to have fought a duel with lieut. Crohen on the 22d, at Harrow, but was prevented by the interference of the magistrates; in consequence of which, lieut. Crohen was apprehended, and brought to the public office, where he was obliged to find bail to keep the peace, himself in 500*l.* and two sureties in 250*l.* each. It appeared, on an investigation of the cause of the dispute, that it ori-

ginated like the duel so fatal to col. Montgomery, about a Newfoundland dog belonging to lieut. Crohen. A warrant was also issued for the apprehension of lieut. Jones, but he kept out of the way. Lieut. Best was to have been his second.

Anthony O'Reilly, esq. of Benison lodge, co. of Westmeath, in Ireland, was barbarously murdered. At night he went to his bed-chamber window, and opened the shutter (which was an usual custom with him), to observe the state of the weather. The moment he approached the window he exclaimed "Oh!" and on the instant he was fired upon by some villain, who lodged the contents of the fatal piece (it is supposed a blunderbuss) in the side of his neck, and he instantly expired. It is thought the murderer must be some person who had been recently in habits of intercourse with the house, and well acquainted with Mr. O'R.'s practice of looking out of his bed-chamber window, as the watch-dog did not give the least notice of a stranger being in the demesne, which is a circumstance very unusual; and the villain must have placed himself in readiness, near the spot, to perpetrate the horrid deed. The fate of this unfortunate gentleman is much regretted. As a magistrate, he was sagacious, upright, and merciful; and proverbial for his hospitality. He was uncle of lieut. O'Reilly, lately killed in a duel at Chalk Farm.

30th. A few days since a very serious and shocking accident happened in a timber-yard near the Adelphi. Two men were piling timber; and, as one of them was walking along a plank, his foot slipped: he was precipitated down to the ground, and instantly expired.



pired. The man who was pulling the timber up at top was also precipitated to the ground, and died the next day.

DIED.—Joseph Ritson, esq. a conveyancer, of Gray's inn, deputy high-bailiff of the duchy of Lancaster, and a man of information, but more to be commended for his acuteness, than for his good-breeding or candour. His first publication was, an anonymous quarto pamphlet of "Observations on the Three Volumes of Warton's History of English Poetry;" one of the most illiberal productions we ever recollect to have seen. He wrote, also anonymously, three sets of remarks on the editors of Shakspeare: 1. on Mr. Steeven's edition, 1778, intitled, "Remarks, critical and illustrative, on the Text and Notes of the last Edition of Shakspeare." 8vo; 2. "The Quip modest," &c. on Mr. Reed's republication of that edition, particularly illiberal; 3. "Cursory Criticisms," &c. on Mr. Malone's edition. In 1788 he published, with his name, a well-executed translation, with notes, of the *Hymn to Venus*, ascribed to Homer. A select Collection of English Songs, in 3 vols. 8vo. Antient Songs, from the Time of Henry III. to the Revolution, 8vo. A volume of pieces of ancient popular poetry, 8vo. "The English Anthology," a selection of poetry, in 3 small octavo volumes. "Robin Hood; a collection of all the ancient Poems, Songs, and Ballads, now extant relative to that celebrated Outlaw. To which are added, Historical Anecdotes of his Life," 2 vols. 8vo. 1795. A Collection of Scotch Songs, with the genuine Music, 2 vols. 12mo. "Biographia Poetica: a Catalogue of

English Poets of the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth Centuries; with a short Account of their works, 1801," 12mo. He put his name to "Antient English Metrical Romances; selected and published by Joseph Ritson," 3 vols. 12mo. 1802. These two last publications are distinguished by an affectation of singularity in orthography, and are, perhaps, the least interesting of his publications.

## OCTOBER.

2d. Between four and five o'clock this morning, a fire broke out at the house of George Case, esq. in Everton, Liverpool, which totally destroyed the interior of the building, with great part of the furniture: the family had a very narrow escape from this dreadful calamity.

A fire broke out at the sugar-house of Messrs. Worsley, Temple-back, Bristol; the whole of one wing was completely destroyed. The loss is estimated at 7000*l*.

3d. M<sup>c</sup>Intosh, the rebel, was executed in Patrick-street, Dublin; and Thomas Keenan, another of the insurgents, was convicted, and received sentence of death: he was executed next day: Keenan, according to the evidence adduced upon his trial, was one of the wretches concerned in the atrocious murder of lord Kilwarden.

Accounts from Liverpool state the loss of the ship *Victory*, captain Morison, of that port. Whilst going out of port, she struck on the west end of the Hogle: fifty-nine persons were on board, of whom only twenty-two were saved: the captain was amongst the <sup>lost</sup> drowned. She was a remarkable fine vessel.

5th. The grand musical festival annually celebrated in Winchester, began on this day, with a concert at St. John's house, where it was numerously and brilliantly attended. Mrs. Billington exerted, with the utmost success, those unrivalled vocal powers for which she is so eminent; and Miss Tenant was much admired and applauded. On Thursday morning, at 11 o'clock, the doors of the cathedral were thrown open, and, as was expected, the performance of "The Messiah," in which Mrs. Billington took a principal part, attracted all the beauty and fashion of Hampshire and the neighbouring counties. At the miscellaneous concert in the evening, Mrs. Billington sung, "Sweet Bird," in so superior and exquisite a style, as to delight and enrapture all the audience. On Friday morning the first act of "Judas Maccabaeus," with a selection from the best pieces of Handel, Haydn, &c. was executed with much taste at the cathedral. This selection did great credit to Mr. Chard, the conductor, as nothing could, at this time, tend more to inflame the breasts of Britons with patriotic ardour, than the sublime sentiments, and animating strains which abound in the oratorios of Handel. Mrs. Billington, in the songs of "Pious Orgies," and, "Angels ever Bright and Fair," was, beyond expression, charming and great. Miss Tennant was particularly happy in "Awake, thou Lute and Harp," from Martini; and Denman gave the following appropriate air, with great energy, feeling, and effect.

Arm, arm, ye brave! a noble cause,

The cause of heaven your zeal demands,

In defence of your nation, religion, and laws,

The almighty Jehovah will strengthen your hands.

6th. On a rope being thrown out to fasten to the Jetty, from a vessel in the harbour of Hull, it caught the captain by the leg, just below the knee, stripped the muscles and flesh from the bone, and tore his foot entirely off. The captain died soon after.

A clerk of Messrs. Bennett, brewers, at Enfield, fell into a vessel of wort, and was suffocated.

7th. This day arrived in London, on a diplomatic mission, Mehmet Bey Elfi Murad, one of the Mameluke chiefs, who fought so bravely at Alexandria. He was wounded in the side by a musket-ball, and concealed it for two days, lest, if known; his danger should produce a cabal among the other rival chiefs, and dismay among his troops. His life was saved by the valour of the English. His suite at present consists of 17 persons; but the most valuable part of it, to the number of 13, has not yet arrived. It includes three beautiful females; one a favourite Georgian, to whom he is much attached: the other two are Circassians; one remarkable for dancing, the other for singing. While at dinner, he is waited upon by four pages, and a secretary, who acts always as interpreter. He does not help himself at table; but, when he signifies a liking to any particular dish, one of the pages helps him: he is a great epicure, and drinks two bottles of champagne or burgundy after dinner. He is also very fond of spruce-beer, but drinks no malt-liquor. He appears to be fascinated with the customs of this country. Of the English ladies he speaks in terms



terms of the most enthusiastic admiration.

This day, in the wet docks, at Blackwall, an officer of the excise, on board the Alton West-Indiaman, having incautiously placed himself against a handspike, left in the windlass, the pail of the latter gave way, by which he received a violent blow, was thrown down the fore-hatchway, into the ship's hold, and killed on the spot. Several merchants, who witnessed the misfortune, have humanely entered into a subscription for the deceased's family. Next day, also, a labourer, belonging to the docks, fell from the foot-way, on the outer gate, into the bason, where he remained near 20 minutes, before he was taken out. The different means recommended for the restoration of drowned persons were used, but every effort proved ineffectual.

8th. A bull and four cows were this day killed by lightning, in the neighbourhood of Norwich.

9th. This day, about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, a fire broke out at Hall-place school, Bexley, Kent.—By the very spirited exertions of the inhabitants of Bexley and Crayford, it was extinguished in about an hour. Some years ago, the chimney had been Rumfordized, and the grate brought forward into the room; a beam, which was near the grate, caught fire. Owing to the kind and timely assistance of the neighbours, the damage was but trifling.

11th. Between four and five in the morning, the stables of the White Hart inn, at St. Alban's, were discovered to be on fire, supposed by the negligence of the soldiers of the 48th regiment, who were setting off for Horsham; and, loading their baggage, left a candle burning against

the back of the stable. The lofts, being full of hay and straw, soon fell in upon, and stifled, nine horses belonging to the Leeds True Briton stage, and three pointers belonging to some gentlemen who were on a shooting party, in the house. Assistance being immediately given, and a prompt supply of water—for the town-engine, handed by a line of soldiers, and of women, headed by the dowager lady Spencer, herself assisting in performing the kind labour in person, and furthered by the excellent engine from Hatfield-house, the house was preserved, except a room or two near the laundry, and the injury done to the furniture, by hastily removing it, or tossing it into the street; but before the end of the week it was nearly replaced. The stables, with the lofts of those on the opposite side of the yard, were considerably damaged: Mr. Domville, till they can be repaired, has most kindly given up the use of those belonging to the Old Bull inn, which he lately purchased, with a view to take it down. The premises were insured in the Sun fire-office; and, by the attention of those good customers, whose favours have long distinguished this ancient and well established inn, for the last 50 years, from the time of the respectable Mrs. Langford, to the present Mr. Hayward, there is every encouragement to believe his loss will be lightly felt. It being the time of St. Alban's fair, and the town particularly full of people, the present mayor, Mr. Buskerville, indulged the players, under the auspices of lady Spencer, with an additional night, for the relief of the servants of the inn, and one or two poor tenants, whose loss is the most considerable. The archdeacon being on his



his second annual visitation, his curicle was involved in the catastrophe, and the chair cushions of his official, which were deposited in it. It being suggested that the baggage-waggon contained some gunpowder, it was drawn out of the yard by the exertions of a number of men, and up the hill, by a team of horses.

Leatherhead fair, on account of the weather being fine, was attended by almost all the respectability of the neighbourhood. Very little business was done in the sheep fair; but pigs being moderate in price, found a brisk sale. A party of the 10th light dragoons arrived, and began to display their address, in performing the sword exercise, which created some confusion, and drew on them the displeasure of the crowd, who attacked them; and driving them into a field, assailed them with stones. The soldiers charged the people with drawn swords, but the crowd stood firm, and proved victorious. One soldier was severely wounded in the face and eyes. A poor woman received a cut across her arm and breast, but supposed not to be dangerous; and a man had his hand or fingers nearly cut off. Two officers arriving, interfered, and put an end to the affray, with the assistance of lord Leslie, and Mr. Boulton, and ordered full amends to be made to the wounded parties; and the soldiers soon after left the place for Guildford.

14th. The Italian antiques, with the statues and bronzes, purchased by the duke of Bedford from Bonaparte, during his grace's residence in France, last season, arrived this day safe at Woburn. They are said to be the finest collection that ever was in England. The number

is so considerable, that they were packed in 36 cases.

15th. This evening, as 2 young men from Lancaster were crossing the sands to go to Allithwaite, in a gig, they unfortunately missed the ford. The gig was overturned in the water, and one of them (Mr. Thomas Warbich) was drowned; the other providentially saved his life by swimming to shore.

A report has been prevalent in Prestwich, that a tiger, which was said to have broken from its keeper, at Warrington, has been seen in the woods there; in consequence of which, many of the inhabitants have been ranging them in search of the animal.

The French officers in Hanover have established themselves in the houses of the principal inhabitants, to whom they allow eight rix-dollars, or about twenty-four shillings, per month, for their board and lodging. Upon such individuals as generals or colonels are quartered, the burthen is still more oppressive: they must pay towards the support of such officers in the following proportions, viz. for a general of division, 2000 livres per month; for a general of brigade, 1000; and for a colonel, 500. If the individual has not sufficient property to defray this charge, the country at large is to be assessed to make up the deficiency.

The French general in Hanover has made to the states a fresh requisition of 3000 horses; threatening that, if they are not furnished within a given period, they will be taken by force from the inhabitants, at the expence of the country. The states have sent urgent representations to the French government on the subject. One month's pay only, and

and that with considerable deductions, has at length been made to part of the Hanoverian army: the majority are, however, left destitute, with a view to compel them, by want, to enter the legion in the French service. A lace-merchant at Hanover, named Muller, narrowly-escaped being hanged for seeking to dissuade some of his countrymen from entering that corps. The French general declared, that all future offences of that nature should be punished with death.

Advices from Canton state that the following events had thrown the court of Peking into great disorder:—A favourite wife of the emperor dying, the circumstance was not published, on account of the political disturbances, till the day previous to the interment. In the mean time, according to the predictions of the astrologers, lightning fell upon the palace, and consumed the commodious and beautiful hall of audience; the flames extending to the haram, destroyed it, with nearly 200 adjacent houses; nor were they extinguished till the following day, at the hour of the second prayer.—The day of this calamity being a festival, little attention was paid to it; but it derived increased consideration, from the circumstance of the emperor becoming, on the morning following, seriously indisposed, through grief and anxiety. The princess was interred, in secret, in a grotto in a mountain, the usual cemetery of the ladies of the royal haram; and the horses which belonged to her were turned loose, to range on the mountain, until her sons, according to custom, become of age to claim them. A number of women and eunuchs have received five years' wages, for agreeing to live in the

tomb; and when dead, they are to be buried therein. The emperor, at the date of the last accounts, was said to remain seriously indisposed.

Sumatra has long been known to abound with gold; and some chasms, occasioned by a recent earthquake, have exposed such wealth, as to induce an opinion at Fort Marlborough, that this island contains as much gold as either Mexico or Peru. In the Lemong country, a pure gold, of a whitish colour, is found in dust, and lodged in very hard stones on the surface; it is likewise found in a clayish red loam, and, on digging, in strata extending to the depth of three feet and a half, and in others of less depth, consisting of irregular shaped stones, of a mouldering nature, mixed with red clay and hard pebbles. The natives disengage the gold from the stones, by breaking them. This district is 70 or 80 miles inland from Sumatra; but the road to it is, from the number of wild beasts, impassable, excepting to strong parties. Sumatra is supposed to have been the ophir of Solomon, from the circumstance of the word in the Malay language signifying a mountain containing gold.

The damage sustained by a dreadful fire, which lately happened at Bombay, is computed at 650,000*l*. Nearly 500 horses were burnt to death.

The following is the official account of the loss of the ship *Nautilus*, wrecked on the *Ladrones*; received from Madras by the *Dover-castle*:

“On the 16th of November we had fine pleasant weather; observed in 22. 15. N. at sun-set, a ship bearing W. S. W. pleasant through the night. On the 17th, in the morning, saw land, bearing W. S. W. soundings



soundings sandy bottom. At seven A. M. saw Padra Branca, bearing N. W. by W. from the fore-top, hazy-looking weather. At noon came on a hard squall—had no observation; ship steering to the northward and westward. At 1 o'clock, the squall clearing up a little, saw Padra Branca bearing N. by E. about two or three miles' distance; and also saw a great number of fishing-boats going in different directions, and seemingly in great confusion; hauled more to the westward; still squally, with heavy rain. At 8 o'clock at night, the squall increasing, and dismal-looking weather, handed our top-sails and courses, and lay-to under the mizen stay-sail, heaving the lead through the night; at midnight, blowing hard, with rain, the wind about N. E. At 3 o'clock next morning wore ship to the southward and eastward, blowing furiously, and a tremendous sea. At 4 o'clock wore ship again. At day-light saw an island under our lee; let go both the bower anchors; but at this time, the wind being so very violent, the anchor had no effect on the ship, and she drove bodily on the island, and went to pieces shortly after she struck. In the evening we mustered 18 men on shore; came to us two China men, from the top of the island, and brought with them some roots: in return, we gave them some liquor; they behaved very well, and went again to the place they came from. This night we remained among the rocks; the next morning found one Lascar dead. This day went on the top of the island, where we found two or three huts, but no people.—A little while after, came some men, women, and children, and conducted us to a place where we found a

Mandarin and many inhabitants:—this man treated us with great civility. On the 21st sent us to Maeno, where we arrived in the evening, and staid in the boats all the night. The next day, about noon, I went with the gunner on shore, but the China men would not allow the Lascars to be landed. I went and reported this circumstance to the governor, and he got them released. I suppose 27 of the crew to be lost, together with the captain and chief mate. Nineteen are saved, including myself and the gunner.

This morning, about three o'clock, a woman was found drowned near the Dundee wharf, Wapping. She is supposed to have fallen overboard from one of the Gravesend boats two or three nights ago, as Mr. Minshaw's boatman remembers hearing a splashing in the water at the time one of the boats was warping in, and which he then supposed was the rowing of a boat.

19th. This day, being appointed for a general fast, was observed with the utmost decorum in this great metropolis. The shops and all the public offices were shut, and the interior of every house wore the appearance of Sunday. The volunteer corps of London and Westminster, and their environs, assembled at an early hour, and proceeded to their several places of worship, where they received the instruction of appropriate sermons; and the clergy displayed on the occasion a most laudable zeal to strengthen and improve those generous and manly sentiments with which their audiences were inspired. At half past ten, St. Paul's cathedral was surrounded with spectators; and before eleven, the lord mayor, sheriffs, and other city officers, with their different insignia, attended divine



vine worship. To this cathedral also repaired the hon. artillery company, commanded by alderman Le Mesurier, and consisting of upwards of 1000; the two troops of loyal London cavalry, commanded by col. Anderton, and Mr. alderman Rowcroft, their major; and the third regiment of loyal London volunteers, commanded by John Pooley Kensington, esq. accompanied by the rev. Henry Budd, chaplain to the corps, who mustered at their head quarters in Bridewell-yard. At ten they marched for St. Paul's, accompanied by their band, in a most superb uniform; the band under the direction of Mr. Hyde, playing the duke of York's march. The streets were so extremely crowded, that it was with the greatest difficulty, and the most vigorous exertions of the pioneers, that the band could reach the cathedral; and when they had gained admittance, the choir was not large enough to contain them; numbers went into the organ-loft, and the others were obliged to remain in the aisles during the whole time of divine service. All the streets leading to St. Paul's were crowded at the early hour of eight o'clock, and remained so the whole morning.—About eleven, the lord mayor arrived in his state carriage, accompanied by aldermen Skinner and Boydell, the sheriffs, and the city-officers. The crowd was so great in the cathedral, that it was difficult to make a passage for their entrance into the choir.—The whole of the morning service, both at the desk and the altar, was most impressively and distinctly delivered by the rev. John Pridden, one of the minor canons: and the sermon was preached by his lordship's chaplain, the rev. John Hutchins. After the sermon, the third regiment was

assembled, by companies, under the dome, and the oath of allegiance administered to the officers, and afterwards to the privates, six at a time. This regiment then returned to their head-quarters, in the same order they came, and were dismissed.—Upon their return from St. Paul's, the London cavalry drew up in front of the Mansion-house, where the lord mayor, uncovered, in company with the lady mayoress, returned their salute. They were then dismissed, after their horn had sounded, "God save the King," and their officers partook of a refreshment at the Mansion-house. The other nine regiments attended divine service in their respective wards. The first regiment of loyal London volunteers, commanded by col. Birch, marched to St. Michael's church, Cornhill. The second regiment, commanded by lieut. col. John Smith, assembled at its head-quarters, Guildhall, at 10 o'clock, deposited their arms, and proceeded to St. Stephen's Walbrook. The 4th regiment went to St. Sepulchre's. The 8th and 9th regiments, not finding accommodation for themselves in large bodies, filed off into companies, and, for the most part, repaired to the churches of their respective parishes. A part of the first regiment of the East-India company volunteers attended at St. Mary Axe. At St. Creed's was another part of that regiment, and the Aldgate, or seventh regiment of city volunteers, headed by alderman Combe, their colonel. At Aldgate church, the remainder of the first regiment of East-India volunteers, commanded by adjutant Dickson, and the Portoken volunteers, headed, in the absence of col. Shaw, who accompanied the lord mayor, as one of the sheriffs, by major Pratt. The second  
regiment

regiment of East-India volunteers, commanded by Mr. Dominicus, amounting to 700; the Custom-house guards, headed by commissioner Wilson, amounting to about 300, and part of the river fencibles, all in full uniform, attended at Allhallows Barking. At St. Peter's, Cornhill, the third regiment of East-India volunteers. The Bank volunteers attended at St. Bartholomew's, behind the Exchange. The loyal British artificers, to the number of about 600, attended service in Tavistock-chapel. The St. Clement Danes, their own church, whence they marched up Newcastle-street, and made a most soldier-like and respectable appearance. The Cecil-street infant association, commanded by Capt. Bradley, also attended at St. Clement's; their number amounted to 70, and if they did not boast a warlike appearance, they did a most interesting one. The Somerset-house volunteers went to the church of St. Mary-le-Strand. The loyal city of Westminster volunteer corps attended divine service at the drum-head in Westminster-hall. The service was performed by the rev. William Dakins. The novelty of the performance of divine worship in that place attracted a very numerous congregation; among whom was the earl of Inchiquin. The law association attended divine service at the Temple church, headed by their colonel, the hon. Thomas Erskine; where a most impressive discourse was delivered by Dr. Rennell; whom a commanding eloquence and dignified manner have long rendered an object of general respect. On the present occasion there was much solicitude expressed by many to get entrance to the church, which was crowded in all parts; and, indeed, the discourse was such as warranted

the solicitude the expectation of it excited. The learned divine, after descanting upon the public evils which surrounded us, combated the opinions of ancient philosophers, that there were two distinct principles of good and evil. He shewed, from holy writ, that God was the author of all evil as well as good; but in doing this, he nevertheless justified the ways of God to man. He shewed that mankind, by their wickedness, had provoked the divine displeasure, whose justice had ever been administered in the extremity of mercy; and thence took occasion to admonish his hearers that they should conciliate, by amended conduct, the favour of the Deity, so that when they went forth to the protection of all that was dearer than themselves, they might have his countenance with them, whether they went to death or to glory. After church, the corps returned to the ground, when it was announced that on Saturday next they would commence firing with ball. Col. Erskine and most of the other officers were present. Afterwards the oath of allegiance was administered to them in the Temple-gardens. The St. George's volunteers, Hanover-square, attended at their own church. The sermon was delivered by the bishop of London's nephew. The Loyal Britons volunteer infantry, under the command of col. Alexander Davison, met in their ground in Bolton-row, and, after going through various evolutions, had an excellent discourse delivered to them by their chaplain. The St. Giles's and St. George's, after attending divine service at St. Giles's, proceeded at one to the Toxopholite ground behind Gower-street, where they received their colours among thousands of spectators. The Ken-  
sington



sington volunteers, under the command of Henry Knight, esq. their captain, after the usual hours of parade, marched to their own church. The following corps also attended divine service at the following churches and places. The duke of Gloucester's, at South Audley chapel. The royal Mary-la-bonne, Upper Seymour-street chapel. The Bloomsbury in the chapel in the Foundling hospital. The St. Pancrass at the church of Somers-Town. The Highgate at Highgate church. The riflemen, or sharp shooters, at St. Paul, Covent-garden. The Clerkenwell at St. James's Clerkenwell. The Islington at their parish church. The Bethnal-green at Spitalfields church. The Limehouse, the Ratcliffe, the Wapping, the St. George's in the East, the Whitechapel, the St. Andrew's Holborn, the Bermondsey, the Lambeth association, the Fulham, the Hammersmith, the Roehampton, the Richmond, and the Christ-church, Surry, each attended in their respective churches. The duke of York and the whole brigade of guards attended at the Almonry chapel, Westminster, with the following distinguished officers: gen. Burrard, gen. Leslie, gen. Calvert, A. G. gen. Brownrigg, Q. M. G. gen. Wynyard, D. A. G. col. Murray, with the duke's staff, the hon. capt. A. and T. Upton and Paget. Before and after the service, the duke of York's band performed; several of the guards also assisted in the choir. The queen's own, or queen's royal regiment of volunteers, met in Mr. Holland's field, opposite Sloane-street, under the command of lord Hobart. That fine corps began to assemble after eleven. When they were all collected, and had paraded for a short

time, they marched down to Ranelagh-house, where the morning service was read by the rev. Weeden Butler, junr. after which the rev. Weeden Butler, senr. chaplain to the duke of Kent and to the regiment, preached an eloquent discourse. Mr. Watts (organist to Charlotte-street chapel, *dimico*) was then requested to preside at the organ: and the whole regiment immediately sang "God save the King," in a slow, loud, and truly solemn manner.--- Many of the spectators were visibly affected. The balconies were crowded with ladies, as were the lower boxes with gentlemen. There were about 3000 visitors in all, and the *coup d'œil* was remarkably grand.

Such a number of corps attended this day, that it is impossible to enumerate them. Every principal church was crowded with the ardent patriots who fill the voluntary associations; and there can be no doubt that, in the present temper of the people of this country, not only every other great city and town, but even the smallest village or hamlet throughout the island, evinced a proportionate degree of fervour and animation in the holy cause. The corps who had not before taken the oath of allegiance did so this day, either on their drill grounds, or in their respective churches. Among the number, upwards of 300 of the most respectable individuals of the Jewish persuasion took the oaths to government. By an order from their high priest, they were prohibited from attending in our churches during the time of divine service. The high priest, however, expressed his highest concurrence to their taking the oaths of fidelity and allegiance to our king and country. These gentlemen accordingly took the oaths.



oaths, either upon the drilling-grounds of their respective corps, or in the vestry-rooms of the churches, as circumstances required. They were sworn upon the book of *Leviticus*, instead of the New Testament, having their heads covered.

20th. This morning an alarming fire destroyed one of the new houses in Wooburn-place, Russel-square. It raged with great fury, under a brisk wind, for near an hour before any water could be procured. A stable in the mews behind Wooburn-place caught fire, and was burnt to the ground, without an engine having water to play upon it. The house was not occupied by any family, and had only a woman placed in it by the builders.

26th. This was a truly proud day for the country. It presented the sublime spectacle of a patriot monarch, who reigns no less distinguished in the hearts of his people than on his throne, meeting the brave citizens of his metropolis, armed in defence of his crown and of the British constitution, and, with the characteristic virtue of the sons of Albion, resolved to continue free, or gloriously to fall with the liberty and independence of their country. Such a spectacle is worthy of such a people; such a people are deserving the superior blessings they possess.

As soon as the light appeared, the greater part of the population of London was on the foot in every quarter, impelled by the most ardent and most laudable curiosity, to be present at this grand, interesting, and glorious scene. There was on every countenance not a common curiosity, such as was excited by former military spectacles, when the king reviewed his soldiers: it was a deeper and more lively interest.

The ties which connect our gracious sovereign with his people, have been drawn closer by the common danger with which our audacious enemy has dared to threaten both. The mutual affections which have ever united them are enhanced. Instead of those common testimonies of mutual regard which marked their meetings on former occasions, there is now an uncommon ardour and earnestness in the salutations which his majesty receives from the public, and an extraordinary warmth in the manner in which he returns them, excited by the unprecedented circumstances of the times. It is a strong and solemn assurance of the people to stand or fall with their king, and of the king to stand or fall with his people. This day, therefore, must have been to his majesty and the people of London, the most grateful of all the solemnities which they have celebrated together. The congratulations on the escape of his majesty from the various dangers to which his precious life has hitherto been exposed, were scenes of gladness, in which the exultation was not restrained by any serious consideration: it was a general feeling of good-natured joy, in which every disposition that was not actually savage and inhuman must have indulged. But this day's solemnity was of a far different kind. The armed citizens of London came to shew their sovereign that they were ready to shed the last drop of their blood in his defence, in defence of the constitution, and of their country: the sovereign came to behold their ardour in the glorious cause, and to evince his own. These were the motive and the feelings of his majesty and the volunteers. The motives and the feelings of those whom

whom sex and age and circumstances rendered mere spectators, were too manifold to describe; or even to imagine; but, though less sublime, they were probably not less interesting, nor less commendable. The fathers, children, mothers, wives, and daughters, whose dearest relations go forth to meet the danger, must be agitated with a thousand feelings of tender anxiety, which, though inferior in moral rank to those that prompt the men in arms to the field, are still much to be admired and esteemed. All shewed a feeling in proportion to their condition; all shewed a feeling equally loyal and honourable. The corps evinced their zeal, and their strict attention to their orders, by being at the ground appointed for them before the time at which their attendance was commanded. As early as seven o'clock, several of the corps entered the park at the Grosvenor and Hyde-park-corner gates. By 8 o'clock, all the corps stood assembled in close column of companies, in and behind the right of its own ground. A quarter-master, with the camp-colour-men of each corps, were on the ground at seven, and one of them belonging to each corps attended at the different gates to conduct his regiment to its proper point. As the corps proceeded to their different stations, each marched with its right in front, so that when it arrived at the proper point, the right division stood on the ground it was to occupy in the line, and the other divisions were in close column behind it. The advantage of this arrangement was, that all the corps could, without the slightest confusion, deploy into line as soon as the signal was given. Soon after nine o'clock a signal gun, a

12-pounder, was fired, and the general line was formed by deploying to the left: the line was formed at close ranks. The ranks were then extended, and the officers advanced in front. The corps that had guns stationed them on their right. The deploying into line, the forming at close ranks, and the subsequent opening of the ranks, were executed with great regularity and order, and did infinite credit to the discipline and attention of each regiment.

Majors general Finch, Burrard, Leslie, and Fitzroy, were on the ground by eight; the earl of Harrington, who commanded the line, about the same time. About 9 the commander in chief entered from Hyde-park-corner, with the duke of Cambridge, and their aids-de-camp. They proceeded along Rotten-row towards Kensington gate. The duke of Cumberland, in the uniform of his regiment of light dragoons, entered shortly after at Hyde-park-corner, and proceeded towards Kensington-gate by the carriage road. A few minutes before ten, a twelve-pounder was fired as the signal of his majesty's approach, and immediately the whole force shouldered arms. It was not quite ten when his majesty, in his private carriage, attended by the duke of Kent in his uniform as general, and the duke of Clarence in the uniform of the Teddington association, entered the park at the light-horse-gate, at Kensington. On entering the gate, his majesty alighted from the carriage, and mounted his charger. His majesty then rode forward, preceded by the life guards, and the royal grooms, with four led horses, elegantly caparisoned. His majesty was attended by the princes, and followed by her majesty,



jesty, with the princess Augusta and princess Elizabeth, in an open landau. The princess Sophia and the princess Mary, with two attendants, came after in another of the royal carriages. The princess of the Gloucester branch afterwards joined the cavalcade, in a yellow coach. Opposite the entrance of Kensington-gardens, his majesty was met by the duke of York, the earls of Harrington and Chesterfield, generals Calvert, Stewart, Burrard, and Leslie, with lord Petersham, col. Macquarrie, and the whole of the staff. As the procession advanced, it was joined, near the ring, by Monsieur, dressed in green, with red facings; the prince de Condé, in white, faced with blue; the duke de Bourbon, in white, faced with red; and the duke de Berri, in green. The French princes were on horseback, attended by several of the French noblesse, decorated with the insignia of several military orders. General Dumourier was in their train. The whole cavalcade was closed by a party of the 13th light dragoons; a regiment which has now frequently the honour to be associated in guarding his majesty. The royal cavalcade passed rapidly along the carriage-road from Kensington-gate, as far as the rear of the Knightsbridge barracks, where it turned, and crossed to the right of the line by the bottom of the Serpentine river; the piles, which are placed to prevent horses and carriages from passing that way, having been removed for the occasion. As soon as his majesty entered the park, a royal salute of 21 guns was fired by the guns of the artillery company. A second cannon announced his majesty's arrival at the centre of the line. The

officers immediately saluted, the corps presented arms, and the bands played "God save the king." Immediately afterwards a third cannon was fired, and the corps shouldered and then supported arms. His majesty now proceeded to the right of the line, and passed along from right to left, each corps carrying arms as his majesty arrived near the right of the corps. Whilst his majesty passed along the front, the music played a variety of martial tunes. The grandest part of the spectacle was, when his majesty descended the hill, to re-pass, at the bottom of the Serpentine, to the corps on the left of the line, which were stationed along the footway to Kensington-gardens, with their front towards the water. By this time, the fog, which had dimmed the splendour of the scene in the earlier part of the day, was in some degree dispelled, and the whole of the royal procession, as well as the immense crowd that followed in the train, had become tolerably conspicuous. We do not remember to have seen a sight so grand, or so delightful. The whole of the ground in the rear of the royal train was covered to the summit of the hill, with women elegantly dressed, interspersed with volunteers, and officers in uniform; and, according as they descended, fresh numbers appeared on the summit ready to assume their places, till their progress was stopped at the Serpentine, to prevent the way from being choaked for his majesty's return. There was not the same opportunity of discerning persons of rank in this crowd, as on ordinary occasions; from the attention to general accommodation, which so properly marked the general orders; no carriages, horses, or servants, were admitted



admitted within the lines; and, from the absence of those appendages of wealth and condition, it was difficult to distinguish individuals. All that could be seen was, that the women within the line were chiefly in white dresses, and the men, with the exception of a few naval officers, sharp shooters, and volunteer cavalry, in red. As far as we had an opportunity of nearer inspection, it was equally difficult to make distinctions. Beauty was prevalent in innumerable parties; and wherever beauty prevails, rank is always a subordinate consideration. The general *coup d'œil* was, however, grand beyond description. His majesty, having passed to the extremity of the line, returned again by the serpentine, and took his position in the centre. Then, on the signal of the seventh gun, three volleys were fired by battalions from the centre to the flanks; and on the firing of the eighth gun, three loud, universal, and unanimous cheers were given, with hats and hands waving in the air, drums beating, and music playing "God save the king." On the firing of the ninth gun, the whole of the corps wheeled backwards on their left, by divisions; and, having passed his majesty in the order prescribed by the general instructions, proceeded by the most convenient way to their different quarters.

The review being over at twenty minutes past one, the royal party, with the foreign princes, and the generals, returned again from the position which his majesty had taken in the centre of the park, by the serpentine, and along by Rotten-row, to Piccadilly gate, from which they crossed over, and went on to Buckingham-house, followed all the

way by the immense crowd. Being no longer restrained by the military employed in keeping the lines, the people ran in all directions, to indulge their affection for their sovereign, with a view of his beloved person. The air resounded with their shouts; and his majesty shewed the deepest sense of their loyalty, as well by the satisfaction which was visible in his countenance, as by pulling off his hat, and giving other marks of his reciprocal feelings. Never was such a concourse known with so little inconvenience. No one accident occurred: indeed, the only thing from which any accident could have been apprehended was, the extreme eagerness with which the crowd ran wherever his majesty could be seen; their impetuosity was such, on these occasions, as to break through the best-fenced inclosures of the Park, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the troops employed in keeping the ground could stop them, though the goodness of the motive produced no relaxation in the enforcement of this very necessary duty. On the return of the corps, after the review, about half past one, all the windows in the streets through which they were to pass, were crowded with ladies. The principal houses in Piccadilly and Park-lane were filled with persons of the first distinction, as were those of St. George's-row, leading to Bayswater, and several in Oxford-street. The small houses at the gate to Hyde-park, and the rails to the very top, had a most singular appearance from the number of persons who had climbed to the top of them. Piccadilly was thronged with carriages of every description, none but those of ambassadors and princes being suffered to

enter the park. With a similar laudable vigilance, carriages were excluded from Park-lane, Hereford-street, Green-street, Grosvenor-street, Mount-street, and Brook-street. It is owing to this precaution, that such an immense concourse was enabled to view this sublime sight, without a single accident. Among the persons who attracted most notice in the Park, was Elfi Bey, who followed, though, from *étiquette*, he could not join, the royal cavalcade. The bey was in his carriage, accompanied by his majesty's and his own interpreter, and his *aid-de-camp*. His servants were dressed in scarlet and gold, with green cuffs and collars, gold epaulets, plain cocked hats, with gold loop and button, and high white feather. The whole number of spectators, and men in arms, could not be less than 200,000; every person who could come from within a circle of twenty miles being collected. Many came to town from a distance of above 100 miles, to be present at the sight. The trees, the house-tops, every position from which curiosity could satisfy itself, were eagerly taken possession of. If we were to enumerate the minute particulars which were observed with interest in every particular spot, the task would be endless, and the detail fatiguing. It was, altogether, a day on which we have to congratulate London and the empire at large: it was a day which afforded the most glorious sight we ever witnessed, without a single circumstance to excite the smallest regret.

The volunteer corps reviewed this day were, the Loyal London volunteer cavalry, 217 effective men; hon. Artillery company, 994; 1st

regiment of Royal East India volunteers, 640; 2d ditto, 636; 3d ditto, 585; 1st regiment of Loyal London volunteer infantry, 737; 2d ditto, 657; 3d ditto, 804; 4th ditto, 790; 5th ditto, 501; 6th ditto, 647; 7th ditto, 404; 8th ditto, 777; 9th ditto, 651; 10th ditto, 587; 11th ditto, 293; 1st regiment of Tower Hamlets, 350; Whitechapel, 445; Mile End, 333; St. George in the East, 230; Radcliffe, 183; Shoreditch, 294; Bromley St. Leonard, 175; Bethnal-Green, 166; St. Catharine, 121; and Christ-Church volunteers, 184. Total 12,401.

The earl of Moira was this day at the levee; and took leave, preparatory to his departure for Scotland, to assume the military command in that quarter. Every loyal subject will rejoice to find so good an officer, so brave a soldier, and so worthy a man, placed at last in a situation to serve his country.

27th. This night's gazette contains his majesty's proclamation, stating, that the fever now raging in New York, is an infectious distemper, of the nature of a plague, and therefore enjoining, that all vessels coming from that city, or the State of New York, shall perform quarantine.

28th. The éclat with which the grand review of the London district of volunteers went off on Wednesday, excited a laudable ambition in the breasts of the Westminster, Lambeth, and Southwark corps, to surpass, if possible, their brethren in arms, in discipline, in zeal, and military appearance. So great was the anxiety in some corps, that the majority of the men never laid down in the course of the preceding night, the whole of which was spent in preparation;



paration; and even of those who did, few, we may presume, enjoyed a wink of sleep. At six, the corps were mustered in their respective drill-grounds, and, at that time, there was every prospect of a fine bright day; but the appearance soon changed, and an approaching fog seemed resolved that the western district should have no advantage of weather over the eastern district, reviewed on Wednesday. The fog, however, not content with equalling that of Wednesday, increased to such a degree, that, at half past seven, not a single object could be seen in the park, and several of the corps would have passed by Oxford-street gate, had they not been stopped by a party of life-guards stationed there to guard the entrance. The eager expectation which ushered in the morning, now changed to fearful anxiety. It was too dark to observe the expression of the countenance; but every body, in tones of despondency, began to express their apprehensions that all the beauty of the military spectacle would be lost, and that a glimpse of the troops could not be obtained, much less a full view of them, and the embellishments of the scene. The houses, scaffolds, carts, caravans, and carriages of all descriptions, drawn up for the accommodation of spectators along the Bayswater-road, instantly began to drop their prices; and would have fallen still lower had not the fog, fortunately, begun to clear away about half past eight, when the business of the day again assumed a cheerful aspect, and the spectators eagerly assembled in amazing crowds, and to a still greater extent than on Wednesday. The same excellent regulations to preserve order were observed as those which were adopt-

ed upon that day. The park was shut up all night, and the gates were not opened for the admission of the populace until eight o'clock, at which time the corps began to arrive. From that hour until ten o'clock, the crowds at Piccadilly-gate were so great, that the pressure became intolerable; many persons, it was feared, would be crushed or trampled to death, in the immense tide which endeavoured to force itself through the side-gates, the only ones for admission. In this situation, Jones, the Bow-street officer, under whose care the gate was, perceiving the imminent danger of the multitude pressing in upon the Piccadilly side, occasionally opened the main gates, and thus relieved the dreadful pressure. The parties stationed here and at the other gates, to preserve order, consisted of detachments of the guards, patrols, and the Bow-street officers, except Townsend and Sayers, who attended their majesties. As each corps entered, the party of guards at the gates shouldered arms; and, as the colours passed, they presented arms. The corps immediately in the vicinity of the park, did not experience so much inconvenience from the darkness of the morning as those at a distance, who were obliged to muster earlier. From the lowness of their situation, the fog lay heaviest upon Lambeth and Southwark; and, though this circumstance was unfavourable to the scene as a spectacle, it was the source of much interest and variety.

The regiments reviewed this day were, the London and Westminster light horse volunteers, 727 effective men; Westminster regiment of volunteer cavalry, 225; Southwark troop of yeomanry, 69; Clerken-



well cavalry, 46; Lambeth ditto, 40; St. George's regiment of volunteer infantry, 663; St. James's ditto, 954; Bloomsbury and Inns of Court ditto, 929; Royal Westminster ditto, 961; Prince of Wales's ditto, 640; St. Margaret's and St. John's, 625; Loyal North Britons, 286; Mary-la-bonne, 905; Law Association, 335; Duke of Gloucester's, 462; the Somerset Place, 380; the St. Giles's and St. George's, 605; the Clerkenwell, 701; Loyal British Artificers, 542; the Loyal Britons, 127; St. Andrew and St. George's, 514; 1st and 2d battalion of Queen's Royal, 926; the Knightsbridge, 124; the St. Clement's Danes, 245; 1st Surrey, 515; the St. Sepulchre, 174; the St. Saviour's, 151; the Loyal Southwark, 545; Lambeth, 555; Christchurch, 171; St. John's, 138; St. Olave's, 116; Rotherhithe, 158; Duke of Cumberland's corps of volunteer sharp shooters, 84; and the Gray's Inn corps of volunteer riflemen, 38. Total 14,676.

The total number of the troops inspected, amounted, on both days, to 27,077: but, in many instances, a fourth part of the corps were absent on business or otherwise; and, we understand, that the returns of the effective strength of the several battalions, rendered some weeks since, made the number of volunteers, within the city, to exceed 35,000. The corps in the vicinity of the metropolis, as the Hackney, Pancras, Fulham, Hampstead, Islington, Camberwell, Wandsworth, &c. exceed 11,000, making in the whole, a force of 46,000 men.

The king arrived at the Knightsbridge barracks, from Kew, about ten o'clock, accompanied by her majesty and the princesses; and soon

after entered the park, preceded by a troop of horse, and surrounded by the dukes of York, Clarence, and Cumberland, and a number of officers on horseback. The procession moved across the head of the Serpentine river, up to the centre of the park. The fog now began to disperse, and the sight became truly magnificent, as the cavalcade could be seen passing the lines to the distance of three quarters of a mile. After the king had inspected the line, the whole formed into companies, and passed his majesty in review, precisely in the same manner as the London corps on Wednesday last; and then retired in quick time. It is but justice to observe, that the regularity of the firing, on both occasions, did infinite credit to so numerous a body. The multitude was beyond conception great, particularly females; and it seemed as if the whole non-military population of the metropolis had come forward in honour of their defenders. The following general orders were issued, from the office of the commander in chief, to the commanding officers of the several volunteer corps:

*“ Horse Guards, Oct. 29.*

“ His royal highness, the commander in chief, has received the king's command, to convey to the several volunteer and associated corps, which were reviewed in Hyde Park on the 26th and 28th instant, his majesty's highest approbation of their appearance, which has equalled his majesty's utmost expectation. His majesty perceives, with heartfelt satisfaction, that the spirit of loyalty and patriotism, on which the system of the armed volunteers throughout the kingdom was originally founded, has risen with the

the exigencies of the times, and, at this moment, forms such a bulwark to the constitution and liberties of the country, as will enable us, under the protection of Providence, to bid defiance to the unprovoked malice of our enemies, and to hurl back, with becoming indignation, the threats which they have presumed to vent against our independence, and even our existence as a nation. His majesty has observed, with peculiar pleasure, that, amongst the unprecedented exertions which the present circumstances of the country have called forth, those of the capital of his united kingdom have been eminently conspicuous. The appearance of its numerous and well-regulated volunteer corps, which were reviewed on the 26th and 28th instant, indicates a degree of attention and emulation, both in officers and men, which can proceed only from a deep sense of the important objects for which they have enrolled themselves, a just estimation of the blessings we have so long enjoyed, and a firm and manly determination to defend them like Britons, and transmit them, unimpaired, to our posterity. The commander in chief has the highest satisfaction in discharging his duty, by communicating these, his majesty's most gracious sentiments, and requests that the commanding officers will have recourse to the readiest means of making the same known to their respective corps.

“Frederic, commander in chief.”

The following are the proceedings of the University of Cambridge on the subject of arming: a grace was passed by the senate in these words:

“Cum bellum in dies singulos in-  
gravescat, hostesque jam tandem sese

in ipsam Britanniam irrupturos esse  
minitentur:

“Placeat Vobis, quo melius Ju-  
venes Academici Patriæ periclitanti  
opitulentur, aut ii Scholares in quâ-  
cunque Facultate hunc Terminum  
complevisse censeantur, qui militan-  
di causâ cum consensu Parentum,  
aut eorum qui sunt Parentum in lo-  
cò, ab Academiâ abfuerint: Provi-  
so tamen, ut unusquisque eorum li-  
teras testimoniales secundum formulam sequentem producat, quæ vos  
certiores faciant eos bonâ fide milita-  
rem operam navasse.” [Here fol-  
lows the form.]

At a meeting of the heads at  
King's Lodge, a request from the  
lay members of the university hav-  
ing been made, that an hour be  
fixed on for the time of drilling,  
which shall not interfere with pub-  
lic lectures; and to which the tu-  
tors of the different colleges shall, on  
that account, have no reasonable  
cause of objection; it was agreed,  
“That twelve o'clock be the hour  
fixed on for the drill. That the tu-  
tors of the different colleges recom-  
mend to such of their pupils as  
mean to be drilled, that they be reg-  
ular in their attendance. That no  
military uniform be worn at the  
drill; but that such alteration be  
permitted in the dress of its members  
as the captain of the drill may deem  
essentially requisite towards the  
performance of its duties: and this  
dress to be worn only at the drill.  
That regular officers of the army,  
or serjeants, may be allowed, from  
time to time, to be provided for the  
instruction of the drill; until some  
of its members, by their proficiency  
in military knowledge, be deemed  
capable of supplying their place.  
And we moreover recommend it to



the university to defray the expences incurred by the drill from the 10th of October.

“ Humphrey Sumner, Vice Chan. J. Barker, W. Craven, W. Pearce, F. Barnes, Isaac Milner, P. Douglas, R. T. Cory, W. L. Mansel.”

The number of young men who have already come forward in defence of their alma mater is very considerable. They wear a plain dress, consisting of a short blue jacket, pantaloons of a dark mixture, black gaiters, and handkerchief. A sort of centurion is appointed to each division, until he gets thoroughly versed in his duty, when he falls in among the ranks, and is succeeded by another young man; so that every person, in his turn, is instructed in the duties of an officer and common soldier. The whole of this drill has given so much satisfaction to the tutors, that many of them have expressed a wish it might always continue as a part of the education of their students.

30th. A large party, of near 300 French prisoners, lying at Waltham Abbey, in their way from the south coast to Norman-cross barracks, one of them, an Italian, who had some friends or acquaintances at Epping, and had frequently attempted to escape, was fired at and killed, as he was running over the fields this evening, by lieut. Story, an officer of the detachment that guarded them. A coroner's inquest was held on the body, Nov. 3, and the jury returned a verdict of justifiable homicide.

DIED.—The duke of Modena, at Trevisa, in the 74th year of his age. He has left money and effects to the value of 6,000,000 ducats, and some

extensive estates in Hungary, producing 30,000 more annually. The archduke Ferdinand is his heir.

## NOVEMBER.

2d. A waggon, loaded with butter and cheese, from Cambridge, went backwards into a deep ditch near the fourteen mile stone at Turnford, beyond Cheshunt: so that the shaft horses were reared upright against the bank, while the other, breaking their chains, ran to the turnpike, at Theobalds, where they were stopped. The women passengers were taken out unhurt.

3d. A fire broke out at Fawley-court, near Henley, the seat of S. Henley, Esq. occasioned by the negligence of workmen having a fire not properly secured, which consumed stabling and four cart horses.

While the Bromley volunteers were this day going through the platoon firing, one of the muskets burst, and shattered to pieces the hand of one of the corps, since dead, and knocked down two other persons. The piece had, from the inattention of its owner, six cartridges in it at the time it was discharged.

4th. A man that had slipped from a barge into the river near Barcomb, Sussex, was taken out of the water to all appearance dead; but, by a vigorous application of the means prescribed by the Royal Humane Society, for the recovery of drowned persons, he was soon restored to animation.

Daniel Isaac Eaton, formerly a bookseller in Newgate-street, convicted, about three years since, of publishing a seditious libel, and who



was outlawed, in consequence of not appearing to receive judgment, was this day apprehended by Rivett, one of the Bow-street officers, and lodged in the custody of the sheriff of London.

5th. As one of the armed vessels lying in the river at Harwich, was celebrating the anniversary of the gunpowder-plot, she discharged one of her guns, loaded with grapeshot, at the camp of the third royal Lancaster militia, on the opposite side of the river, near Landguard fort. The balls marked the ground in several places within the lines of the encampment, and both officers and men had a most miraculous escape. One of the balls passed between two of the officers who were walking on the parade, and another of them flew up the officer's street, grazing the ground in several places; others took different directions through the encampment, where there was nearly eleven hundred men, but, providentially, without hurting any of them. Eight of the balls were soon after picked up, some at the distance of half a mile beyond the camp, and each of them weighed upwards of a pound; of course the shot was fired entirely by mistake; but as accidents often occur from firing on days of rejoicing, too much attention cannot be paid, that no balls be in the guns previous to their being fired on such occasions.

7th. This morning the London coach, on its return to town from Tunbridge-wells, with four inside, and four outside passengers, by the breaking of the axle-tree, was overturned near Southborough, two miles from the Wells; when Mr. Wheatly, a seal-engraver, in Bond-street, was thrown from the roof, and had his skull dreadfully fractured: he was

conveyed to a neighbouring cottage, where he died in the space of two hours, in the greatest agony. His nephew, and four other passengers, were also much bruised by the fall. A lady, and Mr. Dryden of Yorkshire, were the only persons who escaped unhurt. The coachman is so severely hurt, that his life is despaired of.

10th. A grand entertainment was given to his excellency Elfi Bey, and a number of other distinguished visitors, by his royal highness the prince of Wales. The conversation turning upon the very excellent equestrian powers of the mamelukes and Turks, the prince said, "I have now in my stud an Egyptian horse, so wild and ungovernable, that he will dismount the best horseman in Elfi Bey's retinue." The Bey replied, in Italian, to the prince, "I shall gratify your royal highness's curiosity to-morrow." An appointment consequently took place next day, at two o'clock, in the prince of Wales's riding-house, Pall Mall. When the Bey, in company with colonel Moore, his interpreter, and Mahomet Aga, his principal officer, a young man of apparently great agility, entered the riding-house, where the prince and his royal brothers waited, attended by several noblemen, to witness the management of the horse, which never before could be ridden by any body. One of the mameluke's saddles being fixed by the grooms, the animal was led out of the stable into the riding-house, in so rampant and unmanageable a state, that every one present concluded no one would ever attempt to mount him. There never was a greater model of beauty. He is spotted like a leopard, and his eyes were so fiery and enraged,

enraged, as to indicate the greatest danger to any one who dared to mount him. Being led round the boundary, Mahomet Aga made a spring, seized him by the reins, and in an instant vaulted on the back of the animal, which finding itself incumbered by a burden, that it had never before felt, and goaded by the tightness of the Egyptian saddle, gave loose to his passion, and, in the height of ferocity, plunged, but in vain, in every direction. The mameluke kept his seat during this proud distraction of the horse, for more than twenty minutes, to the utter astonishment of the prince and every beholder; and the apparently ungovernable animal was, at last, reduced to so tame and accommodating a state, as to yield to the control of the very able rider who had thus subdued him. The prince expressed himself highly gratified; greatly complimented the officer for his equestrian skill; and, after retiring to Carlton-house, ordered some refreshment, when Elfi Bey and his retinue departed, not a little proud of the display of their easy victory.

11th. A dreadful scene happened this night at Whitstable, near the oyster-ground. The boat of the gun-brig, called the Hackett, with ten men in it, was going to Fever-sham, but the weather being bad, they returned; and going along-side of the ship, the sails of the boat backed, and, in a moment, she upset. Seven out of the crew were drowned. One of the remaining three swam to the stern of the ship, and saved his life; the other two swam to the buoy, called the Cullinbin buoy, and were taken off by another boat that belonged to the jolly-boat. Amongst the sufferers

were, the doctor and a midshipman, two fine men. The ship fired guns of distress, and hoisted a black flag.

12th. The boat of the Hecate bomb upset in a gale, off Reculver, near Margate, by which lieut. Parsons, his surgeon, master, and four sailors, were all, unfortunately, drowned.

This gazette contains a dispatch from admiral sir J. T. Duckworth, dated on board the Bellerophon, Aug. 13, and introducing the following letter from capt. Loring. The admiral passes the highest encomiums on the zeal and gallant conduct of the captain.

*“ Bellerophon, off Cape Maize,  
July 26.*

*“ Sir,*

*“ In pursuance of your orders, relative to the blockade of Cape François, with the squadron under my command, in the performance of which, I trust, my endeavours may not be found deficient, I beg leave to inform you, that, on Sunday, the 24th ult. at 6 P. M. being off that port, a heavy squall came on from the land, which induced the two line-of-battle ships to attempt an escape: the weather soon moderating, they were immediately discovered, and the signal for a general chase was made. On their clearing the harbour they hauled to the westward, to take advantage of the land-wind; every effort possible was made to keep sight of them during the night, which was effected principally by the vigilance of captains Evans and Perkins, of the Æolus and Tartar. At half past 9 o'clock I was informed, by an officer from the Elephant, who had been on board the Tartar, that one of the ships had tacked to the eastward,*



ward, and the other steering to the westward, close along shore; in consequence of which, I directed capt. Dundas to tack, and endeavour to cut off the former, the Elephant being the weathermost ship, and pursued the other with the two frigates; the Theseus and Vanguard, being to leeward in the first of the squall, did not join me till about 12 o'clock at night; at daylight we were within gun-shot of the chace. On hearing a heavy cannonading to the eastward, I made the Theseus signal to chase east, having been unfortunately unable to make a similar disposition during the night; and at half past 3 P. M. on the 25th, we came up with, and, after exchanging several bow and stern chacers with the Vanguard and Tartar, who were the headmost ships, she struck her colours, and proves to be the Duquesne, of 74 guns, commanded by monsieur Ker-rangel capitaine de vaisseau, from Cape François, bound to Europe. I am sorry to say one man was killed, and another wounded on board the Vanguard; none on board the enemy's ship. In passing between the two islands of St. Domingo and Tortuga, near Port-au-Paix, we took the French national schooner Oiseau, of 16 guns and 60 men, commanded by monsieur Druault, lieutenant de vaisseau, which I have ordered, with the Duquesne, to Port Royal, under charge of the Vanguard and Tartar.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"John Loring."

13th. A most beautiful vivid meteor descended this evening, about 8 o'clock; taking a south-west direction, and the whole atmosphere, for the instant, appeared illumined with a vivid flame of blue light. Its

appearance was exactly that of a firework, called a Bengal light, of a bright blue flame; it was not so large as has been stated, nor was its appearance accompanied by any heat or noise. This phenomenon is not calculated to excite that terror and dread which, in the dark ages of superstition, the designing were wont to raise. A comparison of well-authenticated facts authorises a conclusion, that similar events are by no means uncommon; but by happening in the day-time, or after the inhabitants have, in general, retired to rest, they are observed but by few; and the relation, if made, disregarded; and it is, perhaps, as much owing to the time of the evening in which this meteor appeared, as to its magnitude and brilliancy, that it has excited so much curiosity. From the circumstance of its appearance at Dover, Cranbrook, Chelmsford, Lewes, Brightelmstone, and Southampton, compared with its appearance in London, it seems that the body which occasioned this light was moving with incredible swiftness at a vast height above the earth, in a direction nearly W. or S. W. and in a line passing to the southward of the coast of Essex. Accordingly we expect, in due course of time, to hear that it was seen in France, and, probably, further in a S. W. direction, and in the contrary direction across England, Wales, and perhaps Ireland. It was observed near the Horse-guards, in Westminster, to pass about 28 or 30 degrees to the southward of the zenith, and about 28 or 29 minutes after eight by that clock, which is well and constantly regulated to true or near time; the whole time which the light occasioned by the meteor lasted, was not estimated



to exceed five or six seconds. From the great height at which the meteor was moving, and its great velocity, there was no expectation of hearing of its fall, or of any of those masses of iron and stony matters which have, in so many well-authenticated instances, fallen from the atmosphere, and buried themselves in the earth, on the bursting or extinction of many similar meteors.

14th. A letter from lord Hobart to the lord mayor, announced the surrender of the colonies of Demarara and Essequibo, on the 19th September last, to his majesty's forces under the command of general Grinfield and commodore Hood. (*Vide Appendix.*)

Mr. Dewy, of the 8th regiment of Loyal London volunteers, who received the contents of a musket, at a sham fight, near Hornsey, on Wednesday, the 2d instant, languished until half past 11 o'clock this night, when he expired, after experiencing the most excruciating pain. It has not yet transpired who the person was that inflicted the fatal wound. Coroner's verdict; accidental death.

16th. The *Circe* frigate, of 32 guns, was lost this evening. She was in chase of a French privateer, and, unfortunately, struck the ground, by which accident she made so much water, that the crew were obliged to leave her next day. She went down soon after. The crew were brought into Yarmouth-roads, by three fishing vessels, on the 18th.

17th. The court of common-council voted their unanimous thanks to the late lord mayor; which were ordered to be written on vellum, richly emblazoned, framed, and glazed, and presented to him by

the town-clerk, in the name of the court. The salary to the recorder of London, hitherto 600*l.* was fixed by the court at 1000*l.* per annum.

18th. Reports respecting the fever at Newcastle are very erroneous. Some of them state the mortality at not less than from 20 to 30 persons a day; the number has not been more than so many per week. The infection communicated to Gateshead, in the county of Durham, but the mortality of that place was trifling. At Newcastle, lamps have been lighted on the quay with tobacco, for the purpose of purifying the air. The late mild foggy weather is supposed to have produced this malady. Mr. Mayor having requested the attendance of the physicians and surgeons of Newcastle, in order to quiet the alarms that have been spread on this occasion; those gentlemen have publicly testified, that although a typhus fever (such as is usual at this season) has prevailed in different families, from which some deaths have happened, it has not shewn any thing new in its character; and that all the late cases are of a milder nature; the number taken ill considerably lessened, and the disease rapidly declining.

Lately, at Sketty, near Swansea, as some labourers were employed in digging a pond, within a hundred yards of Sketty-house, they discovered three earthen pots, containing a great number of gold and silver coins of Edward III. Many of them were in a high state of preservation; not a single coin was found amongst them, either prior or subsequent to that reign.

20th. General Baird, who commanded the storming party at Seringapatam, and who had afterwards  
the

the honour of leading the British forces from the East across the Red Sea, through the deserts of Arabia, into Egypt, where they were again victorious, is arrived in town from the East Indies. On his passage from India, he was taken by a French privateer, but was fortunately recaptured by the *Sirius* frigate, at the entrance of the harbour of Corunna. Sir Edward Pellew ordered the *Mary* to sail with the general for England.

21st. As the rev. Mr. and Mrs. Webber were sitting in their parlour at Batheaston parsonage, Somersetshire, about 8 o'clock in the evening, there came on a hail storm, attended with lightning, when instantly the window-shutters burst open; the window was shattered to pieces, and two slate stones were driven into the apartment. The house had been struck in three directions—east, west, and south. It was totally stripped of the thatch, some of which was carried, by the violence of the wind, to a very great distance. Twelve out of fifteen windows which were in the house, were literally shivered to atoms; and the lightning melted the lead in one of the chamber windows. The roofs of a barn, stable, and many other out-houses, were blown in and destroyed. The roof of the church was lightly struck. Many trees were rooted up, and carried to some distance. One large apple tree was thrown to the distance of 24 feet. Providentially no lives were lost. The lightning continued very vivid, with very little intermission, the whole night.

A general meeting of the royal academy was held, on the king's message, respecting the late dispute of the academicians. The president

or council had suspended the treasurer, and then proceeded to vote away the fund, in a manner not sanctioned by the statutes. The attorney-general, on a reference made to him, by the order of the king, declared the measure to be illegal; in consequence of which, the king, with his own hand, erased the resolutions. His opinion, and that of the attorney-general, were ordered to be entered upon the records.

22d. In consequence of an attachment issued against one Wilson, who keeps an inn at Basingstoke, for carrying away Miss Woodward, he was brought into the court of king's-bench, and gave bail for his appearance to answer any charges that might be brought against him. He entered into a recognizance of 300*l.* and his bail in the sum of 150*l.* each.

23d. Mr. Nottingham, an attorney, aged between twenty and thirty, was brought into the court of king's-bench, to receive judgment for an assault on John Parsons, esq. a magistrate, and master of the ceremonies at Lincoln, aged seventy; when he was adjudged to pay a fine of 50*l.* be imprisoned three months in the king's-bench, find security for his good behaviour for 3 years, himself in 500*l.* and two sureties in 250*l.* each, and be further imprisoned till such recognizances were entered into.

This afternoon, two boys, belonging to Hatton-garden school, playing at soldiers, in Fleet-market, attacked each other with pistols charged with powder; one, about 11 years of age, happened to put some gravel-stones to the charge, which took place in the face of another boy, of 14, and wounded him.



him so dreadfully, that he is since dead.

25th. Mr. justice Grose pronounced the judgment of the court of king's-bench upon Robert Redhead, a brandy-merchant, of Mark-lane, for a conspiracy to defraud government of the draw-back on the exporting that article; and on Neale M<sup>r</sup>Bride, a revenue officer, for assisting him. The learned judge, having, in suitable terms, expatiated upon the enormity of the offence, sentenced the former to be imprisoned two years in Newgate, and to stand in the pillory twice near the royal exchange; the latter to be imprisoned eighteen months.

The rev. John Greaves appeared before the court, to receive judgment, having been convicted of an assault, with an intent to commit a crime too detestable to be mentioned.

His counsel entreated the court to let his punishment be in London, and that he might not be sent to the gaol of the county in which the offence was committed—as the prisoner had an aged father of ninety, whose sudden or peaceful descent into the grave might depend upon the clemency of the court in this particular.

Mr. Dallas, as counsel for the prosecution, said, “When, my lords, the prisoner was detected in this nefarious transaction, he applied to a friend, to advise him the part he should act, after the painful disclosure. The advice he received was, that he should abandon his native home for ever; that he should withdraw to a remote country, where his name and character would be unknown, and that he might there exercise the duties of his sacred profession, if his conscience would permit him to resume them. At first

this gentleman complied with this prudent admonition; but, when two years were passed over, he abandoned all decency, and obtruded himself into the parish. He would again have taken possession of the church, have entered on the solemn service, and have officiated at the holy altar, if the public indignation had not driven him from the neighbourhood, and placed him on the floor of this court, where he now stands to receive the sentence of the law.”

He was adjudged to be imprisoned in Newgate, for the term of two years; to give security for seven years for his good behaviour—himself in 500*l.* and two sureties in 150*l.* each.

Lord Ellenborough said, the record of the conviction of this benighted clergyman shall be laid before the bishop of his diocese.

During a gale, in the middle of last week, seven pilots, belonging to the Island of St. Agnes, perished near the Land's End. A Guernsey cutter-privateer, with a Dutch East-India ship, her prize, approached the islands; but, having lost her rudder, it was not practicable, the day the pilots got on board, from the wind and tide not being sufficiently favourable, to bring her into either of the harbours at these isles; she was, therefore, brought to anchor as near as possible on the outside. During the night, the wind became more adverse, so that they were constrained to slip or cut; but, as each vessel had a pilot on board, the boat with the other five men kept them company; but the gale increasing, and shifting to a different point, they were all driven off the harbour of St. Ives; where both ship and cutter arrived in safety.—The men then all took the boat, with hopes



hopes of regaining home; but the weather growing worse, and they not being perfectly acquainted with that coast, were observed, from the land, all to perish, without the possibility of receiving the least assistance.

27th. This morning, between one and two, an alarming fire broke out in the manufactory of Mr. Dimsdale, Fan-street, Goswell-street, which threatened the speedy destruction of the premises, but was happily extinguished by the exertions of Mr. D. and a few friends: too much cannot be said in praise of the volunteers who attended on this occasion.

29th. This morning the intelligence of the capture of the Dutch settlement of Berbice, was communicated in a letter from lord Hobart to the lord-mayor. (*For particulars vide Appendix.*)

30th. His majesty's brig Woolwich, lieutenant John Cox, commander, has arrived at the custom-house from St. Petersburg, with his majesty's private property, which had been sent off from Hanover on the approach of the French. It consists of ingots and specie to the amount of three hundred thousand pounds.

By the falling down of a piece of the cliff, on Walton shore, near Harwich, the skeleton of an enormous animal was discovered, measuring nearly 30 feet in length. Some of the bones were nearly as large as a man's body; and six or seven feet long; the cavities which contained the marrow were large enough to admit the introduction of a man's arm; the bones, on being handled, broke to pieces. One of the molar teeth was carried to Colchester, by Mr. J. Jackson, who

took it from the spot, in whose possession it now is; it weighs seven pounds, is of a square form, and the grinding surface is studded with several zig zag rows of laminae, which seem to denote that it belonged to a carnivorous animal. There were more teeth, which were unfortunately broken, one of which weighed twelve pounds. It is probable, that the tusks will be found by searching further into the cliffs, or amongst the earth which has fallen down. The above skeleton is supposed to belong to an animal of the same species as that called the mammoth, remains of which have been found in North America, Great Tartary, &c. Of this animal, Buffon says, "The skeleton of the mammoth bespeaks an animal five or six times the cubic volume of the elephant." Muller has given a description of the mammoth. "This animal (he says), is nearly five yards high, and about thirty feet in length. His colour is grey, his head is very long, and his front very broad; on each side, precisely under the eyes, there are two horns, which he can move and cross at pleasure, and in walking, he has the power of extending and contracting his body to a great degree."

DIED.—25th. At his apartments in Somerset-place, aged 82, Joseph Wilton, esq. a royal academician, and keeper of the academy; an artist of very considerable merit, as his public works, and detached statues and busts, in various parts of the united kingdom, and the colonies, abundantly testify. Mr. W. was a pupil of Mr. Delvaux, a Flemish statuary of eminence, who resided in this country for some time, and executed several works.

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He finished his pupillage with him at Neuville, in Flanders; from whence he went to the royal academy at Paris, and practised under that excellent sculptor, the late M. Pigal; from thence he removed to Italy, and in Rome and Florence he continued many years, studying from the antique, and copying busts and statues for the nobility and gentry who were then making the tour of Europe. He was at Rome in the jubilee year, 1750, and gained a prize medal, given by Benedict the XIVth, being said to be the first Englishman that had ever obtained one for sculpture. He returned home in the year 1755, after an absence of 16 years, in the company of those eminent artists in their different lines, the late sir Wm. Chambers, and Mr. Cipriani, with whom, and sir Joshua Reynolds, he continued on the most cordial terms of friendship during the remainder of their lives. In his private life, he was universally beloved, being of a placid temper, mild in his manners, benevolent, and hospitable; an indulgent and affectionate parent, and a kind master; all his habits were temperate, which contributed very much to his longevity.

In Pall-Mall, aged 73, after a long and lingering illness, Mr. James Christie, many years well known and justly celebrated as an auctioneer, and the successful disposer of property of every kind, whether by public sale or private contract. With an easy and gentleman-like flow of eloquence, he possessed, in a great degree, the power of persuasion, and even tempered his public address by a gentle refinement of manners. His remains were inter-

red, on the 14th, in St. James's burial-ground.

## DECEMBER.

1st. The mansion-house of Nanswydden, the seat of the rev. Mr. Hoblyn, in the parish of St. Columb, accidentally caught fire this night, which was discovered by a man-servant, who was in bed, and felt himself incommoded by his room being full of smoke. The alarm was instantly given, and the family with some difficulty escaped unhurt. It is supposed to have been occasioned by a candle, not properly extinguished, having been carelessly put into a drawer where there happened to be some linen. Nearly the whole of the furniture, books, and other property, were destroyed; and this elegant fabric, one of the most complete buildings in Cornwall, was in a few hours reduced to a heap of rubbish. It was built by the late Robert Hoblyn, esq. M. P. for Bristol, was 18 years in building, and is said to have cost upwards of 30,000*l.*; the lead on its roof being estimated at more than 1000*l.* A view of this house makes plate VIII. of Dr. Borlase's Natural History of Cornwall, when it belonged to Mr. James Hoblyn. A splendid catalogue of the library of printed books, collected by Robert Hoblyn, esq. was printed in two large 8vo. volumes, 1769. This library having been offered to sale all together by Mr. Quicke, who married Mr. Hoblyn's widow, was sold by auction, by Baker and Leigh, March 2, and twenty-four following days, 1778.

2d. This morning, about two o'clock,



o'clock, a fire was discovered in the long range of auction-rooms, manufactories, and ware-houses, between Frith-street and Dean-street, Soho. On the first alarm, the manufactory of Jackson and Moser, furnishing ironmongers, and the work-shops of Jameson and Willis, coach-makers, appeared to be in flames.

The drums of the St. James's and royal Westminster volunteers immediately beat to arms, and detachments of these valuable corps hastened with the most commendable alacrity to lend their assistance in subduing the flames, and in protecting the property of those persons who were suffering from this calamity. It was nearly two hours, however, before water could be procured in sufficient quantities to supply the engines, now collected from every corner of the town. In the mean time, the flames were raging with uncontrollable fury.

Adjoining to the buildings already on fire, were the large furniture repositories of Messrs. Hemmings and Westwood, extending from Frith to Dean-street; the school-room of the Frith-street academy; a large auction-room in the rear of Compton-street; and the back ware-houses, full of goods, belonging to Mr. Bond, furnishing ironmonger, also of Compton-street; all of which soon formed one general mass of conflagration. From these premises, the flames were rapidly communicated to the dwelling-house of Mr. Ram, upholsterer, in Compton-street, and to the potatoe warehouse adjoining, both of which houses, together with the back part of Mr. Reid's, the grocer, were consumed. At this time, the wind changing from due north

to near south-west, the flames avoiding, as if by miracle, the corner house in Compton-street, communicated to the west side of Frith-street, where the following houses were consumed in regular progression, one after another: the house No. 39, gutted. The house of Mr. Stort, No. 40, a complete ruin. The following houses are levelled with the ground: the house of Mr. Hogard, attorney; the Frith-street academy, front and rear; the house and premises of Messrs. Hemmings and Westwood, auctioneers; the house and extensive work-shops of Messrs. Jameson and Willis, coach-makers; the house and work-shop of Mr. Lucas, a taylor; the dwelling-house of Mr. Moser; and the dwelling-house, offices, and extensive manufactory of Messrs. Jackson and Moser. It was in their premises that this destructive calamity is supposed to have originated; and it was with the destruction of their dwelling-house, within three doors of Queen-street, that the progress of the flames was arrested, and an end put to the conflagration which threatened with desolation the whole of the neighbourhood. About ten o'clock in the morning, the front of one of the houses in Compton-street fell in with a terrible crash. Several friends who had come to enquire for Mr. Reid, the clothier, at No. 9, were in imminent danger, the parapet from the falling house opposite, drove in his shop door, just as his friends, seeing their danger, were running into the back parlour for shelter.

Besides the above-stated, the back parts of all the houses in Dean-street, and the whole fronts of the east side of Frith-street, have received considerable injury. Indeed the latter street



street exhibits an awful spectacle to the feeling mind; the only consolation arising from which is, that no lives were lost. A fireman, of the name of Crocker, seeing the front of one of the burning houses giving way, took shelter in the door-way of the house, No. 18, opposite;—but here misfortune overtook him; both his thighs were broken, by the falling brickwork, and the door was completely driven in.

4th. The colours of the royal Spelthorne legion, under the command of the duke of Clarence, were presented to the corps, by the prince of Wales. His royal highness arrived on the ground (Ashford common) at three o'clock, escorted by the troop of the legion, the Kingston volunteers likewise attending as a guard of honour. On presenting the colours, his royal highness expressed himself in the following manner:

“Volunteers! it is with the highest satisfaction I take upon me the honourable office of presenting the royal Spelthorn legion, this day, with their colours. When I view so respectable a corps, and consider the high character attached to it, it would be superfluous in me to point out those duties and obligations which have been so fully exemplified in its conduct. When you behold these colours, (taking them in his hand) they will remind you of the common cause in which you are engaged, for your king, your country, your religion, your laws, liberty, and property, your children and your wives; nay, in short, for every thing dear to Englishmen. Accept, then, this pledge, this sacred pledge, which you will take care to defend with your last drop of blood, and only resign with your lives.”

After the ceremony, the prince was escorted, by the troop of the legion, to the Bush inn, at Staines; where his royal highness and the officers of the corps dined. The ground was kept by the Windsor and Chertsey yeomanry cavalry.—The prince was dressed in the uniform of the 16th light dragoons.

In the court of common pleas a cause was tried, wherein col. Shee was plaintiff, and capt. Malcolm, commander of the Victorious, of 74 guns, was defendant. The action was brought to recover damages for criminal conversation with the plaintiff's wife. The criminal intercourse was found to have taken place on board the defendant's ship, in which col. and Mrs. Shee were passengers for India. It appeared, however, in the course of the trial, that very unhappy differences had prevailed between them, and that col. Shee had treated his wife with severity.—The judge was also of opinion, that the plaintiff had not used due diligence to prevent her, strong as her tendency to vice appeared to be, from throwing herself into the arms of the defendant. The jury, after a short consultation, found a verdict for the plaintiff, damages 40s.

6th. This day, about 9 o'clock, a soldier, belonging to the 70th regiment, was escorted from the provost, at Hulsea-barracks, Portsea, to Portsdown, for the purpose of undergoing the sentence of death, as passed on him at a recent court-martial, for repeated desertion.—This unfortunate man was only 20 years of age. He had received repeated sums of money, from different parishes and individuals, for the army of reserve; after which he always deserted on the first opportunity. On his arrival at the fatal spot,

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presented in evidence, the jury found a verdict of guilty.

chiefly women and children, to the greatest misery.

*Glasgow.*—





spot, he shewed every mark of penitence, and prayed fervently for a considerable time. Then kneeling on a truss of hay, the soldiers appointed for the execution marched in a solemn manner, till they arrived within ten yards of him, and then proceeded to do their duty. The first fire wounded him in the thigh, the second, it was supposed, missed him, and the third deprived him of his feelings; though it did not entirely kill him; when three file marched close to him, and instantly dispatched him.

17th. In the court of king's-bench, John and Michael Hedges were indicted for a conspiracy to defraud government, by procuring false vouchers (obtained from the clerks and keepers of the stores at his majesty's dock yards at Deptford and Woolwich) for work done, and goods delivered; which, in fact, never was done, nor the goods ever delivered. Mr. Erskine stated, that the prosecution was instituted at the instance of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, in consequence of certain vouchers transmitted to them from the commissioners of the navy. He should shew that, for the work which, if fairly paid for, amounted to no more than 235l. 5s. 5d. between the periods of the 11th of March, 1800, and that of the 11th of December, 1801, the contractors had charged, and were paid, (it could hardly be credited) the sum of 2,650l. 18s. 9d.; thus defrauding government of the sum of 2,415l. 13s. 4d. in a business whose fair amount was not 300l. Mr. Erskine then proceeded to state the manner in which these frauds were committed; the facts of which being maintained, and fully proved in evidence, the jury found a verdict of guilty.

VOL. XLV.

19th. At 12 o'clock, Redhead, the brandy-merchant, for defrauding the revenue, was put in the pillory at the royal exchange; whence, after being exhibited for an hour, he was committed to Newgate, where he is to be confined for two years, and to be a second time exposed in the pillory.

10th. In a severe storm, this day, in Lincolnshire, two men, returning from Caistor, were lost, and found dead next morning amongst the snow. One of them was warrenner to Mr. Smith, of Elkington.

11th. Four children playing on the ice, on a pond at Great Tew Park, the seat of G. Stratton, esq. it broke, and they were all unfortunately drowned. Their bodies were not found for two hours.

*Dublin.*—12th. About six this morning, the chimney of a house in Crane-lane, Essex-street, fell in, precipitating the roof and floors of the front rooms to the bottom. By this dreadful event, four persons have been killed, and six or seven dangerously wounded. Through the exertions of the officers and privates of the 26th regiment, quartered at the old custom-house, several persons were got out of the house, who, otherwise, must inevitably have shared the same fate; the men with great humanity took off their great coats, and carried the unfortunate naked sufferers, conducting them into the guard-rooms, till other relief could be afforded.—Among the persons killed, were an industrious man of the name of Kelly, a hair-dresser, with his wife and apprentice boy, who occupied the shop floor. This calamity has reduced a number of poor persons, chiefly women and children, to the greatest misery.

II h

*Glasgow.*—

*Glasgow.*—13th. About four o'clock this afternoon, an alarm was given that the cotton mill in the Gorbels, the property of Messrs. M'Kerlie and M'Taggart, was on fire, and soon afterwards the flames burst through the roof, the accident which occasioned the calamity having taken place in the upper floor. The magistrates both of Glasgow and the Gorbels, with the city engines, immediately repaired to the spot; it was evident, however, that there was no hope of saving the mill, as the fire, from the inflammable nature of the materials with which it was fed, had attained a great height, and sent forth volumes of flame, illuminating the whole atmosphere around to a great distance, and presenting an awfully sublime spectacle. The wind blowing strong from the north, and several thatched houses, communicating with another cotton-mill, being in the opposite direction, the principal attention was directed to prevent the fire from spreading in that quarter.—Indeed; at one time, the immense shower of fiery sparks threatened destruction to the whole village; and several times the flames caught hold of the thatch of the adjoining houses, but it was always happily got under. About 7 o'clock, the fire, having made its way through the lower floors, was contained within the walls of the original building, and the apprehensions of its extending farther ceased. It still, however, continued to burn till about one this morning, when the front wall fell forward to the street, with a tremendous crash. An unfortunate boy was killed on the spot; another was so severely wounded, as to be still in great danger, and several persons were much bruised,

in which number were two of the soldiers on duty. The back wall fell in about five next morning. At the first beat of the fire drum, a great number of the volunteers of the different corps assembled, and were most useful in assisting the magistrates, till a large detachment of the Stirlingshire militia arrived from the barracks, the whole of which continued most actively employed till eleven o'clock, and a great proportion of them till five next morning.

14th. This morning about half past two, a fire was discovered in the dwelling-house of Mr. Thomas Stacey, at Ringwood, from whence the flames were rapidly communicated to the dwelling-houses of W. Rabbits, W. Pearce, Miss Street, and J. Morgan, all of which were in a short time consumed. On the first alarm that Mr. Stacey's house was on fire, the inhabitants hastened to lend their assistance in subduing the flames, and in protecting the property of the sufferers. Mr. Stacey caught his infant in his arms, forced through the smoke, and desired his wife to follow him; but the poor woman unfortunately perished in the attempt. Her remains were afterwards dug out of the ruins. Great part of the premises and stock were insured.

A child belonging to Mr. Page, carpenter, in Canon-street, Winchester, having been left by the mother in a room up stairs (in company with another child), in which there was a fire, she was suddenly alarmed by hearing it shriek, in a dreadful manner; and, hastening to its assistance, beheld the infant enveloped in flames, which she stifled, but the child was so burnt, that it expired next morning. A child, about



about four years old, at Southampton, was also burnt to death by similar negligence. The clothes caught fire in the absence of its parents; and the suffering infant expired in great tortures.

17th. A boat piloting a brig into the harbour of Little Hampton, was this day upset; by which accident, Mr. Leggat, formerly master of the vessel, and a man named Sutton, neither of whom could swim, were unfortunately drowned. A third person, who was in the boat with them, saved himself by swimming. The same day a vessel was lost off Elmer, and all hands perished. The crew were seen in the shrowds, waving their hats as signals of distress; but the sea ran so high, and no life-boat to be obtained, that the anxious and commiserating spectators of the distressful scene could afford them no relief.—A vessel was also on the same day lost off Rustington, but the crew were all saved.

A short time since, the new steeple which was building for the Gaelic church at Campbeltown, gave way, drove in the roof, and materially injured the walls. Luckily, no person happened to be near at the time.

21st. This day, a fire broke out on the premises of Mark Dobito, at the Green Dragon inn, at Fordham, Cambridgeshire; which, in a short time, consumed the barn, stables, and out-houses belonging thereto, with a considerable quantity of wheat and other grain, and also a large quantity of hay.

24th. This morning, between three and four, a poor man employed at Mr. Elliot's brew-house, Pimlico, fell into the copper of boiling liquor, and was scalded to

death before he could be got out. He has left a wife pregnant, and four small children.

25th. This day, the high wind blew off part of the roof of the Truchsessian gallery of pictures, opposite Portland-place; in consequence of which, the pictures have been removed until the necessary repairs can be made.—Several of the new buildings of Hythe barracks were blown down; and in different parts of the country houses have been unroofed, and trees torn up by the roots. A cutter belonging to Folkestone foundered at sea, and every person on board perished. The beach was covered, for some days, with timber of different sorts, barrels, staves, &c. As the congregation was assembling at Margate, for divine service, in the parish church, a large portion of the tiling came down on the sky-lights, and drove in upwards of fifty large squares of glass; and, though falling on the pews where several persons were seated, providentially none of them were injured thereby. But, from the tiles continuing to fall, it being dangerous to proceed with the service, the congregation was dismissed. His majesty's sloop of war, *La Suffisante*, of 16 guns, capt. Heathcote, was lost at the entrance of Cork harbour. Seven of the crew were unfortunately drowned, and three killed by the falling of a mast. *La Suffisante* sailed from Cove on the preceding day, with a number of volunteer seamen and soldiers on board for England; and, in attempting to return for shelter, she struck upon Spike island, and, in a very short time, went to pieces. No other material accident happened in that direction during the late tremendous gale, though the



harbour of Cork was crowded with West-Indians waiting for convoy.

During the severe hurricane of this day, the tops of many chimneys in the metropolis were blown down, and some houses were nearly unroofed. There was no walking in the streets with safety. Many passengers were hurt by the falling of tiles. The casement of a window-light blew down from the garret window of the Flying-horse, Lambeth-street, Whitechapel, on the head of a child, who was passing at the time, and fractured its skull. The infant was immediately taken to the hospital, but without hopes of recovery. A boy, about eight years old, crossing the upper end of Park-street, was forcibly carried, by a sudden gust, to some considerable distance, and, by its continued violence, rolled several times over along the ground before he could be taken up; in the fall his under lip was shockingly lacerated through to the chin, and the whole of his face very much bruised: he was carried to a surgeon in North-Audley-street. A stack of chimneys, in St. James's-place was blown down; they fell over the parapet into the street, but happily no person was passing at the time. Another stack in Norris-street, Hay-market, was blown down. About the same time, the parapet of the front of a public-house in Sutton-street, Solio-square, had the same mischance, attended by similar circumstances. Much damage has been done upon the river. Between Blackfriars and London bridges, four wherries were overset and sunk. Two coal barges broke from their moorings, and drove upon the starlings of London bridge, where

they were dashed to pieces by the impetuosity of the waves; fortunately no persons were on board. The small vessels appointed for the conveyance of the volunteers and impressed seamen from the Tender, stationed off the Tower, to the Nore, were unable to proceed farther than Limehouse. The men were accordingly taken out at that place, and conveyed to their destination in vessels better calculated to combat the storm. A large tier of ships were driven from their moorings at Shadwell, and received much injury. Every other part of the river has suffered, more or less, from the same cause. In the wet docks, in the Isle of Dogs, though several prize ships broke from their moorings, by the badness of their own tackling, the mooring-stones remained perfectly steady, as did all the ships that were properly moored. Some trifling damage was done to the copper roofs lately fixed on one or two of the new warehouses, and to the shed upon the North Quay.—Almost every unfinished new building along the Sussex coast has been levelled with the ground; and chimneys, to the great annoyance and danger of the inhabitants, have been precipitated through the roofs, and many of them have made their way to the ground-floor. A considerable part of the ancient wall which surrounds the old Park at Canonbury, with the embankment thrown up for the ball-firing of the London volunteer corps, were levelled with the ground; and part of the royal standard was blown from Windsor castle.

27th. The light-house, on Walney island, was this night burnt down.

29th. At Horningtoft, in Norfolk,

folk, Mr. Brandford had employed a person from Ormsby, near Yarmouth, to sink a well, seventy feet deep, which he had nearly accomplished; when, unfortunately, being at the bottom thereof, the surface gave way, and buried him in its ruins. In this deplorable situation he remained some time, as he was heard to groan more than two hours.

31st. The following report has been made of the number of persons who have received vaccine inoculation, free of expence, at the stations of the Royal Jennerian Society, to the 20th of November :

|                                                |               |
|------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| Central House, No. 14, Salisbury-square        | Persons, 1266 |
| School-room, Surry chapel                      | 836           |
| No. 20, Maze-pond Southwark                    | 150           |
| Mr. Townshend's meeting-house, Rotherhithe     | 184           |
| No. 172, High-street, Shadwell                 | 124           |
| No. 2, Epping-place, Mile-end                  | 190           |
| No. 6, John-street, Minorics                   | 98            |
| No. 119, Bishopsgate Without                   | 359           |
| Sunday-school, Hoxton                          | 235           |
| Sunday-school, Golden-lane                     | 193           |
| Soup-house, Clerkenwell                        | 78            |
| Sunday-school, Drury-lane                      | 74            |
| No. 29, Great Castle-street, Oxford-market     | 465           |
| Sunday-school, Castle-street, King's-mews      | 71            |
| Inoculated before the Central house was opened | 275           |
| Total                                          | 4598          |

To which may be added, that

2008 charges of vaccine virus have been supplied, free of expence; from the Central-house, to 1559 applications, many of them from remote parts of the British empire, and foreign places. The supply of vaccine matter from the other stations has also been very considerable. From the above statement, it must be evident, that the benefits of the society have been already very important and extensive; but, when to these, are added, the prospect of its increasing utility, the means and stimulus it affords to the propagation of vaccine inoculation in all parts of the British empire, and throughout the world; it assumes a beneficial importance to mankind, which can hardly be estimated.

#### BIRTHS in the Year 1803.

Jan. 1st. The wife of Moses Solomon, a Jew, of Stoney-lane, Petticoat-lane, of three daughters and a son, all likely to do well.

2d. The wife of col. Campbell, of the sixth foot, a daughter.

6th. The wife of James Woodward, labourer, of St. Helen's, Lancaster, three daughters; all, with their mother, who is in her 50th year, likely to do well. The father is upwards of 65.

9th. At Haines castle, in Scotland, lady Erroll, a daughter.

11th. In South Audlley-street, the marchioness of Bute, a son.

At Dublin, the wife of col. Anstruther, a son, who died in a few hours.

14th. The wife of lieut. col. Robert Craufurd, a son.

The wife of capt. Wm. Bowen, of Summers Leage-house, a son.

16th. At Powerscourt-house, H h 3 Dublin,

Dublin, viscountess Powerscourt, a daughter.

In Mansfield-street, the countess of Limerick, a daughter.

20th. At Frome, in the county of Somerset, the wife of major Campbell, of the king's dragoon-guards, a daughter.

22d. Lady William Russel, a daughter.

24th. At Mereworth-castle, Kent, lady Le Despencer, a daughter.

25th. Mrs. Steel, widow of the late unfortunate Mr. J. C. S. who was barbarously murdered, Nov. 6. on Hounslow-heath\*, a son.

At his lordship's house, in Cleveland-row, lady Hervey, a son.

28th. At Holmbush, near Hørsham, Sussex, the lady of the hon. J. T. Capel, a son.

29th. At Cottle's-house, Wilts, the wife of B. Hobhouse, esq. M. P. a daughter.

30th. At Madeira, the wife of Tho. Babington, esq. M. P. for Leicester, a son.

Lately, at Castle-Barnard, in Ireland, the countess of Bandon, a son.

At Wilmar, the hon. Mrs. Jephson, wife of L. Hickey J. esq. a son.

At his lordship's seat, Ugrooke, near Chudleigh, lady Clifford, a son.

Lady Mary Murray, of Ochertyre, a daughter.

The lady of sir Francis L. Wood, of Hanworth, a daughter.

At Ampton, Suffolk, lady Charles Fitzroy, a daughter.

The lady of the hon. capt. Ramsay, of the 92d foot, a daughter.

At Rochester, the lady of the hon. and rev. doctor Marsham, a daughter.

Feb. 1st. At Bradley-hall, in the county of Durham, the lady of sir Thomas Liddell, bart. a son.

2d. The wife of col. Croshie, of Northlands, Sussex, a son and heir.

4th. At the Admiralty, the hon. Mrs. J. Markham, a son.

5th. Hon. Mrs. Baird, wife of lieutenant-col. B. a son.

6th. At Melbourne, in the county of Dorset, the countess of Ilchester, a son.

At Lisbon, lady Robert Fitzgerald, her sixth daughter and eighth child.

7th. At Mulgrave-castle, lady Mulgrave, a daughter.

8th. In Queen Anne-street, west, the hon. Mrs. Poyntz, a daughter.

At Holton-park, co. Oxford, the hon. Mrs. Parker, a daughter.

9th. Viscountess Southwell, a daughter.

11th. At Richmond, Surry, the hon. Mrs. Smith, a son.

12th. At his lordship's house at Hadley, near Barnet, lady Charles Somerset, a son.

14th. In Lincoln's Inn-fields, the hon. Mrs. Spencer Percival, lady of the attorney-general, a son.

In Baker-street, the wife of lieutenant-col. Knox, of the 1st foot-guards, a son.

18th. Hon. Mrs. Ryder, a daughter.

20th. At Armagh, in Ireland, the lady of major-gen. sir Charles Ross, bart. a son and heir.

At Berlin, the queen of Prussia, a princess.

In Dover-street, Piccadilly, lady Blaney, of a son.

24th. At Columbo, in the island of Ceylon, the lady of the hon. sir Edward Carrington, chief justice of the supreme court of judicature of that



that island, and member of the council there, a son.

25th. In Clifford-street, the lady of the hon. John Bridgman, a son.

28th. At Frankfort, co. Cork, Ireland, the lady of the hon. col. W. Mordaunt Maitland, a son.

The lady of capt. Boucher of the R. N. of a son.

Lately, at the earl of Derby's house, in Grosvenor-square, lady Stanley, a son and heir.

In upper Grosvenor-street, the lady of the hon. George Villiers, a daughter.

The lady of the hon. and rev. Mr. Twisleton, a daughter.

The wife of Dr. Mansell, master of Trinity-college, Cambridge, two children.

March 1st. At his lordship's house, in Wigmore-street, lady Paget, a son.

3d. In Hertford-street, Mayfair, viscountess Middleton, a daughter.

4th. In St. James's-square, the lady of the hon. St. George Caulfield, a daughter.

9th. At Caswick, co. Lincoln, the lady of sir John Trollope, bart. a daughter.

10th. At Groton-house, the wife of John Pytches, esq. M. P. a daughter.

13th. In Wimpole-street, the countess of Cork, a son.

15th. At Malling, Sussex, the wife of capt. Young, R. N. of a son.

16th. At Kimbolton-castle, the duchess of Manchester, a daughter.

17th. At Edinburgh, the wife of capt. Ogilvey, R. N. a son.

24th. In Berkeley-square, the lady of the bishop of St. Asaph, a son.

In Burlington-street, the lady of sir John Hayes, bart. a son.

In Wimpole-street, lady Elizabeth Loftus, a son.

25th. The wife of lieutenant col. Dyke, a son and heir.

26th. The wife of capt. Lambert, R. N. a son.

28th. The wife of James Dupré, esq. a son and heir.

31st. The hereditary princess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, a princess.

Lately, in Cavendish-row, Dublin, lady H. St. George, a daughter.

April 1st. At Dresden, the wife of Alexander Campbell, esq. of Gatcomb-house, in the Isle of Wight, and late lieutenant col. of the 86th foot, a daughter.

2d. The wife of capt. G. Murray, R. N. a son.

In Charlotte-street, Bloomsbury, the lady of sir Francis Vincent, bart. a son and heir.

5th. In Gloucester-place, the lady of the hon. major-gen. Forbes, a son.

6th. In Guildford-street, the lady of the hon. James Abercromby, a son.

9th. In Berkeley-square, the wife of J. Adams, esq. M. P. for Harwich, a son.

10th. In Manchester-square, lady C. Drummond, a son.

12th. In Spring-gardens, the countess of Berkeley, a daughter.

At Latham-house, co. Lancaster, the wife of Edward Willbraham Bootle, esq. M. P. a still-born son.

13th. At Baldwins, Kent, the lady of sir John Harrington, a daughter.

15th. The wife of lieutenant col. H h 4 Hutchinson,

Hutchinson, of the 49th foot, a son.

17th. In Upper Grosvenor-street, the lady of Sir Robert Peel, bart. M. P. a daughter.

At her father's house in Grosvenor-place, the wife of col. Wild, a son.

24th. The wife of col. Hay, of Maidstone, Kent, a daughter.

25th. Lady William Beauclerk, a son.

At the house of her father-in-law, Marquis Cornwallis, in Burlington-street, the lady of lord viscount Brome, a daughter.

27th. At Dominica, the lady of governor Prevost, a daughter.

29th. At his lordship's house in Saville-row, lady G. H. Cavendish, a daughter.

Lately, at Chatham, the lady of sir William Burdett, bart. a daughter.

At Bristol, the wife of col. Baillie, a son.

Lately, the lady of the right hon. Maurice Fitzgerald, knt. of Kerry, a son and heir.

In Lansdown-place, Bath, the lady of rear-adm. sir Charles Henry Knowles, bart. a son.

May 2d. At Brighthelmstone, lady Leslie, a daughter.

4th. Lady Catherine Graham, a daughter.

5th. Lady Sefton, a daughter.

The wife of capt. Pierrepont, R. N. a son.

In Arlington street, the countess Sutherland, a son.

8th. At Ealing, Middlesex, the wife of capt. George Hopewell, Stephens, R. N. a son.

24th. In New Cavendish-street, the lady of Sir John Murray, bart. a son and heir.

26th. At Ball's-park, the hon. Mrs. Boyle, a daughter.

30th. At Mount Browne, co. Mayo, Ireland, the lady of right hon. Denis Browne, a son.

June 1st. Mary Robinson, the unfortunate beauty of Buttermere, a still-born child.

5th. At his seat in Lincolnshire, the lady of sir Thomas Winchcote, bart. a daughter.

8th. In Lower Brook-street, lady Henry Steward, a son and heir.

9th. In Gloucester-place, the lady of vice-admiral sir John Orde, bart. a son.

12th. In Tilney-street, lady Mary Myers, a son.

14th. The wife of Thomas Jones, a journeyman lace-weaver, of Langley-street, Long Acre, of 2 daughters and a son; all, with their mother, likely to do well.

16th. In South Audley-street, the countess of Albemarle, a daughter.

24th. In Hill-street, lady Morpeth, a daughter.

At his house at Craven-hill, the lady of sir Wm. Beechey, a son.

25th. At Castle-martyr, in Ireland, viscountess Boyle, a daughter.

26th. At Winchester-house, Chelsea, the lady of the hon. and rev. Tho. de Grey, a daughter.

28th. In Gloucester-place, lady Cathcart, a son.

29th. In Great Cumberland-place, the lady of admiral sir Hyde Parker, a son and heir.

July 2d. At Herdmanston, in Scotland, lady Sinclair, a son.

At Marsk-hall, in Cleveland, the lady of the hon. Lawrence Dundas, a daughter.

5th. At



5th. At Woodstock, lady viscountess Ashbrooke, a daughter.

7th. In Baker-street, lady Charlotte Gould, a son and heir.

12th. In Somerset-place, lady Louisa Rodney, a daughter.

17th. At the house of viscount Newark, in Portman-square, the hon. Mrs. Bentick, wife of gov. B. a son and heir.

21st. In Portman-street, the lady of sir Edward Knatchbull, bart, a daughter.

23d. The lady of sir John Gordon, bart, a daughter.

25th. In Dublin, lady A. M. Cotton, a son.

27th. In Chandos-street, the lady of admiral sir Charles Pole, bart, a daughter.

Lately, in Gardiner's-row, Dublin, lady Maxwell, a son.

At Castle-town, in Ireland, viscountess Dunlo, a son and heir.

Mrs. White, of Thumpton, near Retford, co. Nottingham, three daughters.

The wife of Mr. John Pilkington, farmer, of Canliffe, near Blackburn, three daughters; the mother is in her 42d year; had before borne eleven children, at single births; and the grandmother, by the father's side, aged 92, was the midwife on this occasion.

29th. In Bloomsbury-square, the lady of lord chief justice Ellenborough, their tenth child, which died August 10th.

August 1st. At Inveresk, near Edinburgh, the wife of lieut. col. Burnett, a daughter.

The lady of sir Henry Harpur, bart. of Calke-park, co. Derby, a son.

8th. Lilwenhy, viscountess Kirkwall, a son and heir.

0th. In Somerset-place, the lady of sir W. Rule, a daughter.

2th. At Rupert-house, co. Southampton, the marchioness of Winchester, a son.

13th. Lady Pelham, a daughter.

14th. Lady Sarah Bailly, a son.

15th. In Manchester-street, the wife of captain Elphinstone, R. N. a daughter.

16th. Lady Jane Long, of Hill-street, a son.

17th. In Hill-street, Berkeley-square, the hon. Mrs. Bernard, a daughter, which died the next day.

In Charlotte-square, Edinburgh, the lady of the hon. Archibald Macdonald, a son.

20th. The wife of capt. Whitby, R. N. a daughter, which died the same day.

21st. At her mother's house, Bagshot-lodge, Surrey, the wife of capt. Mends, R. N. a daughter.

23d. In Lower Brooke-street, Grosvenor-square, the lady of sir Robert Barclay, bart. M. P. a son.

28th. In Hart-street, Bloomsbury, the wife of capt. G. H. Towry, R. N. a son.

Sept. 3d. The lady of sir Robert Williamis, bart. M. P. for Carnarvonshire, a daughter.

4th. The wife of col. Lowther, a daughter.

At Yarmouth, the lady of sir Richard Bedingfield, bart. a son.

At Jamaica, the lady of lieut. gen. Nugent, lieut. governor of that island, a daughter.

11th. The wife of brigadier-general Hunter, a son.

13th. In Portland-place, the countess of Mansfield, a daughter.

14th. At Melville-castle, the hon. Mrs. Dundas, of Melville, a daughter.

15th. At



15th. At Martland-field, Mrs. col. Martland, a son.

18th. At Ely-house, the wife of col. Anstruther, a son.

19th. The queen of Sardinia, two princesses, whom the pope baptized, on the following day, by the names of Maria Theresa and Marianna.

22d. At East Woodhay-farm, lady Augusta Leith, a son.

25th. At his house in Portman-square, the lady of col. Beaumont, M. P. a daughter.

Lately, in the palace of Kilkenny, Ireland, the seat of the bishop of Ossory, the wife of the rev. Dodgson Maddan, a daughter.

At Bothwell-castle, near Glasgow, Scotland, lady Douglas, a son.

At Swillington-hall, near York, lady Elizabeth Lowther, a son.

In Ingleton, in the west riding of Yorkshire, the wife of John Parrrington, a labouring collier, three sons and a daughter, who all died soon after baptism.

At Buxton, lady Hunloke, a son.

In Park-street, Bath, the hon. Mrs. King, a daughter.

At her mother's house, in Portland-place, lady Southampton, a daughter.

The lady of sir Marcus Somerville, bart. of Somerville, co. Meath, a son.

Oct. 1st. At Wimbledon, Surry, lady Louvaine, a son.

In Harley-street, Cavendish-square, lady Charlotte Lenox, a daughter.

4th. In Grosvenor-square, lady Anne Ashley, a son.

11th. At Botleys, Surry, the lady of sir Joseph Mawbey, bart. a daughter, who died soon after.

12th. At Garendon-park, (the

seat of her father, Thomas March Phillips, esq.) the lady of the hon. and rev. Henry Ryder, a son.

17th. At the marquis's seat, at Longleat, the marchioness of Bath, a son.

21st. In Hill-street, Berkeley-square, the wife of major-general Hewitt, a daughter.

The duchess of Somerset, a daughter.

22d. At Wortley-hall, co. York, lady Caroline Stuart Wortley, a daughter.

26th. At Aberdeen, the wife of col. Gilbert, a son.

27th. At Northwick-park, co. Worcester, lady Caroline Rushout, a daughter.

30th. At Weddial-hall, Herts, lady Charlotte Howard, a daughter.

At Guernsey, the lady of rear-admiral sir James Saumarez, a son.

31st. The lady of the hon. col. Vaughan, M. P. a son.

Lately in Merrion-square, Dublin, the countess of Meath, a son.

At Tramore-lodge, near Waterford, the wife of Edward Lee, esq. M. P. a daughter.

At Walthamstow-house, Essex, the wife of col. Robert Wigram, M. P. a son.

Lady Catharine Barlow, a son.

Nov. 5th. Lady viscountess Falkland, a son.

6th. At the earl of Suffolk's, at Charlton, viscountess Andover, a daughter.

8th. At Ingestree, in Kent, the countess Talbot, a son.

10th. At Flower-place, Surry, the lady of the hon. George Neville, a son.

13th. In York-street, the lady of the hon. E. J. Turnour, a still-born son.

14th. At Grange, near Wakefield,

field, co. York, lady Amelia Raye, a son.

15th. In Charles-street, Berkeley-square, the lady of General Hope, a son.

19th. In Upper Brook-street, lady Wilton, a son.

20th. Mrs. Jordan, of Drury-lane theatre, a daughter.

21st. The lady of sir Hedworth Williamson, bart. a daughter.

24th. At her house in Lower Grosvenor-street, lady Amherst, a son.

Lately, at Hythe, in Kent, the wife of lieutenant-col. Sidney Beckwith, a daughter.

Dec. 11th. At Edinburgh, the wife of lieutenant-col. Ainslie, a son.

12th. Hon. Mrs. Warneford, of Warneford-place, near Highworth, a daughter.

17th. At the parsonage-house, at Great-Wickington, co. Norfolk, the lady of the hon. William Fitzroy, a son.

19th. At Carlton, near Norwich, the Hon. Mrs. Petree, a daughter.

Near Eton College, the wife of capt. Schomberg, R. N. a son.

20th. In Hertford-street, Mayfair, the wife of John Dent, esq. M. P. a son.

27th. At Taplow, the hon. Mrs. Grenfell, wife of Pascoe, G. esq. M. P. a daughter.

Lately, in Camden-street, Dublin, the wife of lieutenant-gen. Vallancey, a son.

At Gongar-house, in Scotland, the hon. Mrs. Ramsay, a daughter.

At Thistleton, lady Mary Fludyer, a son.

Mr. Prior, Morpeth, to Miss Scott, daughter of the late rev. James S. of Itchin-ferry, Southampton.

3d. Lord Andover, to the hon. Miss Dutton.

6th. At Earsdon, Northumberland, Lord Delaval, to Miss Knight.

10th. At Blockley, near Northwick-park, the hon. and rev. George Rushout, son of lady Northwick, to lady Caroline Stewart, daughter to the earl of Galloway.

13th. At Ipswich, Joseph Grove, esq. of Woodford, Essex, to the eldest daughter of major-gen. Goldie, of Goldie-Leigh, near Dumfries, Scotland.

Rev. William Digby, of Offenhams, co. Worcester, to the hon. Miss C. F. Digby, maid of honour to her majesty.

16th. Charles Morley Balders, esq. of West Barsham, Norfolk, to the hon. Miss Hare, daughter of lord Ennismore.

18th. John F. H. Rawlins, esq. to Miss Baker, eldest daughter of Wm. B. esq. of Bayfordbury, Herts, and only daughter by his first lady, who was daughter of the late lady Juliana Penn.

20th. Capt. John Bushby, of the R. N. to Miss Mary Bushby, of Orchard-street.

At St. George's, Hanover-square, major-gen. Gent, to Miss Temple French.

21st. By special licence, at lady Cecilia Johnson's in Wimpole-street, Anthony Merry, esq. late his majesty's minister-plenipotentiary to the French republic, to the widow of John Leather, esq. of Herringfleet-hall, Suffolk.

27th. Captain Holder, of the R. N. to the eldest daughter of the late J. C. Troy, esq. of Chatham.

31st. James Patrick Murray, esq.

## MARRIAGES in the Year 1803.

Jan. 1st. William Ord, esq. of Benham, co. Northumberland and



esq. M. P. for Yarmouth; only son of the late hon. gen. James M. to the eldest daughter of Edward Rushworth, esq. of Fresh Waterhouse, Isle of Wight, and grand-daughter to lord Holmes.

*Feb. 2d.* By special licence, at the earl of Jersey's, in Stradford-place, J. B. Ponsonby, esq. to lady Frances Villiers, fourth daughter of his lordship.

4th. Capt. George Hope, of the R. N. to lady Jemima Johnstone, daughter of the earl of Hopton.

9th. At Ballindean, in Perthshire, the hon. major-gen. Hope, to Miss Louisa Dorothea Wedderburn, daughter of sir John W. bart.

19th. William Bloxam, esq. son of sir Matthew B. M. P. to Miss Anne Burnett, daughter of sir Robert B.

By special licence, at the duke of Portland's Burlington-house, Piccadilly, lord William Cavendish Bentinck, his grace's second son, and lately appointed governor-general of India, to the hon. Miss Acheson, daughter of lord Gosford.

*March 3d.* Wm. Wass Langford, Esq. consul at Tripoli, to Miss Peacocke, daughter of Marmaduke P. esq. of Cavendish-square.

5th. At Bath, lieut.-col. Alexander Colston, son of the late rev. A. C. of Filtrin's-hall, co. Oxford, to the only daughter of James Warrington, esq. of St. James's-square, Bath.

7th. At Bath, by special licence, the hon. Mr. Dutton, brother to lord Sherborne, to Miss Honoria Gubbins.

8th. At Edinburgh, the hon. Alexander Murray, eldest son of lord Elibank, to Miss Oliphant, of Bachiltan.

*April 1st.* At St. James's-church, J. Leach, esq. to the second daughter of sir W. Beaumarice Rush.

8th. At Dromoland, the seat of sir Edward O'Brien, bart. of Ireland, Thomas Arthur, esq. of Glomera, to Miss Harriet Smith, daughter of Wm. S. esq. and sister to lady O'Brien.

11th. Hon. Mr. Smith, to the youngest daughter of John Tylee, esq. banker of Devizes, Wilts.

15th. At sir John Sinclair's, in Charlotte-street, Edinburgh, lord Polkemmet, to Miss Sinclair, daughter of the late George S. esq. of Ulster.

16th. At Rome, lord Cloncurry, of the kingdom of Ireland, to Eliza, youngest daughter of major-general Morgan, of Portland-place.

18th. By special licence, major Maxwell, eldest son of sir Wm. M. bart. of Monteith, and brother to the duchess of Gordon, to Miss Catherine Fordyce, daughter of John F. esq.

19th. At Brompton chapel, by special licence, sir Charles Hamilton, bart. to the only daughter of the late George Drummond, esq. banker, Charing-cross.

21st. At Aston chapel, the hon. Thomas Kenyon, to Miss Charlotte Lloyd, sister of Wm. L. esq. of Aston.

Lately, at lord Whitworth's chapel, at Paris, Lambton Este, esq. to Miss Smith, daughter of the late sir Rob. S. bart.

J. M. Scott, esq. of Bullygannon, Wicklow, Ireland, to lady Arabella Brabazon.

At Hammersmith, Middlesex, Thomas Bond, esq. eldest son of sir James Bond, bart. to the youngest daughter of the late John Read, esq. of Portchester-lodge, Hants.

At St. Helena, major Henry Torrens,



rens, of the 86th foot, to Miss S. Patten, daughter of col. P. governor of that island.

May 4th. At Bath, Thomas D. Hall, esq. of Seymour-street, to the hon. Miss Lysaght, daughter of lady Lisle.

5th. By special licence, at Dublin, Thomas Tenison, esq. of Castle Tenison, co. Roscommon, to lady Frances King, youngest daughter to the earl of Kingston.

John Thomlinson, esq. of Cley, Norfolk, to the eldest daughter of sir George Chad, bart. of Thursford-hall, same county.

9th. At East Horsley, Surry, the hon. Henry Blackwood, captain in the royal navy, and youngest son of baroness Dufferin, to Miss Gore, daughter of the late Francis G. esq.

11th. Rev. James Jason, rector of Binegar, and vicar of Westbury and Priddy, to Mrs. Bovet, widow of the late doctor B. daughter of the late hon. and rev. lord Francis Seymour, and niece to the D. of Somerset.

14th. Capt. White, of the R. N. son of gen. John W. to the widow of George Mowbray, esq. of Mortimer, Berks.

18th. Capt. sir Wm. Bolton, R. N. to Miss Catherine Bolton.

23d. Col. Davies, of the Bengal army, to Miss Maria Blair, daughter of col. Blair, of Stratford-place.

24th. Lord viscount Galway, of Serlby-hall, co. Nottingham, to the widow of P. Drummond, esq. of Bawtry, co. York.

June 6th. At St. George's Hanover-square, by the bishop of Durham, lord Redesdale, lord high chancellor of Ireland, to lady Fra. Percival.

7th. Hon. and rev. W. Capel, fourth son of the late earl of Essex,

to Miss Salter, only child of T. S. esq. of Rickmansworth, Herts.

At Castle Menzies, lieut. col. Archibald Butter, of Pitlochrie, to Miss Vere Menzies, daughter of sir Robert M. bart.

By special licence, Wm. Strode, esq. of Northaw, Herts, to the hon. Mrs. W. Finch, of Berner's-street.

At Kilfergus, in Ireland, Joseph Hume, esq. of Hume-wood, co. Wicklow, brother to the M. P. for that county, to the only daughter of the late rev. Charles Smith, of Croagh, co. Limerick, and niece to the late Arthur S. archbishop of Dublin.

8th. Lieut. col. Maitland, of the first reg. of guards, to the second daughter of lady Crofton.

13th. Captain Chesshyre, R. N. to Miss Sandys, of St. Martins, near Canterbury.

14th. At St. George's, Hanover-square, capt. Langford, R. N. to Miss Ramsbottom, of Windsor.

21st. Lieut. col. Peacocke, eldest son of sir Joseph P. bart. to the eldest daughter of John Morris, esq. of Claremont, co. Glamorgan.

23d. By special licence, at Fifehouse, White-hall, his grace, John, duke of Bedford, to lady Georgiana Gordon, fifth and youngest daughter of the duke of Gordon.

Lieut. col. Taylor, of the 20th light dragoons, to Miss Baker, daughter of J. B. esq. M. P. for Canterbury.

27th. At St. James's church, lord Graves, son of the late admiral G. to lady Mary Paget, daughter of the earl of Uxbridge.

July 6th. Capt. Cuthbert, of the R. N. to the eldest daughter of the late Alexander Willock, esq. of Bedford-square.

7th. Sir Henry Peyton, bart. of Hagheach,

Hagbeach, co. Cambridge, to Mrs. Bradshaw, widow of James B. esq. of Portland-place.

13th. At St. George's, Hanover-square, by special licence, major Milner, of the York hussars, son of sir W. M. bart. to Miss Clements, grand-daughter of the right. hon. John Beresford.

14th. At Hale, co. Lancaster, by special licence, George John Leigh, esq. of Leigh, co. Chester, to the eldest daughter of John Blackburne, esq. M. P. for Lancashire.

16th. Col. Robson, of Hulham, late governor, of St. Helena, to Mrs. Seymour, of Sloane-square, Knightsbridge.

19th. Wm. Dickinson, esq. M. P. son of Wm. D. esq. M. P. for King's Western, county of Somerset, to the eldest daughter of Sam. Smith, esq. M. P. of Woodhall-park, Herts.

Lieut. col. Browne, of the 59th foot, to the second daughter of sir Wm. Wolseley, bart. of Wolseley-hall, co. Stafford.

26th. At Bath, lieut. col. Browne, of Browne-hall, co. Mayo, Ireland, to the youngest daughter of the late col. Arthur Browne, second son of John Browne, earl of Alamont.

August 4th. By special licence, at the duke of Hamilton's house, in Grosvenor-place, lord viscount Fin-castle, to lady Susan Hamilton.

By special licence, sir Hungerford Hoskyns, bart. of Harewood, co. Hereford, to the youngest daughter of John Phillips, esq. of Bank, in Lancashire.

8th. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Charles Manners, esq. to Mrs. Clark, daughter to general Gardiner.

11th. At Cheltenham, Phillip Roche, esq. of Limerick, in Ireland,

to the hon. Anne Plunkett, youngest daughter of lord Dunsany.

Hon. John Dutton, son of lord Sherborne, to the hon. Miss Legge, only daughter of lord Stawell.

13th. Matthew White Ridley, esq. eldest son of sir M. W. R. bart. M. P. for Newcastle-upon-Tyne, to Miss Laura Hawkins.

At his grace's seat, near Richmond, by special licence, sir Charles Ditton, Surry, to lady Caroline Scott, 3d daughter of the duke of Buccleugh.

15th. John Tillie Coryton, esq. of Crocadon, Cornwall, to the youngest daughter of the late admiral John Leveson Gower.

24th. By special licence, at Pepper Harrow, the seat of lord viscount Middleton, Inigo Freeman Thomas, esq. of Ratten, co. Sussex, to the hon. Miss Broderick, his lordship's eldest daughter.

Sept. 1st. At Edinburgh, David Kemp, esq. son of the rev. doctor Kemp, to the eldest daughter of sir James Colquhoun, bart. of Lufs.

5th. David Erskine, esq. of Cardross, to the youngest daughter of the late John lord Keith Elphinstone.

12th. Lieut. col. Peachey, late M. P. for Yarmouth, to Emma Frances, youngest daughter of Thos. Carter, esq. of Lynchfield house.

19th. By special licence, at Mrs. Peter's, at Leatherhead, Surry, John Campbell, esq. M. P. to the eldest daughter of the late lieut. col. David Hay.

20th. At Stanton-Downham, the hon. Mr. Wellesley, to lady Charlotte, second daughter of lord Cadogan.

29th. At Fulbech, co. Lincoln, col. Mitchel, of Dawlish, co. Dorset, to



to the eldest daughter of the late hon. Henry Fane.

Oct. 1st. John Atkins, esq. M. P. of Charlton, Kent, to the only daughter of the rev. doctor Barnaby, of Greenwich.

5th. William Jerminham, esq. son of sir Wm. J. bart. of Costessey-hall, to Miss Wright, daughter of Thos. W. esq. of London, banker.

24th. John Williams, esq. M. P. for Windsor, to Miss Elizabeth Currie, daughter of doctor Currie, of Chester.

Nov. 1st. By special licence, Wm. Tatton Egefton, of St. James's-square, Tatton-park, in Cheshire, and Witton Shaw, near Stockport, and M. P. for the county of Chester, to Miss Charlotte Clara Payler, of Iliden, near Canterbury.

At Kensington, George Aust, esq. of Chelsea, to the hon. Mrs. Murray, widow of the late hon. Wm. M. brother to the earl of Dunmore.

3rd. Richard Ottley, esq. eldest son of president Ottley, of St. Vincents, to Sarah, eldest daughter of sir W. Young, bt. M. P. for St. Mawes.

5th. At Streatly, Berks, rev. E. Evans, M. A. vicar of Dymock, co. Gloucester, to the hon. Miss Bradshaw.

6th. At Berlin, Francis James Jackson, esq. envoy extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary at that court, to Mademoiselle Dorville, daughter of the lord steward of the court of the late Elizabeth, of Prussia.

10th. By special licence, the earl of Belvidere, to Miss M'Cay, daughter of the rev. James M'C. of Phippsborough, co. Dublin.

12th. Jacob Philips, esq. of the Inner Temple, to Miss Berry, of Southampton-street, Bloomsbury, sister to sir Edward B. of the R. N.

19th. At Deal, lord viscount Malton, eldest son of earl Stanhope, to the hon. Catherine Lucy Smith, second daughter of lord Carrington.

At Layton, Essex, Wm. Curtis, esq. of Lombard-street, banker, eldest son of sir Wm. C. bart. to Miss Lear, daughter of George L. esq. of Laytonstone.

Lately, at Lambeth-palace, by the archbishop of Canterbury, R. E. Duncombe Shaftoe, esq. to Miss Eden, daughter of sir John Eden, bart.

23d. At Wanstead church, Essex, his excellency comite de Ralley, to mademoiselle Adelaide, princess of Bourbon, daughter of the duke de Bourbon, and grand-daughter of the prince de Condé.

28th. By special licence, Wm. Churchill, esq. of Henbury, co. Dorset, to the countess of Strafford.

30th. At Stoke, near Plymouth, capt. Richard King, only son of admiral sir Richard King, bart. to the only daughter of rear-admiral sir J. S. Duckworth.

Dec. 1st. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Thomas Walpole, esq. to lady Margaret Percival.

At Calton, near Norwich, the hon. F. P. Irby; son of lord Boston, and captain in the R. N. to Emily, second daughter of the late Wm. Drake, M. P. for Amersham Bucks.

3d. Lieut.-col. Darley Griffiths of the 1st. foot-guards, to Miss Hankey of Felchham-park, Surry.

4th. At the Priory, the seat of the marquis of Abercorn, Sir Thomas Manners Sutton, solicitor-general to his majesty, to Miss Copley, sister of sir Lionel Copley, bart.

17th. Lieut.-col. Desborough, of the royal marines, to Miss Vivian.

19th.



19th. At St. George's church, Hanover-square, capt. Sidenham, son of the late Gen. S. military auditor-general at Madras, to Mrs. Bunbury.

20th. By special licence, Mr. serjeant Vaughan, to Augusta, second daughter of lord St. John, of Bletsoe.

Lately, at Standish, in Lancashire, lieut. col. Browne, of the 12th dragoons, to Miss Clayton, only daughter of sir Richard Clayton, bart. of Adlington, in the same county.

William Vaughan, esq. of Courtfield, to Miss Teresa Weld, fourth daughter of Thomas Weld, esq. of Lulworth Castle, Dorset.

At Ashford, co. Salop, rev. R. F. Halifax, son of the late bishop of St. Asaph, to Miss Ricketts, daughter of T. C. R. esq. of Ashford Hall.

Capt. Halsted, R. N. to Miss Pellew, daughter of admiral sir Edward Pellew, bart.

At Worcester, capt. Marcus J. Annesley, eldest son of the hon. and rev. William A. dean of Down, in Ireland, and nephew to the earl of Annesley, to Miss Caroline Smith, daughter of the late Ferdinand S. esq. of the Grange, co. Salop.

At Leatherhead, Surry, John Campbell, esq. M. P. of Leyton Hall, Essex, to Miss E. Hay, daughter of the late lieut. col. David Hay, of the royal artillery.

Major Plunkett, to Miss Gunning, niece to the celebrated beauties, the duchess of Argyll, and countess of Coventry.

At the court of Stutgard, baron Spaen, the Batavian minister there, to lady Louisa King, youngest daughter of the countess of Kingston.

## PROMOTIONS in the Year 1803.

Jan. 1st. The right hon. Thomas Steele, and John Hiley Addington, esqrs. appointed joint paymaster-general of his majesty's forces.

3d. John Hiley Addington, esq. elected to serve in parliament for the borough of Harwich.

The right hon. Sylvester lord Glenbervie, to the office of surveyor-general of his majesty's woods, oaks, forests and chaces.

4th. Col. Hugh Lyle Carmichael, of the 2d West India regiment, to be brigadier-general, in the island of Jamaica only.

7th. The king has been graciously pleased, in consideration of the signal services performed to his majesty, and to his ally the Ottoman emperor, by sir William Sidney Smith, knight, commander and grand cross of the royal Swedish military order of the sword, a captain in the royal navy, and representative for the city of Rochester, in the parliament of the united kingdom; and to evince the sense which his majesty entertains of the great ability and heroic perseverance manifested by him, the said sir William Sidney Smith, upon divers occasions, and more especially of his able and highly distinguished conduct in the defence of the town of St. John d'Acre, in Syria, in the year 1799; his royal licence and authority, that he may bear the following honourable augmentations to the armorial ensigns borne by his family, viz. on the chevron, a wreath of laurel, accompanied by two crosses calvary; and, on a chief of augmentation, the interior of an ancient fortification, in perspective; in the

the angle a breach ; and, on the sides of the said breach, the standard of the Ottoman empire, and the union flag of Great Britain, as then displayed : and for crest, the imperial Ottoman chelengk, or plume of triumph, upon a turban—in allusion to the highly honourable and distinguished decoration transmitted by his said imperial majesty to sir William Sidney Smith, in testimony of his esteem, and in acknowledgment of his meritorious exertions in the aforesaid defence ; and the family crest, viz. a leopard's head, collated and lined, issuant out of an oriental crown : the said arms and crests to be borne by him the said sir William Sidney Smith, and by his issue, together with the motto “ CŒUR DE LION.” And although the privilege of bearing supporters be limited to the peers of the realm, the knights of his majesty's orders, and the proxies of princes of the blood royal at installations, except in such cases wherein, under particular circumstances, his majesty has been pleased to grant his especial licence for the use thereof ; yet, in order to give a further testimony of his majesty's particular approbation of the services of the said sir William Sidney Smith, he has been graciously pleased to allow him to bear, for supporters to his arms, a tiger guardant, naturally crowned ; in the mouth a palm branch, being the symbol of victory, supporting the union flag of Great Britain, with the inscription “ JERUSALEM, 1799,” upon the cross of St. George ; and a lamb, naturally crowned ; in the mouth an olive branch, being the symbol of peace, supporting the banner of Jerusalem : the said armorial ensigns being first duly exemplified according to the laws of arms, and recorded in the

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heralds' office. And also to order that this his majesty's said concession and especial mark of his royal favour be registered in the college of arms.

29th. William Drummond, esq. to be his majesty's ambassador extraordinary, and plenipotentiary to the sublime Ottoman Porte.

Hugh Elliot, esq. to be his majesty's envoy extraordinary, and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Naples.

Anthony Merry, esq. to be his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the United States of America.

Edward Thornton, esq. to be his majesty's secretary of legation at the Hague.

Philip Dundas, esq. to be member of parliament for the borough of Gatton, in the room of James Dashwood, esq.

The king has been graciously pleased to give and grant unto his excellency Thomas earl of Elgin, his majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the Sublime Porte, his royal licence and permission to receive and wear the insignia of the order of the crescent, given to him by the Ottoman empire ;

And to his excellency sir John Borlase Warren, bart. &c. &c. &c. ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Russia, the like permission. And also to command that these his majesty's concessions and declarations, together with the relative documents, be registered in his college of arms.

Feb. 2d. Major Charles Holloway, of the royal engineers, to the honour of knighthood.

The hon. and rev. G. Pelham, elected to the see of Bristol, in the room of Folliot Herbert Walker-

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late bishop thereof, translated to the see of Hereford.

5th. Col. T. Hislop to be lieutenant-governor of the island of Granada and its dependencies.

Col. Thomas Hislop, of the 11th West-India regiment, to be brigadier-general in the Leeward and Windward Carribbee Islands only.

11th. To the following dignities in the peerage of Ireland, viz. To Edward Henry viscount Limerick, and his heirs male, the dignity of earl of Limerick of the co. of Limerick.

To William Power Keatuge viscount Dunlo, and the heirs male of his body, the dignity of earl of Clancarty, of the co. of Cork. To Charlotte baroness Newcomen, wife of sir William Gleadowe Newcomen, of Moss-town, in the county of Longford, the dignity of viscountess Newcomen; and the dignity of viscount Newcomen to the heirs male of her body, by the said sir William Gleadowe Newcomen.

16th. The right hon. John Hiley Addington to be a member of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

M. G. John Francis Cradock, knighted and invested one of the most honourable military order of the Bath, with the usual ceremonies.

22d. The most noble George Augustus, marquis of Donegall, to be of his majesty's most honourable the privy council of Ireland.

Col. Robert Brereton, of the 63d foot, to be brigadier-general in the Windward and Leeward Carribbee Islands only.

March 4th. George Harrison, esq. (norroy king of arms) to the office of clarenceux king of arms, and principal herald of the south, east, and west parts of England, in

the room of Thomas Locke, deceased.

Charles Mac Donnell, to be member in parliament for the borough of Yarmouth, vacated by James Patrick Murray, esq.

John Sweetland, to be principal commissary of stores and provisions at Gibraltar.

Lieut. col. James Butler, of the invalid artillery, to be commandant of the junior department in the royal military college. Major Benjamin D'Urban, of the 89th foot, to be superintendent of the junior department, *vice* Butler.

12th. Brevet Major Charles Irvine, of the 85th foot, to be deputy quartermaster-general of the forces serving in Jamaica, with the rank of lieutenant. col. in the army; *vice* M'Murdo, resigned. Lieut. col. Willoughby Gordon, of the 85th foot, to be deputy adjutant-general to the said forces, in the room of Irvine.

Brevet major Wm. Gifford, of the 26th foot, to be deputy adjutant-general to the forces in Malta, with the rank of lieutenant. col. in the army, *vice* Fitzgerald, deceased. Major Charles Phillips, of the 44th foot, to be deputy quartermaster-general to the said troops, *vice* Airey, resigned.

15th. Major-general Robert Brownrigg, to be quartermaster-general to the forces, *vice* Dundas.

16th. S. Wathen, William Paxton, William Blizard, and Charles Blake, esqrs. to the honour of knighthood.

30th. James Duberly, of Gains-hall, Huntingdonshire; Francis Searle, of Kingston upon Thames; and John Dumaresque, esqrs. to the honour of knighthood.

April 2. Anthony Henderson, esq.



esq. of Kensington, Middlesex, to serve in parliament for the borough of Brackley, in the room of general J. W. Egerton, now earl of Bridgewater.

Peter Moore, esq. to serve in parliament for the city of Coventry, in the room of N. Jefferies, esq. whose election has been declared void.

4th. Ralph Bigland, esq. Richmond herald, appointed norroy king of arms, and principal herald of the north parts of England, *vice* Harrison, promoted to be clarencieux king of arms.

9th. Right. hon. Francis lord Napier, to be his majesty's high commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

Lient. col. Lewis Lindenthal, of the queen's German regiment; Daniel Patterson, on the retired list of the invalids; Wm. Eden, of the 79th foot; George Murray, of the 3d regiment of foot-guards; and John Brown, of the royal staff corps, to be assistants to the quartermaster-general of the forces. George Williamson, esq. late captain in the 70th foot, to be commandant of the royal military asylum, with the rank of lieutenant. col. in the army, so long as he shall retain the situation of commandant.

12th. C. Brooke, esq. and sir William Manners, bart. returned to serve in the present parliament for the borough of Ivelchester, in the room of T. Hunter and W. Plummer, esqrs. not duly elected.

J. Mathews, of Belmont, esq. returned to serve in parliament for the co. of Hereford, in the room of J. G. Cotterell, esq. whose election has been declared void.

Sir H. Dalrymple Hamilton, of Bargeny, bart. returned to serve in

parliament for the shire of Ayr, in the room of col. W. Fullarton, who hath vacated his seat.

19th. James Gambier, to be his majesty's consul-general at Lisbon.

Right hon. sir William Wynne, &c. &c. &c. elected master of Trinity-hall, Cambridge, in the room of the late sir James Marriott.

Joshua Jonathan Smith, and Richard Lea, esqrs. to be aldermen of London.

23d. To be deputy commissary-general of stores, provisions, and forage, to the troops serving in Ireland, P. C. E. Singer, from half-pay.

General David Dundas, to the honour of knighthood and investiture in the most honourable military order of the Bath, with the usual ceremonies.

30th. Major Thomas Birch, of the 16th light dragoons, to be an assistant to the quartermaster-general of the forces, with the rank of lieutenant. col.

Major Edward Henry Bunbury, on the half-pay of the late 9th West-India regiment, to be an assistant to the quartermaster-general of the forces.

Francis Sitwell, and Alexander Allan, esqrs. returned to serve in parliament for the town of Berwick upon Tweed, in the room of Thomas Hall and John Fordyce, esqrs. whose election has been declared void.

May 4th. William earl of Mansfield, to be lord-lieut. of the county of Clackmannan, in North Britain.

Col. Charles Greene, William Bulkeley Hughes, esqrs. Francis Hartwell, esq. and Samuel Aulchmoutty, esq. to the honour of knighthood.

5th. Joseph Hawker, esq. late rouge-croix pursuivant of arms to the office of Richmond herald, void by the promotion of Ralph Bigland, esq.

6th. Major Thornton, to be one of the equerries of his R. H. the duke of Cumberland.

7th. Col. Frederick Augustus Weatherall, of the 82d foot, to be deputy adjutant-general to the forces serving in Nova Scotia.

By grant from the king, the royal licence and permission to major-general Richard earl of Cavan, to wear the badge of the order of the crescent, transmitted to his lordship by the grand seignior.

8th. Major-general David Douglass Wemyss, to be commander of all his majesty's land forces serving in the island of Ceylon.

13th. Anthony Hardolph Eyre, esq. to serve in parliament for the county of Nottingham, in the room of lord William Cavendish Bentinck, who vacated his seat therefor.

21st. Major-general John Doyle, to be lieutenant-governor of the island of Guernsey, *vice* sir Henry Dalrymple, resigned.

23d. The king has been pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on sir James Pulteney, bart. lieutenant-col. Francis Whitworth, capt. Robert Boulton, of the royal navy, Rupert George, esq. and Richard Hankey, esq. as proxies to five of the knights of the most honourable order of the Bath, at the late installation.

24th. The earl of Cardigan, elected high steward of the borough of Windsor, *vice* earl Beaulieu, deceased.

Martin Davy, M. D. F. R. S. elected master of Caius college, Cambridge, *vice* Belward, deceased.

Edward Bouyer Shockey, D. D. to be dean of Bristol, *vice* Layard, deceased.

William Nelson, D. D. to be canon prebendary of the metropolitan church of Canterbury.

William Radcliffe, esq. to the office of rouge-croix pursuivant of arms, in the herald's office, *vice* Hawker.

28th. Howell Holland Edwards, M. A. to be a prebendary of the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, *vice* Dr. R. P. Finch, deceased.

Lieut. general the hon. H. E. Fox, to be commander in chief of his majesty's forces serving in Ireland.

Major William Nicholson, of the 72d foot, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the king's troops serving in India, with the rank of lieutenant-col. in the army.

Lieut. col. William Gordon, from the 85th foot; major H. Lowe, from the royal fusileers; major W. H. De Lancey, from the 45th foot; and captain H. F. Brownrigg, from the staff corps, with the rank of major in the army, to be assistants to the quartermaster-general of the forces.

31st. Thomas Fydell, esq. the younger, returned to serve in parliament for the borough of Boston, in the room of Thomas Fydell the elder, esq. whose election has been declared void.

June 1st. The right hon. Geo. Tierney, to be treasurer of the navy, and of his majesty's most hon. privy council.

4th. The king has been pleased, by letters patent, to grant and confirm to his grace Henry duke of Beaufort, and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten, the ancient barony

rony of Bottetourt, with the style and precedency belonging to the said barony.

Charles Barker, B. D. sub-dean and canon-residentiary of Wells, to be one of the chaplains in ordinary to his R. H. the prince of Wales.

11th. Col. Martin Hunter, of the 48th foot, to be a brigadier-general in North America only.

Col. William Dyot, of the 25th foot, to be a brigadier-general in the Windward and Leeward Charribbee islands only.

Capt. the hon. D. G. Hallyburton, from the 1st foot guards, to be assistant to the quartermaster-general of the forces, with the rank of major in the army.

Major Charles Harcourt, from half-pay of the 40th foot, and capt. John Pine Coffin, from the staff corps, with the rank of major in the army, to be assistants to the quartermaster-general of the forces in Ireland.

14th. Richard Brooke de Capell Brooke, of Great Oakley, Northamptonshire, the right hon. John Stewart, of Athenree, in the kingdom of Ireland, and the rev. James Strong, A. M. of the kingdom of Ireland, to be baronets of the united kingdom.

Daniel Parker Coke, esq. returned to serve in parliament for the town of Nottingham, in the room of Joseph Bird, esq. whose election has been declared void.

Sir Matthew Bloxham, elected an alderman of the city of London, *vice* Hibbert, resigned.

Standish O'Grady, esq. to be his majesty's attorney-general in Ireland, in the room of Stewart, resigned.

17th. George earl of Dorches-

ter, to be lord-lieut. of the county of Dorset.

His royal highness Adolphus Frederick duke of Cambridge, K. G. late lieut. general in the Hanoverian service, to be lieut. general in the army, by commission, dated the 24th August, 1798.

25th. Spencer Smith, esq. to be his majesty's envoy extraordinary at the court of his serene highness the elector of Wirtemberg.

Henry Williams Wynne, esq. to be his majesty's envoy extraordinary at the court of his serene highness the elector of Saxony.

Spiridion Foresti, esq. to be his majesty's resident to the republic of the Seven Islands.

Charles Dennis, esq. to be his majesty's consul at Civita Vecchia.

Henry Savage Yeomes, esq. to be his majesty's consul-general in the Russian ports in the Black Sea.

Walter Wright, esq. to be his majesty's consul in the republic of the Seven Islands.

George Hilario Barlow, esq. a member of the council at Fort Wm. Bengal, to the dignity of a bart.

The rev. Thomas Burgess, D. D. prebendary of Durham, to be bishop of St. Davids, *vice* Murray, deceased.

The rev. John Fisher, D. D. prebendary of Windsor, to be bishop of Exeter, *vice* Courtenay, deceased.

28th. Sir Rupert George, knt. Ambrose Serle, and Thomas Hamilton, esqrs. the hon. Edward Bouverie and James Bowen, esq. to be commissioners for conducting the transport service: and for the care and custody of prisoners of war.

Brevet-major, Colin Dundas Graham, of the late Scotch brigade, to be fort-major of Edinburgh castle, *vice* sir James Foulis, resigned.



*July 11th.* Major-general Geo. Hewitt, to be inspector-general of the army of reserve; to be assistant-inspectors of the army of reserve: lieutenant. col. John James Barlowe; of the 61st foot, and capt. Peter Cary; to be superintendant of clothing of ditto, lieutenant. col. Geo. Williamson; to be deputy-inspector in North Britain, col. Thomas Scott, of the 94th foot.

12th. Col. George Horsfall, of the 4th West India regiment, to be deputy adjutant general to the forces serving in Jamaica, *vice* Gordon.

19th. Rev. William Beaumont Busby, M. A. appointed a prebendary of Windsor, *vice* Fisher, promoted to the See of Exeter.

26th. Capt. Thomas Hardyman, of the 50th foot, to be a major in the army.

James Fisher, esq. late lieutenant. col. of the 62d foot, to be paymaster of a recruiting district.

Charles William Thornton, esq. and John Baddeley, esq. to be assistant barrack masters-general, with the rank of majors in the army, so long as holding that office.

29th. Major-general John Doyle, lieutenant. governor of the island of Guernsey, to be allowed to wear the insignia of the order of the crescent, transmitted to him by the grand seignior.

30th. Capt. Levett Ibbetson, of the 28th foot, to be a major in the army.

*August 9th.* Major-general Richard England, to be lieutenant-governor of Plymouth, *vice* Campbell, resigned.

Col. sir Samuel Auchmutty, bart. of the 10th foot, to be commandant of the Isle of Thanet.

Capt. Henry Bromley, of the 26th foot, to be major in the army.

13th. Major William Wilson, paymaster, on half-pay of the 54th foot, to be paymaster of a recruiting district.

17th. Right hon. Charles Yorke, sworn one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, in the room of lord Pelham (who succeeded to the counsellorship of the duchy of Lancaster, on the resignation of the earl of Liverpool.)

Col. George Moncrieffe, of the 90th foot, and col. An. Dunlop, of the 21st light dragoons, to be brigadier-generals in the West-Indies only.—To be assistant quartermasters-general to the forces in Ireland, lieutenant. col. G. Airey, of the 8th foot; lieutenant. col. A. R. Dillon, on half-pay of the 115th foot; capt. R. Owen, of the 56th foot; and major James Forster, of the 11th foot.

22d. Francis Moore, esq. appointed, by the right hon. Charles Bragge, secretary at war, his deputy, *vice* Matthew Lewis, esq.

30th. To be majors in the army, capt. Th. Dorrington, of the 15th battalion of reserve; cap. J. Dumaresque, of the 9th ditto; capt. G. Wade, of the 30th foot; and capt. Charles Morley Balders, of the 53d foot.

*Sept. 1st.* Right rev. doctor Wm. Knox, bishop of Killaloe and Killfenora, alias Tanabor, translated to the see of Derry, *vice* the Earl of Bristol, deceased.

8th. His excellency Wm. Drummond, his majesty's ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the Sublime Porte, permitted to receive and wear the insignia of the order of the crescent, transmitted to him by the grand signior.

10th. Right hon. George Keith, baron Keith, of Stonehaven-Marrischal, co. Kincardine, in Scotland,

land, K. B. and admiral of the blue, created a baron of the united kingdom, by the title of baron Keith, of Banheath, co. Dumbar-ton; with remainder, in default of issue, with the dignity of a baron-ness, to Margaret Mercer Elphin-stone, only daughter of the said baron Keith, and the dignity of a baron to the lawful heirs male of her body.

13th. Wm. Wass Langford, esq. appointed his majesty's agent and consul-general at Tripoli.

24th. To be inspecting field-officers of yeomanry and volunteers, with temporary rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army so long as they continue to hold these appointments, viz. col. Charles Mac Murdo, late of the 31st foot; lieut. col. John Jenkinson, on half-pay of the late Sheffield regiment; lieut. col. Wm. Thomlinson, on ditto of the late 91st foot; major Ralph Gore, on ditto of the late York fuzileers; William Harris, esq. late lieut. col. of the 2d foot; John C. Cowel, esq. late lieut. col. of the 1st battalion of the Royals; Henry Harnage, esq. late lieut. col. of the 104th foot; John D. Kane, esq. late lieut. col. of the 4th foot; Heneage Twysden, esq. late lieut. col. of the 4th foot; James Kirkman, esq. late lieut. col. of the 52d foot; W. Dalrymple, esq. late lieut. col. of the 2d foot; John Stewart, esq. late major of the 27th foot; J. Hugh M'Leroch, esq. late lieut. col. of the rifle corps; Wm. Gore, esq. late lieut. col. of the Birmingham fencibles; col. H. M. Clavering, of the late Argyleshire fencibles; lieut. col. Robert Garden, on half-pay of the 54th foot; lieut. col. G. Duke, on half-pay of the 65th foot; and major Frederick Metzner, on half-

pay of the late American provin-cials.

27th. To be majors in the army: capt. Wyndham Quin, of the 3d foot; capt. Thomas Mellor, of the 81st foot; capt. Robert Campbell, of the 42d foot; capt. Nathaniel Myott, of the 26th foot; and capt. Edward Draper, of the 3d foot-guards.

Capt. William Macondy Harvey, of the 1st West India regiment, to be deputy adjutant-general to the forces serving in the Charibbee Islands, with the rank of major in the army, *vice* Morden, de-ceased.

Reverend lord Charles Murray Annesley, to the rural deanry of Bocking, Essex, *vice* the late bi-shop of St. Davids, (his brother) deceased.

*Oct.* 1. His majesty has been pleased to appoint

Lieutenant-generals William Shir-reff, William Grinfield, Samuel Hulse, Albemarle Bertie, Charles Vallancey, John earl of Clanricarde, Sir James Steuart, bart. Thomas Carleton, James Marsh; Cavendish Lister; James Ogilvie, sir Robert Lawrie, bart. William Edmeston, David Home, Hugh Deb-bieg, Montgomery Agnew, Alex-ander earl of Balcarras, Cornelius Cuyler, Charles earl of Harrington, the hon. Richard Fitzpatrick, Nis-bet Balfour, Edmund Stephens, sir Thomas Trigge, K.B. Francis earl of Moira, and Peter Craig, to be generals in the army.

Major-generals George Bernard, George Nugent, John Bowater, Thomas Awerne, James Barker, John Campbell, Charles Tarrant, John Barclay, William Macormick, John Freke, Sir Robert Stuart, bart. Richard England, William



Keppel, John Hely lord Hutchinson, K. B. John Hamilton, Alexander Hay, Thomas Goldie, Simon Fraser, James Stewart, Charles Hastings, Thomas Davis, Robert Manners, William Loftus, William Myers, Oliver Nicolls, Alexander Mercer, George Hewett, and Charles baron Hompesch, to be lieutenant-generals in the army.

Colonels George Elliott, of the Royal marines; Duncan Campbell, of ditto; Patrick Wauchope, of the 50th foot; Baldwin Leighton, of the 46th foot; Patrick Sinclair, on half-pay of the 54th foot; Richard Chapman, of the invalid artillery; John Coffin, on half-pay of the King's American regiment; Richard Armstrong, on half-pay of the Queen's American rangers; John Murray, on half-pay of the 96th foot; sir Charles Green, knt. of the 30th foot; William St. Leger, of the 27th light dragoons; Henry Magan, of the 39th foot; Richard N. Hopkins, of the 32d foot; John Smith, of the 1st foot-guards; Alexander Mackay, adjutant-general in Scotland; Thomas Hartcup, of the invalid engineers; William O. Huddleston, of the artillery; George Tead, of ditto; James Sowerby, of the invalid artillery; Thomas Bloomfield, of the artillery; Gotther Mann, of the engineers; Donald Mac Donald, of the 55th foot; John Pratt, of the late Royal Irish artillery; Forbes Champagné of the 26th foot; Josiah Champagné of a regiment of infantry; Harry Calvert of the 5th West India regiment; George Cockburne, on half-pay of the 92d foot; Edward Dunne, on half-pay of the Pembrokeshire fencible cavalry; George Hay Vansittart, of the 12th battalion of reserve; the hon. Charles Fitzroy, of the 1st foot-guards;

Francis Hugenin, of the 4th dragoons; and Thomas P. Vandeleur, of the 8th light dragoons; to be major-generals in the army.

Lieutenant-colonels Duncan Macintosh, of the 60th foot; Francis Carruthers, on half-pay of the 61st foot; Robert Shaw, of the 74th foot; Christopher Darby, of the 54th foot; David Clephane, of the 20th foot; William Balfour, of the 57th foot; William Wilkinson, of the 30th foot; William Dickson, of the 42d foot; Bulstrode Whitelocke, of the 77th foot; Henry Tucker Montresor, of the 18th foot; Albert Gledstanes, of the 57th foot; John Hodgson, on half-pay of the late 131st foot; Charles Stevenson, of a regiment of infantry; Lawrence Bradshaw, of the 1st Life-guards; George William Richard Harcourt, of the 12th foot; William Palmer Acland, of the Coldstream foot-guards; Nicholas Nepean, of the late Banffshire fencibles; James Taylor, of the 12th foot; Miles Nightingale, of the 51st foot; James Hay; the hon. William Eardly, on half-pay of the 82d foot; William Cochell, of the 5th foot; Leonard Shaftoe Orde, on half-pay of the 132d foot; Richard Bingham, of the 3d foot; Joseph French, on half-pay of the 102d foot; John Lee, on half-pay of the 112th foot; Henry Clinton, of the 1st foot-guards; John Sontag; James Robertson, of the 92d foot; Edward William Leyborne, of the late Cambrian rangers; James Dunlop, of the 77th foot; Fitzroy J. Grafton Maclean, of the 60th foot; Walter Ker, of the late British fencibles; Alexander Campbell, of the 74th foot; and John Pigott, on half-pay of the 113th foot; to be colonels in the army.

Majors



Majors Windham Quin, of the 3d foot; Thomas Dorrington, of the 15th foot; Thomas Mellor, of the 81st foot; G. Wade, of the 30th foot; John Dumaresq, of the 9th battalion of reserve; T. Hardyman, of the 30th foot; H. Bromley of the 26th foot; Robert Campbell, of the 42d foot; Robert Al. Dalzell, of the 1st foot-guards; Claus Pell, of the 16th foot; George Sutherland, of ditto; Robert Balfour, of the 2d dragoons; Dugald Campbell, of the 46th foot; James Macdonald, of the 73d foot; James Green, of the 26th foot; George Bowater, of the artillery; William Borthwick, of ditto; John Barton, of ditto; George Scott, of ditto; George Miller, of the 57th foot; Robert Walker, of the 7th foot; Breon Bordes, of the 73d foot; Archibald Mosman, of ditto; Henry Teesdale, of the 1st dragoon-guards; Thomas Goldie, of the 9th dragoons; James Cuming, of the 47th foot; Robert Hamilton, on half-pay of the 7th West India regiment; Jasper Grant, of the 41st foot; Pierre L'Ardy, of Meuron's regiment; Francis Piackand, of ditto; Henry Erskine, of the 91st foot; James St. Clair, of the late Cambrian Rangers; and R. A. Seymour, of the 15th light dragoons; to be lieutenant-colonels in the army.

Captains the hon. Henry A. B. Craven, of the 9th battalion of reserve; Lewis C. Mears, of the marines; George Stephens of the 47th foot; John H. Brown, of the 78th foot; William Campbell, of ditto; William Wishart, of the 15th foot; Andrew Patton, of the 92d foot; George Bruhl, of the 3d foot-guards; Charles Macquarrie, of the 42d foot; Charles Hill, of the 50th foot; Colin Campbell, of the 60th foot; John

Macdougall, of the 91st foot; G. P. Hutchinson, of the 4th dragoons; Ames G. Norcott, of the 9th foot; John Balcomb, of the 1st dragoon-guards; John White, of the 80th foot; Isaac P. Tinling, of the 1st foot-guards; William Shipley, of the 54th foot; W. Hilliard, of the 89th foot; John Stoddart, of the 45th foot; George Evans, of the 32d foot; Charles Bruce, of the 39th foot; John Blair, of the 1st battalion of Royals; Nutall Green, of the 3d foot; William Ledwell, of the 2d battalion of reserve; J. F. Fitzgerald, of the New Brunswick fencibles; Patrick Ross of the 22d light dragoons; Ar. Christie, of the 6th foot; the hon. J. T. Deane, of the 38th foot; James B. Horner, of the 84th foot; Thomas Costello, of the 28th foot; Charles Hicks, of the 61st foot; George E. Vinicombe, of the marines; Brook Young, of the artillery; Donald Macbean, of the 41st foot; James Shortal, of the late Irish artillery; Richard Legge, of ditto; Charles F. Hill, of the 10th foot; and Robert Crawford, of the late Irish artillery; to be majors in the army.

3d. Lieut. general Charles Leigh, appointed a general in the army.

Lieut. colonels Henry Frederick Campbell, of the 1st foot-guards; William Burnett, of the 14th foot; Richard Stewart, of the 43d foot; and the hon. Charles Stuart, of the 18th light dragoons; to be aides-de-camp to the king.

To be inspecting field-officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps, with the rank of lieut. colonels in the army, so long only as they continue to hold these appointments, viz. sir James G. Baird, late lieut. col. of the 28th dragoons; lieut. col.

George

George Robert Ainslie, of the late Birmingham fencibles; Rob. Douglas, esq. late lieutenant-col. of the 58th foot; Josiah Cottin, esq. late lieutenant-col. of the 10th light dragoons; Joseph Hardy, esq. late of the 93d foot; Francis Gore, esq. late major of 17th light dragoons; lieutenant-col. Manley Power, on half-pay of the 20th foot; sir Nathaniel Duckenfield, bart. late lieutenant-col. of the Windsor foresters; colonel Ronald Craufurd Ferguson, on half-pay of the 98th foot; George Lyon, esq. late lieutenant-col. of the 11th light dragoons; and Francis Mannouch, esq. late lieutenant-col. of the 68th foot.

4th. Henrietta-Laura, baroness of Bath (wife of lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney, bart.) created countess of Bath, co. Somerset, with the dignity of earl of Bath, to her lawful male issue.

13th. Major Henry Eustace, of the late Irish engineers, to be lieutenant-col. in the army. Captain John Thomas Eyre, on the staff of the army dépôt, to be major in the army.

To be inspecting field-officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps, with the temporary rank of lieutenant-colonels in the army, so long only as they continue to hold these appointments, viz. Peppard Knight, esq. late major of the 4th foot; J. P. Addenbroke, esq. late major of the 54th foot; H. P. Pulleine, esq. late major of the 21st light dragoons; H. Master, esq. late major of the 52d foot; and Wm. Douglas, esq. late lieutenant-col. of the 85th foot. To be deputy-commissary-general to the forces serving in Ireland: assistant-deputy-commissary-general William Finny.

20th. Hon. and rev. Charles Lindsay, D. D. to be bishop of Kil-

laloe and Kilfenora, alias Tanabor, *vice* Knox, translated to the see of Derry.

John Silvester, esq. common serjeant of the city of London, elected recorder thereof, *vice* Rose, deceased; Newman Knowlys, esq. elected common serjeant, *vice* Silvester, resigned; and William Lewis Newman, esq. elected solicitor of the city of London, *vice* Bushnan, resigned.

Col. John Ramsay, of the chasseurs Britanniques, to be a brigadier-general in the island of Malta only. Major James Campbell, of the 91st foot, to be lieutenant-col. in the army. Captain Henry Jas. Shawe, of the 61st foot, and captain Francis Forrester, of the 15th light dragoons, to be majors in the army. Captain Daniel Lyman, of the 2d royal garrison battalion, to be major in the army in the island of Scilly only.

To be inspecting field-officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps, with the temporary rank of lieutenant-colonels in the army, so long only as they continue to hold these appointments, viz. John Enys, esq. late lieutenant-col. of the 29th foot; lieutenant-col. Daniel Seddon, on half-pay of the late 22d light dragoons, and F. Dodd, esq. late major of the Inverness fencibles.

26th. Henry-Charles duke of Beaufort, sworn lord-lieutenant of the counties of Monmouth and Brecon, *vice* the late duke, deceased.

27th. John Halkett, esq. appointed captain-general, and governor in chief of the island of Tobago.

29th. Right hon. lord viscount Castlereagh, the duke of Portland, lord Hawkesbury, lord Hobart, Charles Yorke, Henry Addington, esqrs. lord



lord Glenbervie, Thomas Wallace, Edward Golding, and Thomas Maitland, esqrs. appointed his majesty's commissioners for the affairs of India.

Rev. J. Brereton, M. A. appointed a prebendary of Salisbury cathedral, *vice* Burgess, now bishop of Bristol.

Nov. 1st. William Downs, chief justice of the court of king's-bench, in Ireland, appointed and sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council there.

3d. Lieut. col. Richard Thomas Nelson, on half-pay of the late Essex fencibles, to be col. in the army.

His majesty has been pleased to appoint the following officers of the East India Company's forces, to take rank by brevet, in his majesty's army in India only, viz. to be major-generals, col. Richard Lucas, and col. Kenneth Mackenzie; to be lieut. colonels, majors John Chas. Wittet, John Bell, and John Arthur Tanner; to be majors, captains James Robertson and John Griffith.

To be inspecting field-officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps, with the temporary rank of lieut. cols. in the army, col. John Gordon Cumming, of the late Inverness fencibles, and J. Blakeney, esq. late major of the 23d foot.

7th. Right hon. St. George Daly, one of the barons of the court of exchequer in Ireland, appointed one of the justices of the court of king's-bench, *vice*, the right hon. Wm. Downes, appointed chief justice of the same court. James M'Clelland, esq. solicitor-general in Ireland, to be one of the barons of the court of exchequer there, *vice* Daly. William Conyngham Plunkett, esq. one of his majesty's

council at law, to be solicitor-general in Ireland, *vice* M'Clelland.

9th. Right hon. Thomas lord Pelham, sworn chancellor of the duchy and county-palatine of Lancaster, *vice* earl of Liverpool, resigned.

Capt. William Samuel Currey, of the 86th foot, to be deputy quartermaster-general to the forces serving in both the Canadas, with the rank of major in the army.

12th. Hon. Henry Pierrepont, appointed his majesty's envoy extraordinary at the court of Stockholm.

Rev. Walter King, D. D. to be a prebendary of Canterbury, *vice* Busby, resigned.

16th. Right hon. Robert Banks Jenkinson (commonly called lord Hawkesbury), summoned to the house of peers, by the style and title of baron Hawkesbury, of Hawkesbury, co. Gloucester.

17th. Lieut. gen. his royal highness Adolphus Frederick duke of Cambridge, K. G. to be colonel in chief of the king's German legion. Major Wm. Kent, of the 10th foot, to be lieut. col. in the army. Major Lachlan M'Quarrie, of the 86th foot, to be deputy adjutant-general to the forces lately serving in Egypt, with the rank of lieut. col. in the army. Lieut. col. Henry Cuyler, on half-pay of the 27th foot, to be an inspecting field-officer of yeomanry and volunteer corps, *vice* Dodd, resigned.

19th. Right hon. Henry Addington, George Thynne, esq. (commonly called lord George Thynne), Nathaniel Bond, William Brodrick, and Edward Golding, esqrs. appointed commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's exchequer.

Rev. Henry J. Todd, appointed  
by



by the archbishop of Canterbury, keeper of the archiepiscopal records at Lambeth palace, *vice* Topham, deceased.

Major-gen. John Stuart, permitted to receive and wear the insignia of the Ottoman imperial order of the crescent, conferred upon him by the grand signior.

22d. James Mackintosh, esq. appointed recorder of Bombay, *vice* sir William Syer, deceased.

23d. Right hon. Thomas Maitland, and right hon. Nathaniel Bond, sworn of the privy council.

26th. Brook Watson, of East Sheen, co. Surry, esq. commissary-general to his majesty's forces in Great Britain, created a baronet of the united kingdom, with remainder, in default of issue male, to William Kay, esq. deputy commissary-general of the said forces, great nephew of the said Brook Watson, esq. and to Brook Kay, esq. an officer in the naval service of the East-India company, and to their respective lawful male issue.

William Henry Jervis, esq. capt. in the royal navy, appointed treasurer and receiver-general of Greenwich hospital, in the room of admiral Payne, deceased.

29th. To be inspecting field-officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps, with the rank of lieutenant-col. in the army, while they hold such appointment: col. Walter Ker, on half-pay of the late British fencibles; lieutenant-col. Boyle Travers, on half-pay of the late 112th foot; lieutenant-col. George Jackson, on half-pay of the late Argyleshire fencibles; lieutenant-col. Thomas Molyneux, on half-pay of the late 104th foot; lieutenant-col. Francis Delaval, on half-pay of the independents; lieutenant-col.

sir Montague Burgoyne, bart. on half-pay of the 21st dragoons; Thomas R. Grey, esq. late lieutenant-col. of the 20th foot; Robert Bell, esq. late lieutenant-col. of the 86th foot; Henry Chaytor, esq. late lieutenant-col. of the 1st foot-guards; Frederick Keppel, esq. late lieutenant-col. of the 49th foot; sir Edward Barnes, knight, late lieutenant-col. of the 83d foot; Andrew Wight, esq. late major of the 86th foot; John Murray, esq.; William Gooch, esq. late lieutenant-col. of the 5th foot; col. George Warde, of the late horse grenadier guards, and C. Watson, esq. late lieutenant-col. of the third dragoons.

Dec. 6th. Thomas Tyrwhit, esq. M. P. for the borough of Portarlington, appointed by the prince of Wales lord warden of the stannaries, and admiral of the duchy ports and harbours, in the counties of Cornwall and Devon, *vice* admiral Payne, deceased.

John Mackmahon, esq. M. P. for the borough of Aldborough, appointed secretary and keeper of his royal highness the prince of Wales's privy seal and council seal, and auditor of the duchy of Cornwall, *vice* Tyrwhitt.

8th. To be inspecting field-officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps: lieutenant-col. Matthew Sharpe, from half-pay of the late 28th dragoons, and lieutenant-col. William Hutchinson, on half-pay of the late independent companies, with the rank while they hold such appointments of lieutenant-col. in the army.

10th. Lewis Booth, esq. late lieutenant-col. of the 87th foot, to be an inspecting field-officer of yeomanry and volunteer corps, with the temporary rank of lieutenant-col. in the army.

17th. John

17th. John Lane, esq. of Upper Eaton-street, Grosvenor-place, to be receiver-general of the duty of one shilling in the pound on salaries, fees, and wages of any offices and employments payable by the crown in North Britain, *vice* the earl of Leven and Melville, resigned.

20th. John Philip Morier, esq. appointed consul-general in Albania, the Morea, and the adjacent territories of the Ottoman empire.

—Charles Lock, esq. to be consul-general in the country of Egypt.

21st. James M'Intosh, esq. to the honour of knighthood.

22d. Charles Cameron, esq. appointed captain-general and governor in chief in and over his majesty's Bahama islands in America.

24th. Major William Munday Harvey, of the 1st West India regiment, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army.

To be inspecting field-officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps: col. G. Bromhead, on half-pay of the late Lochabar fencibles; col. Wm. Murray, on half-pay of the late 24th light dragoons; lieutenant. col. John Lee, on half pay of the late 112th foot; lieutenant. col. James Orde, on half-pay of the 4th foot; and Gordon Skelly, esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the Royals, with temporary rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army.

27th. Capt. Ernest Misset, of the Queen's German regiment, to be major in the army.—Capt. William Marlay, of the staff corps, to be a permanent assistant in the quartermaster-general's department (with the rank of major in the army), *vice* Lowe, appointed to the command of a corps.

H. Bisshoppe, esq. late major in the 17th light dragoons, to be inspecting field-officer of yeomanry and volunteer corps, with temporary rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army.

Right honourable Percy lord viscount Strangford, appointed secretary of legation to the court of Lisbon.

Rev. doctor Nelson, brother of lord Nelson, to be vice dean of Canterbury, *vice* Walesby, who goes out by rotation.

Lord Frederick Campbell, appointed treasurer of the society of the Middle Temple, *vice* Hatsell, resigned.

Mr. George Vincent, (second son of the dean of Westminster), appointed, by his father, chapter-clerk of that cathedral, *vice* Cope, deceased.

#### DEATHS in the Year 1803.

Jan. 1st. At his house in Bath, Philip Champion Crespigny, esq. formerly king's proctor, and M. P. for Sudbury. He was a man of extensive knowledge, possessed a taste for literature, and wrote two numbers in the periodical paper intitled "The World," which was conducted by Mr. Moore, author of "The Gamester," though, at that time, Mr. C. must have been very young; a proof that his taste and talents were, however, mature, as "The World" was enriched by contributions from the most distinguished wits of that period. He was four times married, and has left several children by his different marriages; was very much the man of fashion in his person and demeanour;

full



full of anecdote, and with a turn for satirical humour that rendered him a very amusing companion.

In Salter's Hall-court, Cannon-street, aged 76, Gilbert Thompson, M. D. a quaker physician of great integrity; mild and unassuming; and possessed of no inconsiderable learning and professional skill. He was the friend of the late doctor John Fothergill, whose life he published; and for several years was secretary of the Medical Society, (long since dissolved), to which the public are indebted for that excellent work, intituled, "Medical Observations and Enquiries." A short time before his death, Dr. T. published, in 8vo. "Select Translations from Homer and Horace, with original Poems."

At Paris, the hon. Mrs. Cecil, mother of the marquis of Exeter. She was a foreign lady, Charlotte Gonier, married to the hon. Mr. C. in 1753.

4th. At Raphoe, in Ireland, Mrs. Hawkins, lady of the bishop of Raphoe.

5th. At Thoulouse, aged 106, Margaret le Clerque, formerly a nun of the convent of St. Clare, in that city. She had been a perfect beauty in her youth. Her hair continued to her death of the finest jet black, and scarcely a wrinkle deformed her countenance; but she had been confined to her bed many years, and, for the last two, was totally deaf. Her father, Peter L. C. was footman to Louis XIV. who used to take a great deal of notice of her when she was a child, and oftentimes dandled her on his knees. When she was twelve years old, her father, who was a native of Castres, took her with him to Toulouse, and

placed her as a pensioner in the convent, in which she afterwards, at the age of twenty, took the veil.

8th. At his seat at Lee, in the parish of Ickham, near Canterbury, Kent, aged 59, after a lingering illness, of a dropsy of the chest, Thomas Barrett, esq. He was great-grandson of sir Paul Barret, of Lee, serjeant-at-law, recorder of Canterbury, and M. P. for New Romney, knighted by Charles II. at Whitehall, Aug. 7, 1683. His father, Thomas Barrett, esq. who died about 1757, was a well-known collector, and possessed many valuable pictures and curiosities, to which his son made material additions. In 1773, on the death of Sir Thomas Hales, Mr. Barrett, was elected M. P. for Dover, after one of the most violent contests ever known, with the present Mr. Trevanion. At the general election, the next year, his love of quiet induced him to decline again entering the lists. About 1783, he began to alter and new-model his house at Lee in the gothic style, under the direction of Mr. James Wyatt; and it will scarcely be deemed too much to say, that it has been made the most beautiful specimen of the kind existing. So, at least, lord Orford thought; and he has expressed his admiration of it in a note to the later editions of the "Anecdotes of Painting." A short character of it may also be seen in the third vol. of Hasted's Kent; which passage, indeed, was written by lord Orford himself; and, had it not been deemed necessary a little to vary and curtail it, to adapt it to the historian's plan, would have appeared still more advantageously. Mr. Barret



was perfectly skilled in the arts, and warmly attached to them; his memory was powerful; and his knowledge of history, memoirs, and topography, extensive and exact. He loved books, and made numerous and splendid additions to his father's valuable library. In truth, the design, the decorations, and the contents, of the library at Lee, as they are peculiar, are, in many respects, unrivalled. The cabinets too, have, amongst their curious contents, the exquisite original miniature, by Holbein, of Anne of Cleves, to which the engraved print, among Houbraken's heads, does much injustice. The grounds at Lee, which he delighted in adorning, possess a character congenial to the building. His polished manners, social habits, integrity, charity, and many amiable virtues, will long be remembered, with regret, by his friends, and the neighbourhood in which he resided. He died unmarried, and has left his estates to his great nephew and heir, Thomas Barret Brydges, a minor, at Harrow-school, eldest son of his niece, by Samuel Egerton Bridges, of Denton, esq. on condition of taking his name.

12th. At Edinburgh, lady R. Bruce, daughter of the late William, earl of Kilcardine, and aunt to the present earl of Elgin.

14th. At Paris, of a decline, the hon. Temple Luttrell, next brother to the earl of Carhampton. By his death, without issue, the estate of Swallowfield, in the island of Jamaica, comes to his brother, the hon. John Olmuis, one of the commissioners of the revenue of excise.

16th. Rev. Henry Heathcote, youngest son of the late sir William H. of Hursley, bart. and bro-

ther to the countess-dowager of Macclesfield, whose lord presented him to the rectory of Watton, near Liverpool, where he died. He was of Exeter college, Oxford, M. A. 1759; married, and had several children.

17th. At her daughter's house, in Upper Brook-street, Grosvenor-square, (the hon. Mrs. Damer,) the countess-dowager of Aylesbury.

20th. At her house, in Albemarle-street, aged 97, Mrs. Levy, a rich Jewess: she formerly gave fashionable parties; but, within the last seven years, she became a valetudinarian, and, during the latter part of her life, lived in such a recluse manner, that even the neighbours did not know her. Her retinue, however, was still retained, and the same equipage kept up as in her days of splendor. The carriage appeared every day regularly at the door, though it was seldom used. The last time she appeared in public was at Bath; where her eccentric appearance and behaviour were the topic of conversation daily in the pump-room, and other places. Though she was usually in town during the fashionable season, no one was admitted to see her; and the summer was always passed at her villa at Richmond, in Surry. Mrs. Levy died immensely rich: in her banker's hands, property was vested to the amount of 125,000*l*. No will has yet been found, nor is it known whether she has any relation to inherit her property. The funeral took place on the afternoon of the 21st, agreeably to the ritual of the Hebrew church, in the Jewish burying-ground, at Mile End.

At Nice, of a decline, the hon. Mrs.

Mrs. Charles Ellis, only daughter of the late lord Hervey, whose premature death on board the *Zealous*, which he commanded in the last war, was so deeply deplored by his family. She fell a victim to that fatal disorder at the early age of 22 years and five months, and supported her acute and protracted sufferings with a serenity and resignation never to be forgotten. Few events of this nature have produced a more general sensation: besides those near and intimate connexions whom her death leaves inconsolable, a very numerous acquaintance sincerely share the sorrow which it inflicts, and a still more extensive circle feel the loss which society thereby sustains, and are alive to the awful lesson which it imparts. Whether we contemplate her extreme youth, her beauty, her accomplishments, her unaffected and amiable manners, the splendid sphere in which she moved, the bright and spotless example which she afforded, or the genuine and unclouded happiness which she enjoyed, we must confess, that we do not recollect to have heard of an occurrence in private life, more calculated to excite pity and reflection. Mrs. Ellis has left three children, two sons and a daughter; the eldest son will inherit, through her, the barony of Howard of Walden, on the death of her grandfather, the earl of Bristol.

24th. At Edinburgh, lady Elizabeth Wemyss, widow of the hon. James W. of Wemyss, and sister of the late earl of Sutherland.

25th. Suddenly, at Bristol, H. W. J. Hawley, esq. first lieutenant of the king's dragoon-guards.

27th. In a fit of insanity, at the Portland coffee-house, Wm. Col-

quhouni, of Brompton-hall, Staines, esq. He had come to that house, on the preceding evening, to sleep, and retired to bed about twelve. On this day, at noon, on the door being broken open, he was found on the bed with his throat cut in a most shocking manner; his arm partly severed in two places, and a deep wound inflicted on his belly, through which his intestines appeared. He was speechless and senseless, but was not quite dead. Mr. Johnson, a surgeon, of Queen Anne-street, was immediately called in; and washed his throat in water, having previously called in the assistance of two other surgeons, who, the moment they saw the deceased, pronounced him past recovery. He expired in a few minutes. He had come from his country seat on Monday last. At the foot of the bed were laying two razors, covered with blood. He had been married only about seven months. His general character was that of a mild, humane, good-natured man, of the strictest honour, and uncommonly fine feelings.

28th. At Paris, mademoiselle Clara-Joseph-Hyppolita-Lewis-De-latitude Clairon. She fell out of her bed, in which she lay sick, and the fall caused her death. She was in her 81st year; and though, for a long time, in an habitual state of weakness and pain, she preserved, in her last moments, a great sprightliness and sound understanding. It is only a few months ago, that she recited a scene of Phædra before Mr. Kemble, the principal tragic actor in England, who admired the expression, force, and dignity with which this great actress recited, at so advanced an age, the finest verses of



of Racine. She was buried in the church of the parish (St. Thomas d'Aquinas) in which she died.

*Feb.* 3d. At Chester, aged 84, Mrs. Conway Hope, widow of George Hope, esq. of Hope, and the only remaining daughter of the late sir Thomas Longueville, bart.

At Offenbach, in his 68th year, the prince of Ysenbourg, he is succeeded by his son, prince Charles-Frederick-Louis Maurice, of Ysenbourg, commander of the order of Malta.

4th. At Paris, the lady of sir Alexander Grant, bart. of Malshanger, Hants.

5th. Lieut. col. Frederick Manners, of the 96th foot, who highly distinguished himself in the West Indies and in Holland. A favourite of superior officers, a friend of contemporaries, beloved and obeyed by his soldiers, not only his family, but his country has in his death suffered a great loss.

In his 66th year, after a lingering illness, which he supported with patient fortitude and pious resignation, Mr. John Thorsby, many years clerk of St. Martin's, Leicester, and a well-known writer. He was a man of strong natural genius, and, during the vicissitudes of a life remarkably chequered, rendered himself conspicuous as a draughtsman and topographer. He attempted many expedients for the maintenance of a numerous family, few of which answered his purpose; and his last days would have been shaded with penury and disappointment, but for the assistance of those friends who knew his worth, and justly appreciated him as a man of honesty, integrity, and merit. His publications were, 1st. "The Memoirs of the Town and County of Leicester,

1777," 6 vols. 12mo. 2d. "Select Views in Leicestershire, from original drawings, 1789, 4to. 3d. "Supplementary volume to the Leicestershire Views, containing a series of excursions in the year 1790, to the villages and places of note in the county, 1790," 4to. 4th. "The History and Antiquities of the ancient Town of Leicester, 1791," 4to. 5th. "Letters on the Roman Cloaca at Leicester, 1795," 8vo. 6th. "Thoughts on the Provincial Corps raised, and now raising in support of the British Constitution at this awful Period, 1795," 8vo. 7th. "Thoroton's History of Nottinghamshire, republished with picturesque and select views of seats of the nobility and gentry, towns, villages, churches, and ruins, 1797," three vols. 4to.

6th. The hon. Mrs. Henniker, widow of major H. esq. second son of the late lord H.

7th. Aged 14, William Hill, of Lincoln, youngest son of the late Mr. Wm. H. innholder. This unfortunate boy, on the 29th of January, was in a close by the water side, in company with another nearly the same age, and had a fowling piece with them, which, accidentally going off, wounded the former in the thigh, and ultimately occasioned his death.

9th. At Paris, M. de St. Lambert; and, on the 10th, M. de la Harpe. Both had been members of the French academy, and were also members of the second class of the national institute. The latter was 85 years of age, and author of "an ancient and modern Course of Literature." Previous to his decease, he declared he had a firm belief in the truth of the christian religion; and solemnly retracted whatever



might have appeared in his writings against its precepts and constitution. His obsequies were celebrated on the 14th, in the Metropolitan church of Notre Dame. A deputation of the institute went to the house where the body lay, and attended it to the burying ground of Vaugirard, where it was deposited. Previous to the interment, Mr. Fontanes, the friend and colleague of la Harpe, pronounced a manly and sympathetic oration\*.

At Edinburgh, Miss Jean Alexander, daughter of the late Wm. A. lord provost and M. P. of that city.

10th. In Grosvenor-place, Mrs. Long, sister to the late, and aunt to the present, sir James Tilney Long, bart.

On the island of Bermuda, the lady of vice-admiral sir Andrew Mitchell, K. B.

11th. In Ireland, the hon. Jas. Tenson, second son of the late lord Reversdale.

In his 26th year, capt. Henry West, of the royal navy. His death was occasioned by a very severe accident, a few days before, while fencing with his fencing-master, when, the latter making a strong lunge, the foil broke through the mask, and breaking also, the splintered piece entered his mouth, and penetrated his throat, lacerating his neck in a shocking manner.

12th. At his lordship's palace, in the arms of its mother, in the chapel, shortly after the ceremony of baptism, the infant daughter of Mr. Moore, eldest son of the archbishop of Canterbury.

At Bath, the hon. Mrs. Bagwell, eldest daughter of the late lord Graves.

At Munich, aged three years,

prince Maximilian, of Bavaria, third son of the elector.

One Felsted, drinking at the Generous Briton, in Newark, Nottinghamshire, and trying how much ale he could guzzle down in a short time, took such a quantity, as to occasion immediate suffocation and death.

Interred, in the family vault at Yardley, co. Herts, the remains of Mrs. Elizabeth Cheaney, of Buntingford, aged 91, relict of Butler C. esq. of Littlecourt, in the same county, and daughter of sir Pynsent Charnock, bart. of Holcot, co. Bedford.

21st. At Paris, in her 90th year, mademoiselle Dumesnil, a celebrated actress.

At Gringley, near Gainsborough, one of the children of Mr. Williamson; on the 23d another; and, on the 24th, by grief, his wife, who was in a state of pregnancy, they were all buried in one coffin.

23d. At Richmond, Surry, Edward Constable, esq. of Burton Constable, in Holderness, in the east riding of Yorkshire. He was generally styled the lord of Holderness, being possessed of the richest part of that fine grazing district, situated on the Humber, to the extent of 16,000l. per annum. Mr. C. was highly accomplished; had lived in the best societies both at home and abroad; and annually expended 2000l. in benevolences of the most disinterested and liberal kind. Dying without issue, he is succeeded by his next brother, Francis Sheldon, esq. who, with this fine estate, becomes possessed also of one of the best furnished houses and libraries in England, as heir-looms appertaining thereto.

26th. The

\* *Vide* Characters.

26th. The hon. Edward Griffin Kinnaird, second son of lord K.

At York, the widow of the rev. archdeacon Egerton; niece of the late sir Wm. Lowther, bart.

At Rothley, co. Leicester, in his 42d year, Arthur Carter, esq. lieutenant-colonel of the 20th light-dragoons, and brigadier-general in the West Indies. He was grandson of the late right hon. sir Thomas C. secretary of state, [and to the hon. sir Arthur Chayne, nephew to gen. Johnson. He had been 29 years in his majesty's service, and was highly esteemed by his regiment and all who knew him.

After a long and painful illness, aged 28, at the house of sir W. Pultney, bart. at Weymouth, the wife of John M. Wood, esq. daughter of the rev. Edward Done, of Shrewsbury, and niece to lord Kinnaird, and sir W. Pultney.

*March 2d.* At her house in St. Peter's-street, Canterbury, aged 70, Mrs. Celestina Collins, widow. Although possessing an income of 70l. per annum, her habits of life were singularly disgusting, and her disposition and peculiarities so eccentric, that she may be truly said to have verified the old adage, 'de gustibus nil disputandum.' During many years, her constant companions were from 16 to 23 fowls, whose ordure defiled as well her bed, and every article of her furniture, as the plate out of which she ate. A favourite cock, whose age might be calculated, from his spurs being three inches long, and an equally favoured rat, were for a length of time constant attendants at her table, each partaking of the fragments which even her penury shared with them; till one day, the rat, not preserving due decorum towards its rival, met

his death from the hands of his mistress. Her predeliction for vermin prevailed so much, that, at her death, a nest of mice was found in her bed. Among the bequests of her will are, 5l. to the minister of the parish for a funeral sermon, 50l. to the Kent and Canterbury hospitals, and the same sum to the parish of St. Peter, and one guinea to each of the persons who should carry her to the grave; besides many other legacies, generally to persons in no degree related to her.

3d. At Cortachy, in Forfarshire, Scotland, David Ogilvie, earl of Airley. He is succeeded by his eldest son, David lord Ogilvie.

4th. Lieutenant-general Francis D'Oyley, colonel of the 15th foot. He was at the levee on the 2d; went in perfect health, accompanied by his lady, on the evening of the 3d, to Mrs. Heberden's concert in Pall-Mall; returned home to his house, in Half-moon-street, Piccadilly, this morning, and after retired to bed, fell into a swoon, and died.

In Bryanstone-street, Portman-square, after a short illness, aged 79, the widow of capt. John Day, sister to the late sir Matthew Featherstone.

At his lordship's house, in Stratton-street, the infant son of lord Pelham.

At Harrow-school, the hon. Frederick Nugent, second son of the earl of Westmeath.

6th. In Gloucester-place, Portman-square, sir James Wallace, knight. He was made a post-captain, Jan. 10th, 1771; a rear-admiral, April 12th, 1794; a vice-admiral, Jan. 1, 1795; and admiral of the blue, Jan. 1, 1801; and, a few years ago, was admiral and governor of Newfoundland.



In Lincoln's inn fields, the widow of Samuel Ruffey, esq. sister of the dowager lady Dukenfield.

8th. At her house, in Merchant-street, Edinburgh, lady Gibsone, relict of the late sir John G. bart. of Pentland, and sister to Charles Watson, esq. of Slaughton.

At his town-house, in Cleveland-row, about half past 3 o'clock in the morning, after a short illness from a cold, which brought on the complaints accompanying the influenza, Francis duke of Bridgewater, marquis of Brackley, and baron of Ellesmere, of Worsley, in Lancashire, and Ashridge Bucks. He was born May 25th, 1726, and succeeded the late duke, John, his brother, in 1748, and remained unmarried. Of those illustrious characters who have done honour to the British peerage, the duke of Bridgewater deserves to be placed in the first rank. That time and fortune which too many others have devoted to purposes, if not injurious to society, at least useless, his grace spent in pursuits that entitle him to be called the benefactor of his country. By his active spirit, and his unshaken perseverance, he amassed immense wealth. But the public grew rich with him; and his labours were not more profitable to himself than they were to his country. His return to the income tax was 110,000*l.* a year; the greatest part acquired by his own exertions, and derived from circumstances of the highest benefit to the nation. He was the third duke of Bridgewater, and, dying without issue, the dukedom becomes extinct; but the earldom of Bridgewater devolves to lieut. gen. W. J. Egerton, of Grosvenor-square, M. P. for Brackley, co. Northampton. The late duke was the fifth son of

Scroop, first duke of that name, by lady Rachel Russell. His grace was not remarkable for any active part in politics, though he sometimes appeared in the house of lords on party questions. He generally followed the politics of his relation, the marquis of Stafford; and was a noble patron of many great national institutions. To the loyalty-loan he subscribed 100,000*l.* all in ready money, at one time. He has died amazingly rich, worth large sums of ready money. By his will he has left most of his houses, his plate, his pictures, valued at 150,000*l.* and his estate, lately purchased, at Woolmers, in Hertfordshire, to earl Gower, together with his canal property in Lancashire, which brings in from 50 to 80,000*l.* per annum.—All this property is entailed on earl Gower's second son, lord Francis Levison Gower; the eldest son will inherit the marquis of Stafford's estates. To general Egerton, now earl Bridgewater, he bequeaths the estate of Ashridge, in Hertfordshire, and other estates in Bucks, Salop, and Yorkshire, to the amount of 30,000*l.* per annum. About 600,000*l.* in the funds he has left chiefly to gen. Egerton, and partly among the countess of Carlisle, lady Anne Vernon, and lady Louisa Macdonald, the chief baron's lady; all of whom were his relations.—Between 5 and 6 o'clock in the morning of the 16th, his remains were removed for interment to the family vault at Little Gaddesden, in Hertfordshire. The funeral was conducted in the plainest manner, according to his grace's request.—The procession moved from Cleveland-row, in the following order: a hearse and feathers, with six horses; his grace's carriage, with



six horses; three mourning coaches, with six horses to each; ten outriders, and the usual retinue of mutes and other attendants.

9th. In her 87th year, Mrs. Anna Maria Shipley, daughter of the hon. George Mordaunt, and widow of the bishop of St. Asaph.

10th. In Cavendish-square, after many years' illness, Mrs. Hungerford, relict of George Walker, esq. She was sister and co-heiress of Lumley Keale Hungerford, esq. of Studley-house, Wilts, and granddaughter of sir George Hungerford.

11th. At his father's house, in Berkeley-square, aged 10 years and 4 months, Master John Shee, third son of sir George Shee, bart.

At Richmond, Surry, in her 71st year, the hon. Juliana Howe, sister to Viscount Howe.

In his 78th year, in the literal as well as titular sense of the words, the right hon. gen. Warde, of inviolable disinterested integrity, public and private, col. of the 4th regiment of dragoon guards, whose benefactions were scarcely less secret than extensive.

14th. At Hamburg, in his 79th year, Frederick Gotlieb Klopstock, counsellor of the Danish embassy at Hamburg, and a celebrated German poet. He was born at Quidlingburg, in 1727. His first publication, "Two Odes," appeared at Zurich in 1749; his "Messiah," at Halle, in 1751; his "Odes and Elegies," (which have since gone through more than 30 editions) at Darmstadt, in 1771. He was likewise author of the "Death of Adam," "Solomon," and "David," tragedies, and of other poetical works; the last of which, if we mistake not in point of date, was "The Death of Hermann," published

at Hamburg in 1787. His funeral was celebrated on the 22d with extraordinary pomp. At ten o'clock in the morning, a procession of 76 coaches, composed of the senate, the diplomatic body, the clergy, the professors and members of the two gymnasiums, the men of letters, and a number of merchants, repaired to the house of the deceased. The body was drawn by 4 horses, escorted by a guard of honour on horse and foot. After having traversed the principal streets of Hamburg, the procession moved out by the gate of Altona, and was received, in the entrance into that city, by the first president, Stegman, accompanied by the officers of government, the professors, the clergy of Altona, and the citizens of all classes. Three young women, dressed in white, and carrying crowns and baskets of flowers, preceded the retinue, which, being increased by 50 carriages, arrived at the burying-ground of the village of Ottenten, the place of interment.—All the guards of the two cities paid military honours, and the ships in the harbour hoisted the mourning-flag. The procession having arrived at the temple, the poem of the Messiah was placed on the coffin: at this instant a young man stepped out of the crowd, and placed a crown of laurel on the book, which was open, and the young women of Altona fixed theirs likewise on the coffin. At the same moment a sublime strain of solemn music was sent up by more than a hundred performers.—During a moment's silence, an individual of the retinue advanced towards the coffin, took up the poem of the Messiah, and read the twelfth canto; after which, the coffin was deposited in the grave of his first wife,

wife, who had been buried there 30 years before.

At Lisbon, Miss Macdonald, eldest daughter of the lord chief baron of the exchequer.

20th. In his 82d year, the hon. James Everard Arundel, second son of Henry, sixth baron Arundel of Wardour, by his first wife, Elizabeth Eleanor, daughter and heir of baron Everard, of the principality of Liege, one of the barons of the empire. He married, 1751, Anne, daughter and heir of John Windham, esq. of Ashcombe, Wilts, by whom he had James Everard, who died young, and was buried in Salisbury cathedral; James Everard, born 1763; Thomas Raymond, born 1765; Eleanor Anne, born in 1752; Mary Windham, born 1757; and Catherine Elizabeth, born 1759—married 1792, to George Ryves, esq. captain of his majesty's ship *Agincourt*, and eldest son of the late G. R. esq. of Ranston, Dorset; by whom she has several children.

23d. At Little Wilbraham, in Caernarvonshire, Mrs. Hobbs, who had lived in three centuries; having been born in 1699, and had enjoyed her health and intellects till within a few hours of her death.

28th. At her ladyship's seat, at Bounds, in her 56th year, Mary countess of Darnley, relict of John earl of Darnley. Her ladyship was daughter and heiress of John Stoyte, esq. of Street, co. Westmeath, Ireland; (by Mary Howard, sister of Ralph viscount Wicklow,) and married, in 1766, John earl Darnley, by whom she had seven children, the eldest of whom, John, is the present earl Darnley in Ireland, and baron Clifton in England; and mar-

ried, 1791, Miss Brownlow, daughter of the late right hon. Wm. B. of Lurgan, in Ireland. Her remains were interred at Southborough chapel, near Tunbridge-wells. A number of poor children, educated and cloathed at her expence, attended the funeral in mourning.

At Munich, lady Wallace, sister to the duchess of Gordon, and, in former times, well known in the literary world and the circles of fashion.

30th. At Broome-house, in Barham, aged about 70, Margaret, the lady of sir Henry Oxendon, bart. daughter and co-heiress of sir George Chudleigh, of Devonshire. She married sir Henry in 1755, and had by him one son, Henry, born 1756.

31st. Miss Siddons, daughter of the celebrated Mrs. Siddons.

*April 2d.* In Scotland, sir James Montgomery, late chief baron of Scotland, and uncle to the unfortunate col. M. who was killed in a duel with capt. Macnamara on the 6th.

At Burton Pynsent, co. Somerset, the right hon. Hester Grenville, baroness of Chatham, in her own right, and countess dowager of Chatham. Her ladyship was the only daughter of Richard Grenville, of Wotton, by Hester Temple, viscountess Cobham, to which title she succeeded on the death of her brother, and was created countess Temple 1749.—Hester Grenville, baroness of Chatham, was the only daughter by this marriage, and was created a peeress Oct. 5, 1761, having married, Nov. 6, 1754, William Pitt, the illustrious earl of Chatham, by whom she left issue, the present earl; and the right hon. William Pitt.

At



At Coltness-house, Edinburgh, Miss E. Steward, daughter of sir J. S. bart. of Goodfrees.

5th. At her house, in Wimpole-street, aged 86, lady Frances Williams Wynn, relict of sir Watkin Williams W. so famed for his hospitality and munificence, throughout Wales, 60 years ago.—She preserved, by her conciliating manners, the high regard of his numerous friends during her son's long minority; and her memory was clear, and strength of mind continued to the last.

At Edinburgh, the wife of major-general Ilay Ferrier, niece of the late lord justice Clerk.

6th. At his house, at Sunning, near Reading, Berks, aged about seventy, admiral sir Thomas Rich, bart.

In Piccadilly, in his 74th year, the right hon. sir William Hamilton, K. B. &c. &c. He died at the house of his lady, bought for him, on an interruption of his own finances, with some jewels, a present to her by a foreign princess, who, in a letter to our own sovereign, praises lady Hamilton, in full gratitude of heart, as "her best friend and preserver! to whom she was indebted, certainly, for life, and probably for the crown." Sir William was a man of most extraordinary endowments, and his memory will be dear to the literary world, by the indefatigable exertions which he made through life, to add to our stock of knowledge and of models in the fine arts. His whole life, indeed, was devoted to studies connected with the arts, and he made every interest contribute to the passion of his soul. He was foster-brother of his present majesty, which laid the foundation of that gracious attachment and friendship with which he was ho-

noured by the king, through the whole of his public service. By that immediate protection, he procured the favourite appointment of minister at the court of Naples, which he enjoyed, with the uninterrupted approbation of the two courts, for 36 years, and which he would not exchange for more lucrative situations. The zealous and successful efforts he made, during all this time, in bringing to light the buried treasures of antiquity, and in promoting a just and correct taste in the arts, by making known, in his works, the specimens of the pure and chaste style of the classic æra that he had discovered, need not be here enumerated. He was equally active and successful in the duties of his appointment, and maintained the harmony of the two courts at a period when it required all his influence and address to counteract the designs of those who had an interest in the breach of that amity that so happily subsisted. The English nobility and gentry, who travelled into Italy, speak with the warmest acknowledgments of the splendid hospitality with which he represented his sovereign. About twelve years ago, he married the present lady Hamilton. He had a pension of 1200*l.* a year, on the Irish establishment, conferred on him for his long diplomatic services, which ceases with his existence. He has made his nephew, the hon. Charles Greville (deputy lord chamberlain) his sole heir. His estates near Swansea, which he got by a former wife, amount to 5000*l.* per annum; these he has left charged with 700*l.* per annum, as an annuity to the present lady Hamilton, during her life. His remains were interred at Milford-haven, in Pembrokeshire. His "Observations on Mount Ves-



suvius, Mount Etna, and other Volcanoes, in a series of Letters to the Royal Society," were re-published with notes, in 1772, 8vo.

7th. At Edinburgh, in his 77th year, Patrick Crichton, earl of Dumfries, elected, 1786, one of the sixteen peers of Scotland. He succeeded his uncle, the fourth earl, and married, 1771, a daughter of Ronald Crawford, esq. of Restalrig, by whom he had a son, born 1776, and a daughter, born 1773.

8th. At his house, in Jermyn-street, in his 63d year, general de Baurmeister, resident minister from the court of Hesse-Cassel. His remains were deposited in the Savoy chapel. In the death of this distinguished personage, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel has lost an able general and a faithful minister. His excellency's military career has shewn itself most conspicuously in the German, American, and late continental wars; and he bore to his grave the honourable wounds he received in those contests. His services were principally with his Britannic majesty's troops. His suavity and mildness of manners endeared him particularly to their majesties and the royal family, to most of the nobility, and to all those who had the honour of his acquaintance. His excellency's illness was long and painful; during which time, the attention of his excellency's secretary, N. G. Lewis, esq. and a number of friends, was unremitted; which must afford much consolation to his relatives abroad.

10th. At Holton park, co. Oxford, in her 24th year, the hon. Mrs. Parker, wife of col. P. brother to the earl of Macclesfield.

At Somerset-place, in her 63d

year, the lady of sir John Henslow, first surveyor of his majesty's navy.

At Edinburgh, sir John Whitefoord, of Whitefoord, bart.

15th. At Vienna, in his 89th year, the archbishop of that see, cardinal Prince Migazzy. On the preceding day, he had taken a walk upon the Prater; found himself unwell; and, returning home, expired almost immediately. Cardinal M. it is well known, was not upon the best terms with emperor Joseph II. and refused to promote any of that monarch's views of reform. He was of a very ancient family, which distinguished itself in the Valteline, in the year 1200. For some time, he filled the office of imperial envoy, at Madrid. His remains were interred on the 19th, at Vienna, by torch light; the funeral procession being opened by the children of the orphan-house, and the poor belonging to several other charitable foundations.

16th. In his 64th year, Mr. James Aickin, late comedian and stage-manager of Drury-lane theatre. His remains were interred on the 25th, in the church-yard of St. Anne, Soho, attended by most of the performers of Drury-lane house, in testimony of the high respect in which the deceased was deservedly held by them.

18th. At Stratford-house, Essex, John lord Henniker, baron Henniker, of Stratford upon Slaney, F. R. S. and L. L. D. His lordship was born in 1714, and married, 1747, Anne, eldest daughter (and co-heiress with her sister Elizabeth, duchess of Chandos), of sir John Major, bart. of Warlingworth-hall, co. Suffolk; and had issue, 1st, the hon. John Henniker Major; 2d, the hon. Major Henniker, deceased; 3d, the

3d, the hon. general Brydges Henniker; 4th, Anne Elizabeth, married, 1787, Edward Stratford, earl of Aldborough; and died at Aldborough-house, Dublin, July 1802, without issue. His lordship was descended from an ancient family in Kent; succeeded to the title of baronet, 1781, and was created a peer, July 30th, 1800, by the title of baron Henniker, of Stratford upon Slaney, in the county of Wicklow. He is succeeded in his title and large estates, by his eldest son, the hon. John Henniker Major, F. R. S. of Portman-square, now second lord Henniker, who married Emilia, daughter of Robert Jones, esq. of Duffrin, Glamorganshire.

19th. Suddenly, aged 65, sir Charles Ventris Field, of Campton, co. Bedford, bart.

21st. In Baker-street, the wife of Thomas Skip Dyot Bucknall, esq. M. P.

23d. At her father's house, in Arlington-street, aged 19, Miss Fellowes, second daughter of Robert Fellowes, esq. M. P. for Norwich. This lady and her sister dined with the earl of Portsmouth on the 17th; complained of the influenza on the 18th, and died this day.

24th. At Clifton, near Bristol, Miss Ersekine, sister of sir W. Ersekine.

At his house, in Piccadilly, sir John Smith Burges, bart. of East-Ham, Essex, so created May 4th, 1793, a director of the East India Company, and lieutenant-col. of the 3d regiment of East India volunteers. His death was occasioned by too great exertion on the day of the late election at the India house; the disorder increased to so violent a degree, as to defy all medical aid;

and, for the last two days of his existence, he remained motionless. He had married the only daughter and heiress of the late Y. Burges, esq. of East Ham, and Thorpe-hall; and, in consequence thereof, took the name of Burges, in addition to that of Smith, but dying without issue, the title becomes extinct.

At St. Petersburg, madame Rose Didelot, a celebrated and much admired performer at the Opera-house.

25th. At the Swan inn, Bedford, sir John Payne, bart. of Tempsford-hall, lieutenant-col. of the Bedfordshire militia. He went to bed apparently in good health, about 11 o'clock the preceding evening.

At Paul's-cray, in Kent, where she was on a visit, after six days illness, the dowager lady Houghton, relict of sir Henry H. bart. of Walton Hall, near Preston, co. Lancaster.

At Brighthelmstone, after a lingering illness, in his 7th year, the hon. Wm. Neville, youngest son of lord Braybrooke.

27th. At his seat of Castletown, in Ireland, the right hon. Thomas Connolly, one of his majesty's most honourable privy counsellors, and forty years representative for the county of Londonderry. This celebrated senator was great nephew of the right hon. Wm. Connolly, speaker of the house of commons, one of the lords justices of Ireland; and married December 30th, 1758, the lady Louisa-Augusta Lenox, daughter of Charles, duke of Richmond, whose virtues will be long remembered in Ireland, but by whom he had no issue. His father, the late right hon. Wm. Connolly, of Castletown, in Ireland, and Stratton-hall, co. Stafford, married the lady



lady Anne Wentworth, eldest daughter of William, earl of Stafford, and had issue one son, Thomas, the subject of this article, who, on the death of the last earl of Stafford, succeeded to large property in England; and several daughters, viz. Catherine, countess of Ross, who died without issue by her husband Ralph, earl of Ross. 2d. Frances viscountess Howe, married lord Howe, to which title he succeeded on the death of his brother, Richard earl Howe, but has no issue. 3d. Caroline, countess of Buckinghamshire, who married in 1770, John the second earl of Buckinghamshire, and had issue an only daughter, the lady Amelia Hobart, who married in 1797, Robert viscount Castlereagh, son of Robert, earl of Londonderry, in Ireland. 4th. Anne married George Bing, esq. of the noble family of Torrington, and has issue George Bing, esq. M.P. for Middlesex, who, by the late will of his uncle, the right hon. Thomas Connolly, succeeds to the large estates of the Connollics in Ireland, and the magnificent seat at Castletown.

30th. At her father's seat, the Priory, near Stanmore, co. Middlesex, in her 22d year, after a short illness, of an inflammation of the membrane which lies in the wind-pipe, and which very suddenly produced suffocation, lady Harriet Hamilton, eldest daughter of the marquis of Abercorn. She was to have been married to the marquis of Waterford in a few days; the articles were drawn up, and the liveries made. Possessed of every requisite to render her beloved by the noble lord to whom she was betrothed; her person was beautiful, but her mental qualifications were even superior; endowed with a

good understanding, she had devoted her time to continued acts of benevolence. The funeral of this deservedly-lamented young lady took place at 8 o'clock in the morning of May 6th.

Lately, at Placentia, the bishop of that see, don J. Gonzales de San Pedro, which he had filled 37 years, and was a benefactor to the whole country.

In Frederick-street, Dublin, lady Grace Queade, daughter of John, first earl of Aldborough, sister to the present earl.

May 1st. At her house in Upper Seymour-street, lady M. Milbourne. At the same hour also, at her house in Park-street, Grosvenor-square, Mrs. E. Harvey, many years the intimate friend of lady Milbourne.

2d. At Darn-hill, Sir George Home, bart. of Blackadder, in Scotland, vice-admiral of the blue.

4th. At his lodgings in Paddington, Mr. John Joseph Merlin, of Prince-street, Hanover-square, the very ingenious mechanic. He was born in September 1735, at St. Peters, in the city of Huy, on the river Meuse. He resided six years in Paris, and came over with the Spanish ambassador-extraordinary, the count de Fuentes, to his house in Soho-square, on the 24th of May, 1760. Mr. Merlin, as an ingenious mechanic, has been long known to the public. He was buried at Paddington.

5th. At Camelford-house, aged 65, Anne, dowager lady Camelford. In the constant exercise of the most amiable qualities of the heart, she lived universally beloved, and died as universally lamented. She was daughter and co-heir of Pinkney Wilkinson, esq. of Burnham, co. Norfolk, and married, 1771, to Thomas



Thomas Pitt, lord Camelford, by whom she has left one son and a daughter, married in 1792, to William Wyndham Grenville, lord Grenville.

7th. At Stratfield-say, Hants, aged 83, George Pitt, lord Rivers, a lord of his majesty's bed-chamber, and lord-lieutenant and custos-rotulorum of the county of Dorset, in which he is succeeded by lord Dorchester. The peerage descends, in the present instance, to his only son George Pitt, who many years represented the county of Dorset in Parliament, but had latterly retired from public life, and contingently devolves to the male issue of Peter Beckford, esq. of Stapleton, in Dorsetshire, his lordship's son-in-law. His remains were interred with great funeral pomp, in the family-vault at Stratfield-say.

8th. Sir John Davie, bart. of Creedy, having completed his 31st year in January last.

9th. At Paris, sir Robert Chambers, late chief-justice of the supreme court of judicature at Calcutta.

10th. Lieut. col. George Smith, of the 9th infantry, on the Madras establishment.

15th. At Long Buckby, co. Northampton, in her 103d year, Mrs. Swinfen.

At Dublin, (where she had been for some months on a visit to her daughter, Mrs. Lindsay), aged about 62, and much regretted, dame Mary Hales, of Dean, near Wingham, in Kent, relict of sir Thomas Pym H. bart. of Howletts, in the same county, who died in 1773. She was only daughter and heiress of Mr. Jervace Hayward, an opulent brewer at Sandwich, in Kent.

16th. At the Bull and Punch-

bowl, in Liverpool, aged 77, Breslaw, the celebrated conjurer. He was a native of Berlin.

20th. In London, of a typhus fever, after 27 days illness, in her 16th year, Susannah, only daughter of sir Thomas Guy Cullum, of Hawsted, Suffolk, bart.

25th. At Kensington, the hon. Mrs. Luttrell, relict of the hon. Temple L. next brother of Henry, earl of Carhampton. She was daughter of sir Henry Gould, knt. one of the judges of the court of common pleas, in England, and sister of Honoria, countess of Cavan. She married, 1778, the hon. Temple Luttrell, by whom she had no issue.

At Hazlewood, co. Sligo, Ireland, William Willoughby Cole, earl of Enniskillen, so created 1789. He was on a visit, at the time, to his son-in-law, Owen Wynne, esq. His lordship had been attacked by the influenza, but was considered as recovered, and was in the act of putting on his coat when he died.

At her house at St. Doulough's, near Dublin, lady Catherine Toole, sister to the earl of Mountmorris; a lady of uncommon fascinating charms and manners.

After a few hours illness, at Ipswich, where he was with his regiment, Edward Goate, esq. of Brentley-hall, Suffolk, many years colonel of the East Suffolk militia.

26th. In Bloomsbury-square, aged 88, dame Catherine Dukinfield, relict of sir Samuel D. bart.

At Lydiard-Tregoze, near Wootton Bassett, the hon. Mr. St. John, eldest son of lord viscount Bolingbroke.

28th. At Exmouth, after a painful illness, the rev. Richard Hole, rector.

rector of Faringdon and Inwardleigh, co. Devon, who united to the most amiable simplicity of manners, extensive learning, an elegant taste, the strictest integrity, and the most cheerful, unaffected piety. His heart and his talents were equally unexceptionable; and the deep regret of his numerous friends, bears the amplest testimony of their excellence. Mr. H. was the author of many valuable works. When the admiration of the poetry of Ossian was general, and no hesitation respecting its early æra was entertained, he published a poetical translation of Fingal, laboured with no common care, in lines scarcely less flowing and elegant than those of Pope. The suspicions of Mr. Macpherson's conduct, in at least the compilation, prevented, perhaps, that version from being so generally read and warmly admired as it deserves; but the "Ode to Imagination," subjoined, claimed the most general and eager applause, as highly animated and poetical. Some years afterwards, he published a translation of Homer's Hymn to Ceres, of which there is a rival, but a much inferior, version by Mr. Lucas. The poem, if not Homer's, is certainly of very high antiquity, and is translated by Mr. Hole, with his usual spirit and elegance. At no great distance, the epic romance of Arthur followed; of which the wildness approaches nearer the school of Ariosto, than of Homer, though no one was a more ardent admirer of the correcter, and more chastened beauties of the ancient epic, than Mr. Hole. The poem, itself, displays a warm imagination, and the lines are less monotonous, the measure more

varied in its pauses, than those of his former poetical works. The notes, though short, are valuable, and display a correct knowledge of the northern mythology. When Mr. Polwhele projected his publication of the Devonshire and Cornwall poets, Mr. Hole could not be overlooked in his numerous applications; and some of the most highly finished poems in that collection, are from his pen. We cannot enumerate each; but would particularly notice the Odes to Terror and to Melancholy, as little, if at all, inferior to those of Gray, Mason, or Akenside. They seem, however, to have been the production of an earlier period. When the literary society at Exeter was formed, Mr. Hole was one of its first members; and his later exertions were chiefly communications to that institution. To this society he addressed the "Remarks on the Arabian Nights Entertainments, in which the Origin of Sinbad's Voyages, and other Oriental Fictions, is particularly considered," published separately, 1797, 12mo. in which he endeavours to shew, that the marvellous events in those voyages were believed in the east, and not so extravagantly inconsistent, with what the observations of later travellers have supplied, as has been generally supposed. In the published volumes of essays, though no names are affixed, an humorous poem on the origin of clubs, and the ironical vindications of the characters of Shylock and Iago, are attributed to his pen. He was a native of Exeter, and admitted of Exeter-college, where he proceeded B. C. L. 1771.

At Fir-grove, near Farnham, after a few days illness, of an inflammatory



tory sore throat, the lady of sir Nelson Rycroft, bart.

31st. After a long illness, the lady of sir John Gillman, bart. of Gillmanville, in Ireland, daughter of sir Thomas Miller, bart. of Froyle, in Hampshire.

At his house, Black Rock, near Dublin, Robert Jephson, esq. many years master of the horse to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, and a successful dramatic writer. He was an officer in the Irish army, and formerly M. P. in that kingdom, and celebrated for his convivial powers and his felicity in ludicrous composition. He is said to have contributed, during the administration of marquis Townshend, to a periodical publication, called, "The Bachelor." His first dramatic piece, "Braganza," was acted, for a season, with success, at Drury-lane, and printed in 1775; but the plot was thought to resemble Venice Preserved, too nearly in some parts. "The Law of Lombardy," a tragedy, with a similar relation to Much Ado about Nothing, was acted nine nights at Drury-lane, and then laid aside, and printed in 1779. "The Count of Narbonne," was well received. He wrote also, "The Campaign, or Love in the East Indies," an opera. "Julia, or the Italian Lover," a tragedy, in language and sentiments often sublime. "Two Strings to your Bow," a farce; and "The Conspiracy." In 1794, he published, "The Confessions of James Baptiste Couteau, Citizen of France, written by himself, and translated from the original French," two vols. 12mo. A severe satire of his own on the depravity of French manners; but very reprehensible on many accounts. In the same year,

"Roman Portraits," a poem, in heroic verse, with historical remarks and illustrations, in one vol. 4to.

Lately, at Mockerkinn, in the parish of Loweswater, co. Cumberland, in his 49th year, J. Harrison, esq. captain of the royal navy. He had distinguished himself by his courage and conduct in Keppel's engagement, off Brest, July 27th, 1777; under lord Howe, June 1, 1794; and in the action of lord Bridport, off Port L'Orient, in which last his clothes were set on fire by a red hot ball.

At Bath, after a long and painful illness, the wife of Wm. Burroughs, esq. M. P. for the borough of Enniskillen.

June 2d. In Welbeck-street, Cavendish-square, aged 73, Mrs. Catherine Trapaud, relict of the late general Cyrus T. who died May 3, 1801, and aunt to the late duke of Bridgewater; a lady deservedly lamented, and eminently distinguished for humanity, benevolence, and politeness. On her decease, Francis Plaistow, esq. of Devonshire-street, Portland-place, and of Potter's-bar, South Mims, Middlesex, takes the names and arms of Trapaud.

3d. In Cavendish-square, in his 43d year, the right hon. and rev. George Murray, D. D. lord bishop of St. David's, and brother to the duke of Athol. His death was occasioned by coming down, on a damp, cold night, and waiting some time for his carriage, from a committee in the house of lords: he felt an immediate chill, which brought on a violent fever, in a few hours, that carried him off in three days, leaving a widow and ten children. He had nearly effected his object,  
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that of raising his bishoprick to the immediate produce of 3500*l.* per annum; and which see, in the course of 17 years, is expected to net 16,000*l.* a year.

At Bath, the relict of Edward Greaves, esq. of Calcheth, co. Lancaster, daughter of sir Darcy Lever, of Arkrington:

4th. At Euston-hall, Suffolk, in her 22d year, of a cold which settled in the chest, lady Caroline Fitzroy, sixth daughter to the duke of Grafton.

At Forglen, in Scotland, Wm. Ogilvie, lord Bamff.

5th. At the earl of Derby's, in Grosvenor-square, after a short illness, Mrs. Farren, mother of the countess of Derby.

6th. At her apartments near Kensington, the hon. Miss Lambe, daughter of lord Melbourne. The death of this amiable and accomplished young lady, is supposed to have been occasioned by a cold which settled in the chest, similar to the complaint of which lady C. Fitzroy died, June 4th.

7th. At Edinburgh, major-gen. George Coningham, late of the Scots brigade.

9th. In Lower Grovesnor-street, the right rev. Henry Reginald Courtnay, D. D. lord bishop of Exeter, son of sir Wm. Courtnay, of Powderham, co. Devon, bart. brother to the first viscount Courtnay, and uncle to the present. He was educated at Christchurch, Oxford; M. A. 1766; D. C. L. 1774; chaplain to his majesty; rector of St. George's, Hanover-square, 1774; and of Lee, in Kent, 1775; and prebendary of St. Andrew, in the cathedral of Rochester. He was advanced to the see of Exeter on the death of bishop Buller, 1795; and married, 1774,

lady Elizabeth Howard, sister to Thomas earl of Effingham, by whom he had one son, William.

At the Wheatsheaf-inn, near the Virginia-water, in Windsor Great-park, aged 46, Joseph Richardson, esq. M. P. for Newport, in Cornwall, and one of the proprietors of Drury-lane theatre. He was suddenly taken ill the night before; medical assistance was soon procured, but in vain, for he expired in the afternoon of the next day.—Within the last three or four years he had suffered several severe shocks, by the rupture of a blood-vessel; but it was hoped that the natural vigour of his constitution would have triumphed. He originally came from Hexham, in Northumberland; and was entered at St. John's-college, Cambridge, in 1774. Dr. Ferris, the present dean of Bath, and doctor Pearce, now dean of Ely, were his tutors at the university. Under the superintendence of those two excellent scholars, Mr. R. acquired sound learning and a correct taste. He possessed, indeed, an excellent understanding, and a sort of intuitive knowledge of mankind. He distinguished himself, at college, by the elegance, beauty, and vigour of his prose and poetical compositions; a love of the muses, very early in life, took possession of his mind, and often interfered with the laborious duties of his studies. He entered himself a student of the Middle Temple, in 1779; and was called to the bar in 1784. Literary pursuits and political connexions took up too much of his time to admit of his pursuing, with sufficient diligence, the study of the law; otherwise, it is highly probable, he would have become a distinguished ornament of the bar. The chief works  
in

in which he was known publicly to take a part, were, "The Rolliad," and the "Probationary Odes," in the composition of which his talents were conspicuous. The comedy of "The Fugitive," is highly creditable to his dramatic genius. The dialogue is peculiarly neat, spirited, elegant, and classical, and the whole manifests so much power of sentiment, wit, and humour, that the public must regret that he did not resume his dramatic studies. He was brought into parliament by the duke of Northumberland, in whose friendship he held a distinguished place; and by whose loan of 2000*l*. (which the duke has given up to his family) he was enabled to become proprietor of a fourth part of Drury-lane theatre. He has left an amiable widow and four charming daughters, to lament the loss of an affectionate and enlightened protector.

12th. At Florence, lady Catherine Burgess, sister to the duke of St. Albans.

13th. Sir John Wedderburn, bart. of Ballindean, Scotland.

15th. At his seat at Brome, in Kent, in his 81st year, sir Henry Oxendon, bart. he is succeeded by his only son, now sir Henry.

At Raith, the wife of col. Ferguson, and daughter to sir Hector Munro, K. B.

At her house, in Half Moon-street, Piccadilly, aged 26, Mrs. Pope, of Drury-lane theatre. Her maiden name was Campion, and she was descended from a very old and respectable family in the county of Cork, Ireland. She made her first appearance on the stage at Dublin, in Monimia, "The Orphan," Feb. 17, 1790. Oct. 13th, 1797, she appeared at Covent Garden theatre

in the same character; and was next year married to Mr. Pope. The public will, no doubt, regret the loss of an actress who has so much delighted them by the spirit, feeling, and judgment with which she performed. Her remains were interred on the 25th, in Westminster Abbey, near those of the former Mrs. Pope.

16th. In St. James's-place, Mrs. Hale, relict of gen. Bernard H. and sister of the late right hon. Richard Rigby.

18th. In Wimpole-street, aged 15, Miss Emma Chaplin, second daughter of Charles C. esq. M. P.

20th. At Bath, after a long illness, aged 66, the right hon. Nathaniel lord Harrowby, so created May 20th, 1776, being only son of the late sir Dudley Ryder, knt. chief justice of the court of king's-bench. He represented the borough of Tiverton in several parliaments, and married, 1762, Elizabeth, daughter of bishop Terrick, by whom he had issue, Dudley his successor, born 1762, M. P. for Tiverton; Richard, born 1766; and Elizabeth, born 1767. His remains were interred in the Abbey-church, at Bath, on the 25th.

22d. At Stoke Edith, the hon. Edward Foley, M. P. for Worcester, uncle of lord F. and recorder of Droitwich. He was born in 1747; married, 1778, lady Anne Margaret, youngest daughter of George William, present earl of Coventry, by his first wife, Maria Gunning.

The wife of Thomas Wilkinson, esq. of Binchester, co. Durham, daughter of the late hon. Mr. Lyon.

25th. At Tyrella, near Downpatrick, in Ireland, Mrs. Hamilton,



ton, relict of the hon. baron Hamilton.

*July 1st.* The infant son of lord George Cavendish.

At Belton, co. Leicester, the rev. James Claybroke, vicar of that parish, and minister of St. James's, Latchford, near Warrington, co. Lancaster. He was zealous in the ministry, and a sincere friend to the establishment; in the support of which, he more than once publicly employed his pen. His "Defence of Infant Baptism," in answer to Gilbert Wakefield, will ever be esteemed by all true members of the church.

2d. At his lodgings, in Chapter-house-court, after a short illness, aged 64, Mr. Thomas Evans, formerly an eminent bookseller in Paternoster-row.

3d. In an advanced age, leaving a very large fortune, brigadier gen. Richard Smith, in the service of the East India company, and formerly M. P. for Wendover.

In Sackville-street, Dublin, sir Anthony Brabazon, bart. of Newpark, co. Mayo.

6th. At his seat, at Velynydd, co. Brecon, after a lingering illness, in his 22d year, captain Thomas Hughes Williams, of the 24th foot. This truly amiable young man has fallen thus early, a sacrifice to the love of his country, which kindled in his honourable mind the most ardent thirst for military glory. Regardless of the allurements of an independent fortune, and the comforts of an extensive circle of respectable relatives and friends, he entered into the army at the age of 16. He had the gratification of serving under sir Ralph Abercrombie, in Egypt, and the honour of sharing with his brave brethren in

arms, the never-fading honours acquired in that memorable expedition. His zeal for the service proved too powerful for his constitution, which maturity of years had not been permitted to strengthen; and his country is deprived of those benefits, which such an uncommon display of early worth gave reason to expect, had he been suffered to fall by the slow strokes of time.

8th. At Albano, near Rome, of a severe attack of the gout, aged 73, Frederick Hervey, earl of Bristol, grandson of the first earl, in which title he succeeded his brother, Augustus John, 1779, and bishop of Cloyne, 1767; of Derry, 1768; and a privy counsellor of Ireland.—He was born in 1730; educated at Mr. Newcome's school, at Hackney; admitted of Corpus Christi college, Cambridge, 1747, where he took no degree: but the honorary one of D. D. was conferred on him by Mandamus. He was appointed chaplain in ordinary to the king, and a principal clerk of the privy seal, both which he resigned when appointed a bishop. He married Elizabeth, daughter of sir Jermyn Davers, who died at Ickworth, Suffolk, Dec. 19th, 1800, by whom he had two sons; George, late captain of the Zealous man of war, and Augustus John:—and two daughters: Mary, married to John Erne, of Ireland; and Elizabeth, married to John Thomas Foster, esq. He was among the leaders of the Irish patriots during the American war, and a member of the famous convention of volunteer delegates held in Dublin in 1782; on which occasion he was escorted from Derry to Dublin by a regiment of volunteer cavalry, and received military honours in every town through which he



he passed in that long journey. His lordship was building, at his seat at Ickworth, a villa on the Italian model, by Italian architects and artists of every class; to which he had appropriated 12,000*l.* annually, and the ornaments of which are so tender and sharp as to require covering to preserve them from injury by external air. As an amateur, connoisseur, and indefatigable protector of the fine arts, he died at his post, surrounded by artists, whose talents his judgment had directed, and whose wants his liberality had relieved. His love of the sciences was only surpassed by his love to his country, and by his generosity to the unfortunate of every country: neither rank nor power escaped his resentment, when any illiberal opinion was thrown out against England. At dinner with the late king of Prussia, and the prince royal of Denmark, at Pyrmont, in 1797, he boldly said, after the conversation about the *active ambition* of England had been changed into enquiries about the delicacy of a roasted capon, *that he did not like neutral animals, let them be ever so delicate.* In 1798, he was arrested by the French in Italy, and confined in the castle of Milan; was plundered by the republicans of a valuable and well-chosen collection of antiquities, which he had purchased with a view of transmitting to his native country; and was betrayed and cheated by many Italians, whose benefactor he had been. But neither the injustice nor the ingratitude of mankind changed his liberal disposition. He no sooner recovered his liberty, than new benefactions forced even the ungrateful to repent; and the unjust to acknowledge his elevated mind. The earl of Bristol was one

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of the greatest English travellers (a capacity in which his merits have been duly appreciated by the celebrated Martin Sherlock) and there is not a country of Europe where the distressed have not obtained his succour, and the oppressed his protection. He may truly be said to have clothed the naked, and fed the hungry; and, as ostentation never constituted real charity, his left hand did not know what his right hand distributed. The tears and lamentations of widows and orphans have discovered his philanthropy, when he is no more: and letters from Swiss patriots and French emigrants, from Italian catholics, and German protestants, prove the noble use his lordship made of his fortune, indiscriminately, to the poor, the destitute, and the unprotected of all countries, of all parties, and of all religions.

At his lordship's house, in Hertford-street, aged 4 years, the youngest daughter of lord Bruce.

12th. At Exeter, in an advanced age, Mr. William Jackson, organist of the cathedral in that city, and author of many deservedly celebrated compositions.

17th. At Acton-burnell, co. Salop, the seat of sir Edward Smythe, bart. Peter Holford, esq. of Wootton-hall, co. Warwick, father of lady Smythe.

At his apartment, at Brixton-causeway, Surry, in his 25th year, Alexander Manners Leslie, esq. nephew to lord Newark.

In Sackville-street, the lady of sir C. Mitchell.

19th. In the New-road, Mary-la-bonne, in his 76th year, sir Charles Burdett, bart. He succeeded, 1760, his brother, Hugh, vicar of Newington, by Sitting-

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bourne:

bourne; was married, had issue, and lived; 1771, in North America. He is succeeded by his eldest son, Charles Wyndham B. captain of the 37th foot.

21st. At Cobham-place, in his 71st year, sir W. Abdy, bart. a captain in the royal navy. He succeeded his elder brother, Anthony, in 1775.

23d. Lieut. col. Lyde Browne, of the 21st foot, who was killed by the rebels in Dublin, has left a widow and infant daughter to deplore his loss. Mrs. B. is sister of the late gallant captain Edward Riou, of the royal navy, who was killed at Copenhagen.

Mr. Lee Lewes, the very eminent comedian.

24th. Hon. Charlotte Yates, wife of Joseph Y. esq. only son of the late judge Yates, and sister to lord St. John, of Bletsoe.

At Cheltenham, after a few days' illness, the lady of major-general sir Eccles Nixon, of the East-India company's service.

27th. At his house at Murdos-town, gen. James Inglis Hamilton, colonel of the 21st foot or royal north fusiliers.

*August 1st.* In Queen-street, Westminster, after a week's illness, in his 58th year, Mr. Wm. Woodfall, whose memory will long be revered by a very large circle of friends, and whose death is an irreparable loss to his family. Mr. W. made himself so eminently useful, by the employment of his talents as a journalist, and by the character and distinction which his reports of the parliamentary debates acquired, that the public will desire to possess the history of a person who so long, so zealously, and so largely contributed to their information. He was early

placed by his father under Mr. Baldwin, of Paternoster-row, to learn the art of printing; from whose house he went back to his father's office, and assisted in the printing and editing of "The Public Advertiser." He became so warm an amateur of the drama, that, to gratify his penchant for the stage, he made an excursion to Scotland; and performed several times, for his amusement, in the company of Mr. Fisher. He used to relate many pleasant anecdotes of this jaunt, the most fortunate event of which, however, because it constituted the future happiness of his life, was his marriage with a most amiable woman, with whom he returned to the metropolis, about 1772, and engaged himself as editor of "The London Packet." From this he was called by the proprietors of "The Morning Chronicle," to the double station of printer and editor, which he filled, with much credit to himself, until the year 1789, when he commenced a paper, called "The Diary," on his own account. Mr. Woodfall had the merit of being the first writer who undertook to detail the reports of the debates in the two houses of parliament, on the night of the proceedings. Before his time, a very short sketch of the debate was all that the newspapers attempted to give on the same night, and the more detailed reports were deferred to some subsequent day.—Blest with a most retentive memory, Mr. W. undertook the fatiguing and difficult task of giving a detail of the proceedings on the same night. Without taking a note to assist his memory, without the use of an amanuensis to ease his labour, he has been known to write sixteen columns, after having sat in a crowded gallery



gallery for as many hours, without an interval of rest. He took pride in this exertion, which brought him more praise than profit. It wore down his constitution, which was naturally good; and when other papers, by the division of labour, produced the same length of details, with an earlier publication, he yielded the contest, and suffered his "Diary" to expire. Since that time he employed his talents in various publications. He sought, in the decline of his life, to be appointed remembrancer of the city, an office for which he was peculiarly qualified: but private friendships and superior interest prevailed.—Mr. W. possessed all the virtues of private life that endear a man to society, and was particularly distinguished for his literary talents.—Unfortunately for himself and his family, he placed all his hopes on the most precarious species of property, and became the proprietor of a newspaper, which his talents raised to eminence:—the paper fell, and with it fell his hopes. Though disappointed, he was not to be diverted from his favourite pursuits. He was constant in his attendance at the bar of the house of lords, which he had visited so lately as July 27. Although he was far advanced in life, he was active, animated, and in full possession of his mental faculties, without the appearance of any considerable waste of his physical strength. To a large family, entirely dependent upon his industry, his death is, therefore, an unexpected, deplorable, and afflicting event.—His remains were interred on the 6th, in St. Margaret's church-yard, Westminster.

2d. Aged 68, Mr. John Saville, vicar-choral of the cathedral church

of Litchfield. Pre-eminent were his abilities as a vocal performer, from the rare union of feeling with science,—of expression with skill. The commemoration of Handel, and the remembrance of Saville, will live together.

At Dorking, Surry, in his 76th year, John Hoole, esq. of Tenderden, Kent; formerly auditor to the East India company, but had retired upon an annuity; a very amiable and estimable man in his private character, a respectable member of the republic of letters, a gentleman of taste, a reputable author, and a good scholar. He first displayed his poetical talents in an elegy on the death of Mrs. Woffington, the celebrated actress. He translated the works of Tasso, Ariosto, and Metastasio, if not with congenial fervour of imagination, yet with correctness, elegance, and taste. He was author of three dramatic pieces, the tragedies of "Cyrus," "Timanthes," and "Cleonicé, Princess of Bythinia." The first two pieces were derived from Metastasio. They were performed with tolerable success, particularly the tragedy of "Cyrus," the fable of which is very interesting, and which was animated by noble sentiments, well expressed. This play had the advantage of being supported by the talents of Powell, in the zenith of his fame; by those of Smith, when he was a great favourite with the public; and by those of Mrs. Yates, when she was in the maturity of beauty and theatrical repute. The tragedy of "Cleonicé" was by no means successful. Indeed it fell a victim to severity of criticism, which has capriciously suffered many worse performances to enjoy a better fate.



Mr. H. conducted himself very liberally on this occasion, by returning a considerable part of the money which he had received for the copy-right, alledging, that as the piece was not successful on the stage, it could not be very profitable to the bookseller, and should not be a loss.

4th. At Bath, in her 32d year, the wife of the rev. doctor Edwards, and niece of lord chief justice Ellenborough.

In his 61st year, after a life of dissipation and pain, at Newington, Surry, the rev. William Collier, senior fellow of Trinity college, Cambridge, where he was many years a public tutor, rector of Orwell, co. Cambridge; Hebrew professor 1771 to 1790. The distresses in which he involved himself compelled him to leave the university, and to publish, by subscription, "Poems on several Occasions, with translations from Authors in different Languages; dedicated to Prince Wm. of Gloucester;" 2 vols. 12mo. 1800.

8th. At Edinburgh, major-general F. Halket, of the Scots brigade.

9th. In Manchester-square, in consequence of the sudden death of her father, John Chalie, esq. of Bedford-square, on the 5th instant, the wife of Wm. Garthshore, esq. M. P. for Weymouth.

10th. In an advanced age, in Park-place, Mrs. Margaret Pocock, sister to the late sir George Pocock, K. B.

12th. In St. James's-square, Bath, Mrs. Jervis, aunt to earl St. Vincent.

14th. At his father's house, in Cavendish-square, aged five years,

the youngest son of sir William Langham.

Killed, at the re-taking of the lord Nelson Indiaman, by a shot from the Bellone French privateer, near Ferrol, off the north-west coast of Spain, lieut. col. Peter M'Gregor Murray. He was one of the heads of the ancient unfortunate house of M'Gregor; and, about 30 years ago, went out to India in the humble capacity of a surgeon's mate. The government, seeing that he was a young man of spirit, offered him a commission in their service, which he accepted; and, by his merit, rose to the rank of lieut. col. For many years, he held the lucrative employment of adjutant-general to the forces in India, and is supposed to have acquired a fortune of 200,000l.

16th. In Welbeck-street, Cavendish-square, after a lingering illness, aged 64, major-general sir John Brathwaite, bart. lately returned from the coast of Coromandel, where he long held the chief command of the company's army, and received repeated testimonies of the approbation of government. When retiring from this distinguished situation, the general and field-officers of the army requested of him to accept the record of their esteem, affection, and respect, in a valuable service of plate, which they presented to him. His loss will be long deplored by those friends who experienced the undeviating sincerity of his regard, as well as by a very numerous circle of acquaintance, whom he ever enlivened by the most pleasing conversation, and received with the frankest hospitality. In public life, he was a strict observer of discipline; zealous,

zealous, skilful, brave, and of unshaken fidelity.

18th. At Aberdeen, in his 68th year, James Beattie, L. L. D. F. R. S. Edinburgh, one of the professors of moral philosophy and logic, in the Marischal college, and member of several philosophical societies. This very distinguished writer was born in the county of Kincardine, studied at Aberdeen, and became a schoolmaster first at Alloa, in Fife, and afterwards in his native province; thence he went to Aberdeen, to assist as usher in the grammar school of that place; and, while in that situation, wrote his celebrated "Minstrel," and married the daughter of the schoolmaster. He had before published, 1761, an octavo volume of original poems and translations; reprinted in duodecimo; and, in 1766, "The Judgment of Paris, a poem," in 4to. The first book of "The Minstrel," was published in 1770, and the second in 1774. The elegance and feeling which characterize this poem, derived from doctor Percy's Essay on the English Minstrels, prefixed to the first volume of his "Reliques of ancient Poetry," and written in imitation of Spencer, have been generally acknowledged, and it is to be regretted that it was never finished. In his odes and elegies he took Gray for his model. His beautiful song, called "The Hermit," and other poems, have also obtained him distinguished applause. Mr. Hume having severely criticised his poems, he determined to seek his revenge in the character of a christian philosopher, who had penetrated the sophistry, and was deeply alarmed at the consequences of his reasonings. His "Essay on the Immutability of Truth, in Op-

position to Sophistry and Scepticism, 1777," 4to. conciliated to him the friendship of doctor Gregory, of Edinburgh, of lord Lyttleton, bishop Hurd, and particularly of bishop Porteus. He was also honoured with the esteem of the lord Mansfield, of whom he has been heard to declare, that he never conversed with any person who had conceived such clear and just ideas of his philosophy." He was promoted to a professorship in Marischal-college, through the favour of the most noble family of Errol. Not being in holy orders, he was recommended to his majesty for a pension, which he obtained and held for many years. The approbation of the great characters above mentioned, is a sufficient testimony in favour of the Essay on Truth. His manner of treating the sceptics of the day, especially Mr. Hume, gave great offence to many readers; and his work was answered by Dr. Priestly: but, from the clergy, in general, it received the most decisive approbation; and they justly estimated the merit of a writer who, on this occasion, appeared an anxious promoter of the best interests of mankind, a judicious philosopher, and pertinent and captivating reasoner. The quarto volume of "Essays," was published in that form at the desire of many of the doctor's friends, and contains a republication of the "Essay on Truth," with the addition of the other ingenious "Essays on Poetry and Music, as they affect the Mind, on Laughter, and ludicrous Composition, and on the utility of Classical Learning," which were not originally designed for the press; but which some of those friends had seen and desired to possess; and the suffrage of the



world, at large, has borne testimony to their taste.

The "Dissertations, moral and critical, 1783, one volume, 8vo." were part of a course of lectures read to a young gentleman, whom it was the author's business to initiate in moral science. The subjects are, Memory and Imagination, Dreaming, the Theory of Language, Fable and Romance, the Attachments of Kindred, and Illustrations on Sublimity. They abound with criticisms, both on books and men, and are enlivened by many pleasing images and scenes, as well as anecdotes, and are written in a style unaffected, simple, and perspicuous. Virtue is recommended, not in the dry and uninteresting manner of didactic system, but as she appears in human form, in all the glowing colours of every amiable and heroic affection and passion. Such views of nature are exhibited as amuse and elevate the fancy, and such plain and practical truths as serve to direct the conduct of life. "The Evidences of the Christian Religion, briefly and plainly stated, 1786," two vols. small 8vo. were drawn up at the particular request of the present bishop of London. "Elements of Moral Science," two vols. 8vo. I. 1790, II. 1793, consist of the essence or substance of a series of lectures delivered in the duty of his professorship, comprising metaphysics, rhetoric, politics, and natural religion, as well as moral philosophy, strictly so called, and display good sense, extensive knowledge, and able reasoning. Dr. Beattie experienced a severe calamity in the death of his son, a youth of brilliant talents and promising genius, March 14, 1796. The doctor printed some memoirs of his life, to distri-

bute amongst his numerous acquaintances, and not for general circulation. He used to spend his summers in England, with his early patroness, Mrs. Montagu.

19th. At Cheltenham, John Topham, esq. F. R. S. and F. A. S. 1767, and treasurer to the latter society, on the death of the late Mr. B. Bartlet. Mr. T. was a native of Malton, in Yorkshire; and in an humble situation, under the late P. C. Webb, esq. solicitor to the treasury, he acquired such a knowledge of ancient hands and manuscripts, as raised him to a place in the state-paper office, with his friends and patrons, the late sir Joseph Ayliffe, bart. who died in his arms, and Thomas Astle, esq. He was also one of the gentlemen engaged in preparing for the press the six volumes of the rolls of parliament, an office in which he succeeded his friend Richard Blyke, esq. with whom, in 1775, he was joint editor of "Glanville's Reports on Contested Elections," 8vo. He was also editor, if not translator, of an English edition of sir John Fortescue's "De Laudibus Legum Angliæ," 1775, 8vo. On Mr. Webb's death, he entered himself at Gray's-inn; applied to the study of the law; was called to the bar, and appointed a commissioner of bankrupts. He succeeded doctor Lort, as keeper of the archbishop of Canterbury's library at Lambeth; was secretary to the commissioners for selecting and publishing the public records of this kingdom; and registrar to the charity for the relief of poor widows and children of clergymen, and treasurer to the orphan charity school. He married, 1797, one of the coheireses of the late Mr. Swindon, an eminent and opulent schoolmaster at Greenwich,



Greenwich, Kent. Mr. Topham's publications in the *Archæologia*, are vol. VI. p. 116, on *Esnecca*, or the King's Yacht; on a charter of Henry II. *ibid.* 179; on the picture in Windsor-castle, representing the embarkation of Henry VIII. at Dover, VII. 337; on a subsidy roll of 51 Edward III. The wardrobe account of 25 Edward I. was published by the society in 1787, under his directions; and he was one of the committee for publishing other wardrobe accounts, in "A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, in divers reigns, from Edward III. to William and Mary," 1790, 4to.

21st. At Teignmouth, Devon, in his 75th year, Cornwallis Maude; viscount Hawarden, and Baron de Montalt, of Hawarden, in Flintshire. He was thrice married; his second lady was the niece of the late Ralph Allen, esq. of Prior-park, near Bath; and he is succeeded in titles and estates by his son the hon. Thomas Ralph M.

25th. In Lower Grosvenor-street, Mrs. Morton, relict of the late hon. John M. chief justice of Chester.

At St. Mary's Isle, Miss Home, eldest daughter of the late vice-admiral sir George H. bart.

28th. At Alnwick Castle, Northumberland, in her 19th year, lady Frances Percy, third daughter of the duke of Northumberland.

31st. Lieut. col. Browne, of the Royal Montgomery militia.

Sept. 5th. At Richmond, of an apoplectic fit, the hon. capt. Carpenter, formerly a resident at Hull.

7th. At Bath, lieut. col. Macdonnell, of the 126th foot, and M. P. for Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight.

13th. At Cheltenham, aged about 50, of an inflammation in his bowels, Richard Jolly, esq. He married the only daughter of sir Peter Flood; who, by the death of her only brother, succeeded to an ample fortune, and by whom he has left three children.

14th. Killed, in gallantly boarding a privateer off Civita Vecchia, the hon. Henry Fitzgerald, son of lord Lécalle, brother to the duke of Leinster.

16th. In High-street, Hull, aged 76, lady Standidge.

20th. At Margate, Nicolas Gay, esq. F. R. S. a gentleman of mild, amiable, and affectionate disposition; and the most polished manners. He had, for very many years, laboured under the afflictions of a truly unfortunate state of health; notwithstanding which, after he had attained his 50th year, he made, probably, the most extensive tour of any man of his time, having visited every town, and been introduced at every court in Europe; a circumstance which Mr. Stockdale mentioned in a friendly dedication to him, prefixed to "Statistical Tables of Europe." He was a native of Ireland; and, in 1800, published some good-humoured strictures on the Union, a measure for which he was a most zealous partizan. His loyalty was unbounded, and his liberality far exceeded his means, which, however, were far from narrow. He had a very high sense of honour, and never would be in debt; even for the most trifling amount, as he truly said, that it tended to lower the character of a gentleman.

22d. At Badminton, co. Gloucester, aged 17, lady Anne-Elizabeth Somerset, youngest daughter of the duke of Somerset.

23d. At the Moravian school in Mirfield, near Leeds, Christian Mydowe, a native of the island of Otaheite, in the South Seas; supposed to be in the 17th or 18th year of his age. It appears, from a number of concurrent circumstances, that he had lived some time with the missionaries at Mattavia Bay, previous to leaving his own country, and had received from them some instruction, both in the use of letters, and the principles of christianity. The Cornwall, capt. Blyth, a south-whaler, happening to touch at the island, this young adventurer entered on board, with a view, as he expressed it, "to visit the land where the ships came from, and to see king George." Sailing from thence, they made to the Spanish coast, and, on their return, touched again at Otaheite, from whence they brought also another native, of the name of Oly (whose death is also recorded in p. 521.). Shortly after their arrival in England, Mydowe made a voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, and from thence to the South Seas. On his return to England a second time, he was fortunately found and recognised by some of the missionary society in London, who generously placed him, along with his countryman Oly, under the care of the rev. doctor Okely, at the Moravian school in Mirfield, where he made considerable progress in learning. Some time previous to his death, he laboured under a variety of complaints (occasioned, probably, by the vicissitudes of our climate), which terminated a life distinguished by correct conduct, and most amiable dispositions. The day before his death, he was, at his own request, initiated into the christian church by baptism, expressing

his faith and confidence in the animating hopes inspired by the christian religion.

28th. At Turnham-green, in his 83d year, Ralph Griffiths, esq. LL. D. the original institutor of "The Monthly Review," which, with unremitting perseverance, he conducted for 54 years, assisted only by his son in the latter period of his life. Dr. G. was a steady advocate of literature; a firm friend, a cordial lover of the enjoyments of domestic happiness, and successful promoter of the charms of social intercourse.

*Oct. 1.* At Barrogill castle, of a fever, in her 17th year, the hon. lady Helen Sinclair, second daughter of the earl of Caithness.

2d. At New York, in his 82d year, Mr. John Adams, one of the first promoters of the American revolution. The bells of the town tolled for half an hour; and the clergy, state-officers, public functionaries, were invited, by public advertisement, to attend the funeral procession. By his death the American states have lost one of the oldest, most firm, and moderate supporters of their independence, and England one of its most steady friends in that country. After the death of general Washington, the English party looked up to Adams as their chief, though at the age of 82, at which he died, the energies of most men are ended. Mr. A. was the first American ambassador in this country, where, with a true republican simplicity, and in a manner suitable to the embarrassed finances of his country, he resided in the first floor of a bookseller in Piccadilly, and afterwards as a lodger in Leicester-fields. He was a man of considerable abilities; and his "History of Republics," if not a first-



a first-rate production, is full of information, and among the latter efforts of that species of literature, ranks high. Mr. A. died, justly regretted and esteemed by all moderate men.

At Mirfield, near Leeds, in the Moravian school there, in the 19th or 20th year of his age, Joseph Oly, a native of the island of Otaheite. It appears, from many circumstances, that he was a relation of Pomarré, (the Otoo of capt. Cook), the king of the country; but, from the abominable levity of sexual intercourse in that island, it is difficult to ascertain the exact degree of consanguinity. However, from his own account, and that of his late companion, Christian Mydowe, whose death we have already announced, (see p. 520), as well as other accounts come to hand, it appears, beyond a doubt, that he was one of the arcories or nobility of that country. He lived, it seems, some months, with the missionaries at Mattavia Bay, with whom he was well acquainted, and used frequently to mention them by name, particularly a Mr. Broomhall, in whose apartment he resided. A Spanish brig, prize to the Cornwall and Betsy, south-whalers, belonging to the port of London, touching at Otaheite, in February 1799, on her way to Port Jackson, he was persuaded to embark in her, with another Otaheitean youth of the name of Dididee, who afterwards died of a spitting of blood in London. In this ship he sailed to the whale-fishery, and afterwards came to London, from whence he made a voyage to the West Indies; on his return, he was found out by his countryman Mydowe, who hearing from a sailor, he accidentally met in Wapping, that a countryman of his was on

board a ship in the river, took a boat, and, on meeting, they recognized each other, and came together to town, where Mydowe had already met with friends in some members of the missionary societies. After a stay of some time in London, they were both generously placed, by that society, under the care of the rev. doctor Okely, in Mirfield, with a view to their instruction in useful branches of learning, and also in the truths of the christian religion, and finally to be sent home again, qualified to be of use to their benighted country. Their progress in learning was pleasing; but though they evinced sufficient, it may even be said acute capacities, it was difficult to make them attend to those minutiae which children must go through before they can read and write, though there is every reason to suppose, had Providence prolonged their lives, this difficulty would, in time, have been overcome. Oly had been, for some months back, labouring under a pulmonary consumption, which baffled all the efforts of art. He bore his illness with exemplary patience, and met death with that serenity and composure which nothing can give but a truly christian and believing hope in the efficacy of our holy religion.

3d. Mrs. E. Mathew, aunt to the earl of Landaff, who succeeds to the life-use of 10,000*l.* of which 3,000*l.* is bequeathed to lady E. Mathew; and the remainder, a landed estate, devolves, at his lordship's death, to his second son, the hon. col. Mathew.

Interred, in St. George's-chapel, Windsor, in the same grave with her beloved husband, the hon. Anne Brudenell, relict of the hon. col. Robert Brudenell, and one of the  
bedchamber



bedchamber women to her majesty. She died in her 75th year, sincerely regretted by every one who knew her.

In Somer's Town, after a tedious illness, of a dropsy, Mr. Sedgwick, singer of Drury-lane theatre.

11th. Suddenly, at Felixton, in Suffolk, at an advanced age, lady Fludyer, relict of the late sir Samuel F. of Leigh, in Kent, bart. and alderman of London. She was daughter of the hon. James Brudenell.

At his seat at Badminton, co. Gloucester, of the gout in his stomach, in his 59th year, the most noble Henry Somerset, duke of Beaufort, marquis and earl of Worcester, earl of Glamorgan, viscount Grosmont, baron Herbert, lord of Ragland, Chepstow, and Gower, baron Beaufort, of Caldecot Castle, baron Bettetourt (to which he succeeded on the death of his mother, April 8, 1799), lord-lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the counties of Monmouth and Brecknock, and K. G. He was born Oct. 16, 1744; and was married April 2, 1766, to Elizabeth, youngest daughter of the late admiral Boscawen, and sister to George Evelyn, viscount Falmouth, by whom he has left eight sons and three daughters; the eldest of whom, Henry-Charles, marquis of Worcester, and M. P. for Gloucestershire, succeeds him in his titles and estates. His grace will be very much lamented by his family, his friends, his neighbours, and his numerous tenantry, in the counties of Gloucester and Monmouth. He maintained the dignity of his station rather by the noble simplicity of his manners, and his provincial hospitality, than by attentions to exterior splendour and

display of fashion. It was not to his taste, nor did it suit with his fancy, to solicit notice by any of those attractions at which the public gaze with temporary admiration. Grosvenor-square was not disturbed by his festivities; but at Badminton and Troy-house every visitor felt the honour of his reception, and was delighted with the satisfaction that accompanied it. In politics he supported a tranquil, dignified independence. He never engaged in the ranks of opposition; and the support he generally gave to his majesty's ministers could never be justly attributed to any motives, but such as were perfectly consistent with the integrity which distinguished his honourable life. His remains were, on the 20th, interred in the family-vault at Badminton.

12th. Miss Jane Lyon, fourth daughter of the late hon. Thomas L. of Hilton, Durham.

14th. At Canterbury, William Scott, esq. of the ancient family of Baliol Scotts, late of Scotts-hall, in Kent. A long account of the family, who traced their descent from the Baliols, kings of Scotland, may be found in Hasted's History of Kent.

At her house in Gay-street, Bath, viscountess Northland, wife of lord viscount Northland, of Ireland.

18th. At his house in Westminster, aged 94, capt. Thomas Baston, of the Royal Invalids. He was the oldest officer in his majesty's service, and formerly of the Coldstream regiment of foot-guards, in which he lost an arm, at the battle of Fontenoy, 1745.

19th. At Barbadoes, victims to the yellow-fever, general William Grinfield, commander of the troops in the Leeward Islands, who survived

vived his lady only three days, and a very intimate female acquaintance of Mrs. G. By his will, his younger brother, a clergyman in Bristol, becomes entitled to all his fortune, excepting a legacy to the late Mrs. G.'s relations.

21st. At his house at Twickenham, Middlesex, lord Frederick Cavendish, uncle to the duke of Devonshire and lord G. H. Cavendish. He was a man of a strong mind and amiable manners; and enjoyed, many years before his death, the honour of being a field-marshal of his majesty's forces. He was born in August, 1729, and died in the 74th year of his age. He was immensely rich; and the bulk of his fortune is left to lord G. H. Cavendish, his nephew, to whom he was much attached, and had for several years past received, with the rest of his family, into his good graces; and always promised, when alive, that lady G. H. Cavendish and her family, from her amiable disposition, should share the bulk of his fortune. Twickenham mansion and park, his favourite residence, devolve to sir Wm. Abdy. His remains were interred in the family-vault in Derbyshire.

The eldest daughter of Mr. W. Tripp, grocer, at Bleadon, co. Somerset, had her clothes unfortunately set on fire, and was so dreadfully burnt, that she died on the spot in the greatest agony. Her cousin, Mr. W. Tripp, aged about 20, was so deeply affected by the melancholy event, as to be immediately seized with a most violent paroxysm of phrenzy, under the sad influence of which he destroyed himself.

24th. Of a fever, at Blatchington-park, the seat of Arthur Annes-

ley, esq. in his 22d year, Mr. Dashwood, eldest son of sir Henry Watkins, D. bart. of Kirtlington-park, in Oxfordshire.

26th. At his seat, Trentham-hall, co. Stafford, in his 68th year, Granville Leveson Gower, marquis of Stafford, earl Gower, viscount Trentham, baron Gower, and K. G. He is succeeded by earl Gower, his eldest son, who was married, 1785, to the countess of Sutherland, now marchioness of Stafford. The late marquis was born Aug. 4. 1721; first married, in 1744, to Elizabeth, daughter of Nicholas Fazakerley, esq.; secondly, Mar. 28, 1748, to Louisa Egerton, daughter of Scrope duke of Bridgewater. His lordship was allied to many of the principal families in Great Britain, and formerly held some high situations of honour and trust in his majesty's service. In private life, he was universally admired for his virtues, and his loss will be very generally regretted. He was the last of the political knot, which, about forty years ago, were denominated the Bloomsbury gang, from their leader, the old duke of Bedford. It consisted of the duke of Bedford, lord Weymouth, late marquis of Bath, lord Sandwich, Mr. Rigby, and earl Gower, afterwards marquis of Stafford, powerfully abetted by the side-wind politics of the then earl Mansfield. They ruled his majesty's councils for many years, sometimes with the sovereign's choice, at others by taking the cabinet by storm. Junius came forth at the very moment this phalanx began to divide, and, by his single hand, scattered them so that they were never able to rally. The present marquis of Stafford is, probably, the richest nobleman in England, having joined



joined the Sutherland and the Eger-ton estates to the vast inheritances of his own family.

30th. At Bath, major-general Ellis.

At Wonersh, near Guildford, co. Surry, aged 95, Grace dowager lady Grantley, daughter of sir Wm. Chapple, kn't. judge of the king's bench; married, 1741, to sir Fletcher Norton, afterwards created lord Grantley, by whom she had four sons and one daughter.

After a few days illness, with which he was seized while presiding at the India house, sir Lionel Darell, bart. one of the directors of the East India company, and colonel of the first regiment of loyal East India volunteers.

Lately, at Vienna, aged 65, M. Gabriel Senac de Mirhan, son of the late learned M. Senac, first physician to Louis the 15th. He was intendant of Valenciennes before the revolution. His essay, intituled, "Considerations sur L'Esprit et les Moeurs," gained him much reputation. The late empress of Russia, Catharine II. settled a pension on him of 6000 roubles, which was regularly paid him till his death, and engaged him to write "Annals of Russia."

At the prince William Henry hotel, Plymouth-dock, aged 20, Joseph Neville, esq. fifth son of — Neville, esq. of Badsworth-hall, Yorkshire, a young gentleman of perfect suavity of manners, and beloved by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance. In the course of a few short years, this unfortunate family, as respectable as any in the county of York, has lost five sons and a daughter, arrived at the age of maturity, viz: lieut. Ne-

ville, who fell in the battle of the glorious first of June, under earl Howe, when doing duty, as a marine officer, with the 2d, or queen's regiment; captains John and Brownlow Neville fell, both belonging to the guards, in Holland; capt. Cavendish Neville, also of the guards, was taken ill at Malta, on his passage to Egypt, to join the army there, but lived long enough to arrive home and breathe his last sigh in the arms of his sorrowing family, at Badsworth-hall; capt. Martin Neville, who was promoted to the rank of master and commander, for his gallantry as lieut. in boarding and carrying, with the boats of the *Urania*, in the late war, and some other ships' boats, a French ship of war, *La Chevette*, in which he received three severe wounds in a personal conflict with the French captain, who fell in the action; after which promotion he sailed to the West Indies, with dispatches, in the *Port Mahon*, of 18 guns, a few months since, and died in the Bay of Honduras, of the yellow fever, caught from some French prisoners in that part of the world. A beautiful young lady, a daughter of Mr. Neville, died a few years since of a fever.

Nov. 2d. At Laycock abbey, the seat of the dowager countess Shrewsbury, after a very short illness, sir Wm. Blount, bart. of Morley-hall, near Cleobury Mortimer, co. Salop, and of Sodington, co. Worcester. He was son to the late sir Edward (who died in 1765) by Mary, eldest daughter and coheirress of James lord Aston, of Forfar, by whom he had four sons, whereof William, the second, born 1768, succeeded him.

At Edinburgh, the hon. Mrs. Mary



Mary Elizabeth Forbes, daughter of lord Forbes, sister to the duchess of Athol, and wife to John Hay, esq. banker of Edinburgh.

5th. At Edinburgh, sir John Gibson Carmichael, of Stirling, bart.

At his apartments, in Charles-street, St. James's-square, aged about 43, George Biggin, esq. a gentleman of considerable literary and scientific acquirements; one of the trustees of the opera-house, and of Drury-lane theatre; and who some years ago ascended with Lunardi and Mrs. Sage, in a balloon.

7th. At his house in Buccleugh-street, Edinburgh, in his 41st year, Alexander Thompson, esq. author of poems entitled "Whist," 1791, 8vo; the "Paradise of Taste;" an ingenious "Essay on Novels;" and "The German Miscellany," a collection of translations of dramas, dialogues, tales, and novels.

8th. In Pall-Mall, aged 73, after a long and lingering illness, Mr. James Christie, many years well known and justly celebrated as an auctioneer, and the successful disposer of property of every kind, whether by public sale or private contract. With an easy and gentleman-like flow of eloquence, he possessed, in a great degree, the power of persuasion, and even tempered his public address by a gentle refinement of manners. His remains were interred, on the 14th, in St. James's burial-ground.

10th. Mr. Simon, a respectable hatter in Vere-street, Oxford-road. Being acquainted with one of the domestics, he went to the house of the duke de Berri, in George-street, Manchester-square; and being accounted an excellent swordsman, the domestic asked him if he would take a foil; and indulge him with a

lesson in the small-sword exercise. Mr. S. replied, "I am now very stiff, and have had no exercise in the small-sword for several months; but, to gratify your curiosity, I'll take a trial with you." He stripped off his coat; took the foil; and, after a very grand introductory salute, for which Mr. S. was counted one of the first in England, pointed his guard; but, on the first parry, he clapt his hand to his right breast, and exclaimed, "My God! I am no more!" Instantly the foil fell from his hand; and, before he could fall backwards, he was caught in the arms of the gentleman with him, and placed in a chair, where he expired in a few minutes.

16th. At Newcastle, Mrs. Dixon, daughter of the late col. Gardner, and sister of the present adm. lord Gardner.

At Rome, in her 75th year, the princess Matilda, of Este, sister of the late duke of Parma.

At his apartments, in Greenwich hospital, after a few days illness of a paralytic stroke, in his 51st year, John Willet Payne, esq. rear-adm. of the red, vice-adm. of the coasts of Devonshire and Cornwall, treasurer of Greenwich hospital, comptroller of the household of his royal highness the prince of Wales, and lord warden of the stannaries. The professional and private character of this gentleman have long stood so high in the public estimation, that they can gain no addition by any eulogy. He began his career in the navy, about the year 1769, on board the Quebec, of 32 guns, commanded by lord Ducie; served as midshipman on board the Eagle, of 64 guns, bearing the flag of earl Howe, in the American war; whence he was made lieutenant, and promoted to the rank

rank of post-captain, July 8, 1780; and distinguished himself on several occasions, particularly by his action in the West Indies, 1783, with a ship of very superior force, the *Pluto*. He also commanded the *Russell*, one of the ships in earl Howe's memorable action on the 1st of June, 1794. He was appointed rear-admiral of the red, Feb. 14, 1799; and, in the following year, on the resignation of lord Bridport, succeeded him in the office of treasurer of Greenwich hospital. He had the honour to convey the princess of Wales to England, in the *Jupiter*, of 50 guns. The high station which this officer has long occupied with so much credit in the prince's household, afforded scope for the talents and courtesy of manners which he possessed in an eminent degree. His judgment was prompt and correct; his wit, though brilliant, was never severe; and his benevolence, though unbounded, was never exposed to the glare of day. The prevailing feature in his character was an uniform mildness and good-will for all. On the 25th, the remains of this worthy and gallant officer were interred in the vault at the north-west corner of St. Margaret's church, Westminster, with unusual tokens of respect and marks of honour.

18th. At his seat, in Hampshire, after a long and severe illness, in his 81st year, William Hornby, esq. formerly governor of Bombay, in the East Indies.

At Pontefract, Mrs. Elizabeth Wood, sister of the late sir F. W. bart. of Hemsworth, co. York.

19th. At his lodgings, in Craven-street, Strand, sir Thomas Esmond, bart. of Ballinastra, co. Wexford, Ireland.

20th. At his seat, at Balbithan, aged 81, general Benjamin Gordon, lieut. col. of the 84th foot; who had been many years engaged in actual service, often in very perilous situations, and always acquitted himself with honour and propriety.

22d. At Bradley-hall; co. Stafford, in her 15th year, of a scarlet fever, lady Harriet Stanhope, eldest surviving daughter of the earl of Chesterfield, who is inconsolable. She was his lordship's only daughter by his first wife, Annie, daughter of Alexander Thistlethwaite, esq. of Tuherley, co. Hants. She died Oct. 20, 1798, having had four other children still-born.

24th. At Plesse, in Upper Silesia, of a severe nervous fever, in her 20th year, having been married only three months, the reigning princess of Anhalt Coether-Plesse, born princess of Holstein-Beck.

25th. At his apartments, in Somerset-place, aged 82, Joseph Wilton, esq. a royal academician, and keeper of the academy; an artist of very considerable merit, as his public works, and detached statues and busts, in various parts of the united kingdom, and the colonies, abundantly testify. Mr. W. was a pupil of Mr. Delvaux; a Flemish statuary of eminence, who resided in this country for some time, and executed several works. He finished his pupilage with him at Neuville, in Flanders; from whence he went to the Royal Academy at Paris, and practised under that excellent sculptor, the late M. Pigal; from thence he removed to Italy, and in Rome and Florence he continued many years, studying from the antique, and copying busts and statues for the nobility and gentry



who were then making the tour of Europe. He was at Rome in the jubilee year, 1750, and gained a prize medal, given by Benedict the XIVth, being said to be the first Englishman that had ever obtained one for sculpture. He returned home in the year 1755, after an absence of 16 years, in the company of those eminent artists in their different lines, the late sir Wm. Chambers and Mr. Cipriani, with whom, and sir Joshua Reynolds, he continued on the most cordial terms of friendship during the remainder of their lives.

At Losely-hall, co. Leicester, after a few days illness, lady Fowke, widow of the late sir Thomas F. knt. and one of the co-heiresses and only surviving daughter of the late sir Isaac Woollaston, of the same place, bart.

27th. In Lancashire, the lady of the hon. capt. Jones, brother of lord viscount Ranelagh.

28th. Of a consumption, at her father's seat, at Wingerworth-hall, near Chesterfield, co. Derby, Anne, fourth daughter of sir Henry Hunkloke, bart.

*Dec.* 1st. In the commune of Boeschepe, in the department of North France, aged 85, Bonaventure Lebayne. He had been married seven times, and was father of 35 children, 17 of whom he had by his seventh wife. He had had a wooden leg, ever since he was 28 years old.

At his house, at Battersea-rise, Surry, in his 69th year, of a dropsical complaint, to which he had been for some time subject, Thomas Astle, esq. F. A. S. 1763, F. R. S. 1766, a gentleman well known for his extensive and accurate acquaintance with the history and antiquities

of his country; keeper of the records in the Tower, and late one of the keepers of the Paper-office; trustee of the British Museum, where, when a young man, he was employed to make an index to the Harleian catalogue of MSS.; F. R. S. Edinb. Reg. Scient. Soc. Island. Soc. Antiq. Cassel. & Soc. Volscorum Velitris sod. honorar. He was son of Mr. Daniel Astle, keeper of Needwood forest, co. Stafford, who died 1774, and was buried in Yoxal church, where a neat mural monument is erected to his memory (see it in Shaw's History of Staffordshire, l. 101); and who appears to have been descended from a family of that name, resident at, and lords of, the manor of Fauld, in Hanbury parish, adjoining, the seat of Burton, the Leicestershire antiquary. Mr. Shaw had access to Mr. Astle's library, and the use of several manuscripts, &c. for both volumes of his Staffordshire; his MS. library being accounted to exceed that of any private gentleman in England, and his liberal utility to men of science their acknowledgments abundantly testify. Mr. A. about 1763, obtained the patronage of Mr. Grenville, then first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer, who employed him as well in his public as private affairs, and joined him in a commission with the late sir Joseph Ayloffe, bart. and Dr. Ducarel, for superintending the regulation of the public records at Westminster. On the death of his colleagues, Mr. Topham was substituted, and both were removed by Mr. Pitt during his administration. In 1765 he was appointed receiver-general of six-pence in the pound on the civil list. In 1766 he was consulted by the committee of the



the house of lords concerning the printing of the ancient records of parliament. To the superintendence of this work he introduced his father-in-law, Mr. Morant; and, on his death, in 1770, was himself appointed by the house of lords to carry on the work; a service in which he was employed till its completion, five years afterwards. He was then appointed, on the death of Henry Rooke, esq. his majesty's chief clerk in the record-office in the Tower of London; and, on the decease of sir John Shelley, he succeeded to the office of keeper of the records. Mr. A. was several times on the continent on literary pursuits. His publications were, In the *Archæologia*, vol. IV. p. 195, On the events produced in England by the grant of the kingdom of Sicily to prince Edmond, with remarks on the seal of that prince, of gold, weight eight pennyweights, formerly in the earl of Oxford's collection, then of James West, esq. whence it passed into that of Gustavus Brander, esq. and was bought in at 18l. 2s. at the sale of his collection, by Mr. Gerrard, February, 1790. VII. 348, On the radical letters of the Pelasgians, and their derivatives. X. 226, Observations on a charter in his library, indorsed, in a hand coeval with it, "Hæc est carta regis Eadgari de institutione abbatis Eliensis et duplicatus;" which he shews not to be so old as king Edgar. XII. On the tenures, customs, &c. of his manor of Great Tey, Essex, by onizell, i. e. ungeld, an arbitrary taillage. XIII. 208. Observations on stone pillars, crosses, and crucifixes, from Mr. Anstis's MS. in his library. Ibid. 313. Copy of a curious record of pardon in the

Tower of London, 1357, of a woman indicted for murdering her husband, and remaining, without pleading, in prison 40 days without sustenance. "The Will of King Henry VII. 1775." 4to. "A Catalogue of the MSS. in the Cottonian Library; to which are added, many Emendations and Additions: with an Appendix, containing an Account of the Damage sustained by the Fire in 1731; and also a Catalogue of the Charters preserved in the same Library," was communicated by him to S. Hooper, who published them in 1777, 8vo. "The Origin and Progress of Writing, as well hieroglyphic as elementary; illustrated by Engravings taken from Marbles, MSS. and Charters, ancient and modern: also some Account of the Origin and Progress of Printing, 1784," 4to.—A new edition was published this year, with one additional plate from a MS. in the British Museum, marked Nero, D. IV.; and a portrait of Mr. A. painted by Howard, and engraved by Shelton, in which the accidental loss of an eye when at school is concealed. The Will of King Alfred, found in a register of Newminster, Winchester, in the possession of the rev. George North, and given by Dr. Lort, his executor, to Mr. Astle, 1769; was printed at Oxford, with the illustrations of Mr. Manning, under the superintendence of sir H. Croft, 1788, 4to. "An Account of the Seals of the King's Royal Burghs and Magnates of Scotland, with five Plates, 1793," fol. The Calender to the Patent Rolls in the Tower of London, reaching from 3 John to 23 Edward IV. containing grants of offices and lands, restitutions of temporalities to bishops, abbots, and other ecclesiastical

siastical persons ; confirmations of grants made to bodies corporate, as well ecclesiastical as civil ; grants in fee farm ; special licences ; grants of offices ; special and general patents of creations of peers ; and licences of all kinds which pass the great seal : and on the backs of these rolls are commissions to justices of the peace, of sewers, and all commissions which pass the great seal. The Calendar of these Rolls, published by his majesty's command, in pursuance of an address of the house of commons, on the report of the commissioners for enquiring into the state of the public records, is printed from four MS. volumes, procured, in 1775, by Mr. Astle, for public use, from the executors of Henry Rooke, esq. his predecessor in the office of keeper of the Tower records, collated with two MSS. in the Cottonian library, marked Titus C. II. and III. which seem to have been compiled in the reign of James I. by some experienced clerk, who seems to have selected from the records themselves what appeared to him most useful and interesting.— They supply many omissions and deficiencies in the Tower copy ; and, after all, this Calendar, though entitled to great merit, is only a selection, various entries appearing on the Patent Rolls not entered here ; and, therefore, though this work will be found to yield abundant information, no one is to be deterred from an examination of any record mentioned elsewhere as being on the Patent Roll, because it is not mentioned here. Mr. A.'s report on the state of the records under his care will be found in the Report of the Committee abovementioned.

Shot himself through the heart, in a bed-room at the White-horse, in  
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the High-street, Canterbury, a young gentleman, named W. Crawford, who, it appears, had been a midshipman in the royal navy.

3d. At Dalmahoy, near Edinburgh, the widow of sir John Halkett, bart. of Pitfirane.

At Spring-garden coffee-house, Charing-cross, William Wilcox, esq. a gentleman of family and fortune. He put a period to his existence, in a fit of insanity, by nearly severing his head from his body.

7th. Interred, at St. Mary's (Scilly) under the discharge of military honours, the body of Mr. Henry Harland, a truly veteran soldier, aged 78, in his majesty's service 55 years, the last 23 of which he enjoyed the station of master-gunner to that garrison, dwelling in a comfortable house within the line. During his arduous exertions, in earlier days, his hairbreadth escapes were many and various, two of which, the most distinguished and providential, may suffice. At the still-to-be-regretted defeat of general Braddock, he fell near the side of a young American officer ; they both, while warm, crawled from the spot a short distance into the bushes, and thereby escaped the death-stroke of the Indians. After the action, the mother of this officer sent servants, with horses, to learn the fate of her son. Fortunately they were descried nearly together, just able to speak, and were taken away together to the mother's house, where the son died ; but Harland recovered. The late general Washington at this time was major in the English service ; and Harland has often been heard to declare, that, had the general embraced the major's advice, as to the mode of fighting the enemy, the  
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sad disaster would have been prevented. At a later period, by the powder barrels taking fire, while he was above in the house, he was, with the windows and roof, blown into an orchard, and found hanging in an apple-tree. His scars were many, and a very large wound accompanied him to the grave.

7th. In Harley-street, Cavendish-square, the wife of gen. Ross, M. P.

At her house, at Twickenham, in her 79th year, Anne lady Mendip.

8th. In Yorkshire-place, Kingsland-road, the hon. Mrs. Murray, only daughter of the late lord John M. and wife of col. M. of Banner-cross, co. York.

At Barfield, in Berkshire, aged about 75, the rev. Wm. Robinson, lately rector of that parish, which he resigned to his son about five years ago, and formerly of Denton, near Canterbury. He was fifth son of Matthew R. esq. of West Layton, in Yorkshire, and Monk's Horton, in Kent, by Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Drake, esq. of Cambridgeshire. His elder brother, Matthew, the late lord Rokeby, died November 30, 1800, and he succeeded, by his will, to part of his estates in Kent, Yorkshire, and Cambridgeshire. In 1760, he married Mary, only surviving daughter of Adam Richardson, gent. and sister and heir to Wm. Richardson, esq. of Kensington. Mr. Robinson was educated at Westminster, at St. John's college, Cambridge, of which he was fellow, having proceeded, B. A. 1750, M. A. 1754, and where he became intimate with the poets Gray and Mason, who corresponded with him, and occasionally visited him at his seat at Denton. Mr. Robinson's sisters, Mrs.

Scott, the widow of George Lewis Scott, esq. and Mrs. Montagu, of Portman-square, both well known in the literary world, died, the former in 1795, the latter in 1800.—Mr. R. has left a son and two daughters, amongst whom his ample fortune divides. His son is rector of Barfield Coveney, with Maney chapel, in Cambridgeshire; and his youngest daughter is married to Samuel Egerton Brydges, esq. of Denton, in Kent.

At Edinburgh, Thomas Pringle, esq. vice-admiral of the red.

12th. At her house, in Seymour-place, in her 70th year, lady Charlotte Tufton, aunt to the present earl of Thanet, who obtains 20,000*l.* by her death. The house, furniture, &c. in Seymour-place, are willed to Mrs. Blackwell, an old and intimate friend of her ladyship. The remainder of her fortune devolves to lady Caroline Barham, lord Thanet's sister, but subject to various legacies. The remains of lady Charlotte were interred, with great funeral pomp, in the family-vault at Rainham, Kent.

His royal highness prince Frederic Adolphus, duke of Ostrogothia, uncle to the king of Sweden, who passed two years at Montpelier, for the recovery of his health, and lately made a present of a gold snuff-box to each of his physicians, with 12,000 livres for his perfect cure.

At Rome, in his 51st year, the Portuguese ambassador, Alexander de Souza.

14th. In Weymouth-street, aged 12, Augusta Georgiana, 3d daughter of vice-admiral Parker, and grand-daughter of admiral sir Peter P. bart.

16th. Unfortunately shot and stoned



stoned to death, by the insurgents, near Dublin, capt. Dodson, eldest son of the late bishop of Elphin, who designed him for the church, but he gave the preference to a more active profession. He was an amiable man in private life, a fond husband, a good father, and an intelligent, courageous soldier. He has left a pregnant widow and two children, residing at Tooting.

18th. In Portland-place, after a long and severe illness, the wife of Wm. Gosling, esq. and daughter of lady Cunliffe.

At Weimar, the rev. John George Herder, superintendant-general of the clergy of Saxe-Weimar, and one of the most distinguished of the German writers. He was born at Morungen, in Prussia, August 25th, 1741. Lavater has given his portrait in the 3d part of his *Physiognomy*.

24th. In his 43d year, after a long illness, his serene highness, George duke of Saxe Meiningen; born Feb. 4, 1761. His duchess (Christiana, daughter of the prince of Hohenlhoe Langenbourg) has been declared regent.

25th. At Croydon-grove, Surry, aged 79, the lady of sir John Bridger, one of the co-heiresses of the late John Eliot, esq.

27th. At Spring-gardens, Charing-cross, aged 80, lady Taylor, relict of the late sir Robert T. knight, and architect, and mother to Michael Angelo T. esq.

28th. At Buxton, whither she went for the benefit of the waters, the lady of sir Robert Peel, bart. of Upper Grosvenor-street, and of Drayton manor, co. Stafford.

At Vienna, of a paralytic stroke, in his 79th year, the minister-plenipotentiary, from Hanover, baron

von Muhl, many years senior of the diplomatic corps.

Aged 104, Mr. John Page, gardener to the Asylum.

29th. At Corhampton, Hants, Hester Countess Dowager Clanricarde, relict of John, 11th earl of Clanricarde, mother of the present earl, and grandmother to sir Francis Vincent. She was youngest daughter of sir Henry Vincent, of Stoke D'Abernon, and mother of two sons and three daughters.

*SHERIFFS appointed by his Majesty in Council for the Year 1803.*

*Bedfordshire.* Godfrey Thornton, of Mogerhanger, esq.

*Berkshire.* Daniel Agace, of Wingfield, esq.

*Bucks.* Joseph Franklin, of Haddenham, esq.

*Cambridge and Huntingdonshires.* James Duberly, of Gains-hall, esq.

*Cheshire.* John Fielden, of Great Morlington, esq.

*Cumberland.* Robert Warwick, of Warwick-hall, esq.

*Derbyshire.* Sir Robert Wilmot, of Chaddesden, bart.

*Devonshire.* Sir Stafford Northcote, of Pynes, bart.

*Dorsetshire.* Josiah Wedgwood, of Gunville, esq.

*Essex.* Stephen Frier Giluffi, of Shenfield, esq.

*Gloucestershire.* Samuel Wathen, of Woodchester, esq.

*Herefordshire.* Benjamin Bidulph, of Binghill, esq.

*Hertfordshire.* Henry Browne, of North Mims-place, esq.

*Kent.* Christopher Cooke, of Ash Grove, esq.

*Leicestershire.* James Vaun, of Belgrave, esq.

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*Lincolnshire.*

*Lincolnshire.* Sir Henry Relthorpe, of Sealby, bart.

*Monmouthshire.* George Jones, of Major, esq.

*Norfolk.* Thomas Hare, of Stowe hall, esq.

*Northamptonshire.* John Harvey Thursby, of Abington, esq.

*Northumberland.* Shaftoe Craster, of Craster, esq.

*Nottinghamshire.* William Coape Sherbrook, of Oxtan, esq.

*Oxfordshire.* James Taylor, of Sandford, esq.

*Rutlandshire.* Joseph Cooke, of Edith-Weston, esq.

*Shropshire.* Thomas Kinnersley, of Leighton, esq.

*Somersetshire.* Sir Hugh Smith, of Wraxhall, bart.

*Staffordshire.* George Birch, of Hampstead, esq.

*Southampton.* William Mills, of Bistern, esq.

*Suffolk.* Sir Harry Parker, of Melford, bart.

*Surry.* John Pooley Kensington, of Putney, esq.

*Sussex.* John Will. Commerell, of Stroad, esq.

*Warwickshire.* Henry Greswell Lewis, of Malvern-hall, esq.

*Wiltshire.* Thomas Henry Hele Phipps, of Westbury Leigh, esq.

*Worcestershire.* John Phillips, of Wynterdine, esq.

*Yorkshire.* Sir Henry Carr, Ib-betson, of Denton, bart.

## SOUTH WALES.

*Caermarthen.* John Llewellyn, of Castle Piggan, esq.

*Pembrokeshire.* George Bowen, of Llwngwair, esq.

*Cardiganshire.* John Lloyd, of Mabus, esq.

*Glamorganshire.* John Morris, of Claremont, esq.

*Brecon.* Sackville Gwynne, of Tremaur, esq.

*Radnor.* Thomas - Havell - Mar-maduke Gwynne, of Llanelwyth, esq.

## NORTH WALES.

*Caernarvonshire.* Gwyllim Lloyd Wardle, of Wernfaw, esq.

*Anglesea.* William Bulkeley Hughes, of Plasloch, esq.

*Merionethshire.* John Forbes, of Ofcebody, esq.

*Montgomeryshire.* John Windsor, of Vayner, esq.

*Denbighshire.* Henry Ellis Boate, of Rose-hill, esq.

*Flintshire.* Owen Molyneux Wynne, of Overton, esq.

SHERIFF appointed by his R. H. the Prince of Wales in Council for the Year 1803.

*County of Cornwall.* Thomas Rawlins, of Padstowe, esq.

## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

*Dispatch from Lieutenant General Grinfield, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Troops in the Windward and Leeward Charibbee Islands, to Lord Hobart, Principal Secretary of State for the War Department.*

*St. Lucia, June 22.*

My lord,

**I**T is with satisfaction I have the honour to acquaint your lordship, that this day the fortress of Morne Fortunée was carried by assault; and the island of St. Lucia is, in consequence, unconditionally restored to the British government. I have to state to your lordship, that in consequence of his majesty's order, signified to me in your letter, dated the 16th of May, and received on the 14th instant, which I immediately communicated to commodore Hood, he arrived at Barbadoes on the 17th: the troops, stores, &c. were on board, or embarked on the 19th; sailed on the 20th. On the 21st, at day-break, they were off the north end of St. Lucia; in the course of the day, the greatest part of the troops were disembarked in Choque Bay; about half past five, the out-posts of the enemy were driven in, the town of Castries taken, and a summons was

sent to the commander of the troops of the French republic. In consequence of the refusal of brigadier general Nogues to accede to any terms, and the expectation of approaching rains, it became necessary to get possession of the Morne with as little delay as possible. It was, therefore, determined, this morning, to attack the fortress by assault, which was done accordingly at four o'clock; and it was carried in about half an hour, and with less loss, considering the resistance, than could have been expected; but the loss has been chiefly among the higher ranks of officers, and those the most truly valuable; but it is yet to be hoped most of them will recover, for the real benefit of his majesty's service. I cannot omit a circumstance which reflects so much credit, as well on the British nation, as on the conduct of the soldiers actually employed, that, notwithstanding the severe and spirited resistance of the French troops, yet, no sooner were the works carried by assault, and the opposition no longer existed, than every idea of animosity appeared to cease, and not a French soldier was either killed or wounded. The return of the killed and wounded is herewith inclosed, which, excepting the number



ber of officers of high rank, is not equal to what might have been expected, and by far less than it would have been, in all probability, had a formal investment of the fortress taken place. These dispatches will be delivered to your lordship by my aid-du-camp, captain Weir, to whom I beg to refer your lordship for any information you may require.

*Killed, Wounded, and Missing, of the Troops in the Assault and Capture of the Fortress of Morne Fortunée, in the Island of St. Lucia, in the Morning of the 22d of June.*

Royal military artificers, 1 serjeant killed.—2d battalion of royals, 1 serjeant, 8 rank and file killed; 1 field officer, 1 captain, 2 serjeants, 43 rank and file wounded; 1 rank and file missing.—64th regiment, 1 serjeant, 5 rank and file killed; 2 field officers, 1 captain, 1 subaltern, 2 serjeants, 31 rank and file wounded; 1 rank and file missing.—3d West India regiment, 1 serjeant, 3 rank and file killed; 2 subalterns, 23 rank and file wounded; 5 rank and file missing.—Staff, 1 field officer wounded.—Total, 4 serjeants, 16 rank and file killed; 4 field officers, 2 captains, 3 subalterns, 4 serjeants, 97 rank and file wounded; 1 drummer, 7 rank and file missing.

*Officers wounded.*—2d battalion of royals, lieut. col. Macdonald, severely; captain Chaloner, severely.—64th regiment, lieut. col. Pakenham, severely; major sir G. Richardson, capt. Galway, lieut. F. Rowan, slightly.—3d West India regiment, lieutenant Moultrie, slightly; ensign Fagan, slightly.—Staff, lieut. col. Morden, deputy

adjutant-general, severely.—N. B. Hospital mate Heyes, attached to the 3d West India regiment, severely wounded, not included above.

(Signed) W. Tatum, capt.  
Assistant ajd. gen.

*Letter from Commodore Hood, Commander in Chief at the Leeward Islands, to Sir E. Nepean, Bart. dated on board the Centaur, in Choque Bay, St. Lucia, June 22.*  
Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that, on my arrival at Barbadoes, on the 17th, late in the evening, having consulted lieut. gen. Grinfield with respect to the intended co-operation of the army and navy, I instantly took measures to prevent further supplies being thrown into St. Lucia, (the ships on this service, under the orders of captain O'Brien, of the Emerald, made some captures of trading vessels), and every disposition was settled for embarking the troops and light artillery on board the ships of war, and the necessary stores, &c. in small vessels, for the expedition: by great exertions, the whole was effected on the 20th, and the arrangements completed. The lieut. general having embarked with the troops, I put to sea with the ships named in the margin\*; was joined next morning by the Emerald and Osprey, having brigadier gen. Prevost on board, and were all anchored by eleven o'clock in this bay. There being a strong breeze, the boats of the squadron had a heavy pull with the first division of the army, composed of the 2d battalion of the royals, and two field-pieces, under the command of brig. gen. Brereton;

\* Centaur, Courageux, Argo, Chichester, Hornet, and Cyane.

Brereton ; but, by the great energy and excellent disposition made by captain Hallowell, were landed in good order about two P. M. and by the perseverance of every officer and man employed in landing the remainder of the troops, the lieutenant-general was enabled to make an early arrangement for an attack on that very important and strong post, Morne Fortunée, where the force of the enemy was assembled, which, on the commandant refusing to give up when summoned, was ordered to be attacked with that decision and promptitude which has always been the characteristic mark of lieutenant-general Grinfield, and carried by storm at half past four this morning, with the superior bravery which has ever distinguished the British soldier : this placed the colony completely in our possession. To captain Hallowell's merit it is impossible for me to give additional encomium, as it is so generally known ; but I must beg leave to say, on this expedition, his activity could not be exceeded ; and, by his friendly advice, I have obtained the most effectual aid to this service, for which he has been a volunteer, and, after the final disembarkation, proceeded on with the seamen to co-operate with the army. The marines of the squadron, by desire of the lieutenant-general, were landed and ordered to take post near the Illet, to prevent supplies being thrown into Pigeon Island, which, on the fall of Morne Fortunée, was delivered up. We are already occupied in re-embarking troops and other necessary service for future operations. Capt. Littlehales, of this ship, is charged with the dispatch, whose assiduity and

attention I with much satisfaction acknowledge, and who will be able to give their lordships any farther information.

I am, &c. Sam. Hood.

*Dispatch from Lieut. Gen. Grinfield, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Troops in the Windward and Leeward Islands\*.*

*Scarborough, Tobago,  
July 1.*

My lord,

I have the honour to report to your lordship the surrender, by capitulation, of the fort of Scarborough, and the restoration of the island of Tobago to the British government. I have the satisfaction to add, that this event appears to be received by the colony, the inhabitants of which are almost entirely British, with the liveliest sense of gratitude. The circumstances which led to this fortunate and valuable conquest were as follow : on the 25th, commodore Hood, with the fleet and troops, sailed from St. Lucia, and yesterday, at day-break, we made this island. About five in the afternoon, having landed the greater part of the troops, the two leading columns marched towards Scarborough, and, meeting with no opposition in the defiles of St. Mary's, advanced to Mount Grace ; from which place I sent a summons to the commandant gen. Berthier, who returned an answer by proposing terms of capitulation, which were finally settled about four this morning, and at eleven possession of the fortress was given to the British forces ; the French garrison marching out with the honours of war, and laying down their arms, after passing

\* To lord Hobart.



passing the guard of honour, under the orders of brigadier-general Picton. The fort having surrendered without resistance, I can only speak in general terms of the excellent discipline and good conduct of the officers and soldiers in this expedition. There is no doubt, had the French garrison been sufficiently strong to have hazarded resistance, they would have met with as obstinate an attack as was experienced by the garrison of Morne Fortunée. It is next to impossible for me to say too much in praise of the co-operation of the navy. The troops are in the highest degree indebted to commodore Hood, for the accommodation afforded to them on board, and to the judicious arrangements and execution in the embarking and disembarkation of them by captain Hallowell. I take the liberty to inclose a copy of the orders given to the troops. I likewise inclose a list of the troops of the French republic who laid down their arms in consequence of the capitulation; also the return of ordnance and military stores taken in the fort and other batteries in this island. Capt. Draper, my aid-de-camp and secretary, returning to England, will have the honour to deliver this dispatch to your lordship. I beg leave to recommend him to your notice, as an intelligent, diligent, and active officer.

I am, &c.

W. Grinfield,

Lieut. gen.

*Terms of Capitulation agreed upon between Gen. Grinfield and Commodore Hood, and General Berthier, dated Providence House, June 30.*

**Article I.** To deliver up to the commander in chief of his Britannic

majesty's forces, the fort of Scarborough in the same state in which it now is, together with the artillery and military stores. Agreed to.

**II.** The garrison shall march out with all the honours of war, drums beating, and taking their arms and baggage, with one piece of field artillery. Agreed to. The British troops being permitted, at eleven o'clock to-morrow morning, to have possession of the fort of Scarborough; and the French garrison, at the same time, to march out with the honours of war, drums beating, arms and baggage, and one piece of field artillery; but the arms are to be laid down, and the field-piece given up, as soon as they shall have passed the glacis.

**III.** The captain-general, his staff, all the officers, all the persons in military or civil employments, with all the soldiers, seamen, servants, and generally all the French attached to the service of the republic, with their wives and children, shall be embarked within a month, and sent back to France at the expence of his Britannic majesty. Agreed to. And shall be sent within the time, or as soon after as possible.

**IV.** A proper vessel shall be furnished, as soon as possible, for the conveyance of the captain-general, his family, staff, and other persons in his suite, with the goods and effects belonging to them. Agreed to.

**V.** The sick and wounded shall be attended to in the military hospital of Scarborough, at the expence of his Britannic majesty, and sent to France when cured. Agreed to. And they shall be sent to France as soon as they may be recovered.

**VI.** The property of every kind belonging to the inhabitants of the colony shall be respected; their laws,



laws, customs, and usages, will be preserved, as they have hitherto been, by the French government. Agreed to. The colony will have the laws existing when under the British government previous to its last cession to the French republic.

VII. The captain-general, Cæsar Berthier, shall immediately dispatch the national brig Souffleux, now at Scarborough, to apprize his government of this capitulation. The necessary passport for this purpose shall be given by the commander of the naval forces of his Britannic majesty. Agreed to by me, but subject to the commodore's opinion. An unarmed vessel may be sent to France, and if the Souffleux is disarmed, she may be sent to France.

VIII. The French merchant vessels now in Scarborough Roads, under the batteries of the fort, shall be allowed to sail for such port of Europe or America as they shall think proper. A. Requires to be referred to the commodore. Provided the property does not belong to persons who have come to the island since its cession to the French republic.

IX. None of the inhabitants shall be molested on account of the conduct they may have held, or opinions they may have professed, under the French government.—Agreed to.

X. During the space of two years, to commence this day, it shall be permitted to such inhabitants as are desirous of quitting the island, to dispose of their properties, and remove the amount to whatever place they please. Agreed to.

[Here follow the general orders of the commander in chief, in which he highly compliments the whole of the forces, and attributes their

success principally to the steady co-operation of commodore Hood and captain Hallowell. He compliments the alertness of the artillery and artificers, and attributes the speedy surrender of the colony to the advance march of the first column, consisting of two companies of the 64th regiment, and five companies of the 3d West India regiment, under brigadier-general Picton.]

Return of the French troops and sailors in Fort Scarborough, in the island of Tobago, at the time of its surrender to the British forces, on the 1st of July, 1803.—3 captains, 2 serjeant-majors, 8 serjeants, 16 corporals, 73 grenadiers, 9 drummers, 120 sailors.—Total 228. The general and staff officers not included.

(Signed) C. Luxembourg,  
Capitaine commandant.

[Next is a return of the ordnance and stores found on the island, and amongst which are a vast quantity of ammunition, and several pieces of artillery of different calibre, in very good order.]

*Dispatch from Commodore Hood,  
Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at the Leeward Islands, to Sir Evan Nepean,  
Bart. dated the 1st of July.*

*Centaur, Great Courland Bay,  
Tobago, July 1.*

Sir,

Having sailed from St. Lucia on the evening of the 25th of last month, accompanied by his majesty's ships Centaur, Argo, Ulysses, Chichester, and Hornet, with lieutenant Grinfield, and troops for the attack of Tobago, embarked on board, and several small ordnance and provision vessels, we arrived off the island yesterday forenoon, and were joined

joined by his majesty's ships *Venus* and *Port Mahon*, neither of which having troops, I directed captain *Graves* to anchor close to the battery on the east point of *Courland Bay*, and commence the attack, that the first division of the army (composed of two companies of the 64th regiment, and five companies of the 3d *West India* regiment, commanded by brigadier-general *Picton*, and conducted by captain *Hallowell*, of the *Argo*, might be covered in proceeding to land in the bay, and captain *Nevill* to run in with the *Port Mahon* close to the back of the battery, to cover the landing; and as soon as the two companies of the 64th were in the boats, I bore up with the *Centaur*, with an intention of supporting the ship and sloop; but the steady and judicious conduct of these officers in the execution of this service, was so completely effective, that the battery was soon silenced by the fire of the *Venus*, and the *Port Mahon* drove them from the back, landed and took possession without any loss, by which the troops were disembarked unmolested. From the superior energy of lieutenant-general *Grinfield*, the rapid movements of the army were such as to cause general *C. Berthier* to propose for the surrender of the fort of *Scarborough* the same evening, and the articles of capitulation, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose\*, were completed by half past four this morning. I should do great injustice to the lieutenant-general, and the several officers and soldiers under his command, if I did not mention the most cordial good understanding which has subsisted between us during the whole of our

operations, as I should also do to the several captains, officers, petty officers, seamen, and royal marines, of the several ships, for their unremitting attention and good conduct. The royal marines, and a body of seamen, were landed to co-operate with the army, under the command of capt. *Hallowell*; and it is scarcely necessary for me to add, his zeal and exertions were equally conspicuous as on the late expedition to *St. Lucia*. He is charged with this dispatch, and will give their lordships any further information they may desire on the subject.

I am, &c.

Sam. Hood.

*The following Returns of Troops and Stores taken at St. Lucia, together with the General Orders issued by Lieutenant General Grinfield upon that Occasion, have been received by this Opportunity.*

1 Brigadier-general, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 10 captains, 8 lieutenants, 12 second lieutenants, 1 surgeon-major, 1 surgeon, 1 assistant-surgeon, 13 serjeant-majors, 77 serjeants, 74 corporals, 18 drummers, 402 privates, 11 women, 9 children. Total, 640. . . N. B. One hundred and sixteen of the prisoners included in the total are returned sick. Taken from the prefect's return.

William Tatum,

Capt. assistant adjutant-gen.

[Here follows a return of ordnance, ammunition, and stores, found at *Morne Fortunée*, and batteries adjoint, by which it appears there were thirty-two iron and two brass guns, of different calibre, with four brass and iron mortars, &c.]

*Letter*

\* See lieutenant general *Grinfield's* dispatch.



*Letter from Captain Malbon, commanding his Majesty's Ship Aurora.*

On the 30th of June, about four o'clock in the morning, I made the island of Peter's; and at five sent the large cutter and launch, manned and armed with a twelve-pound carronade, under the command of lieutenant Richard Longfield Davies, and lieutenant Baillie, of the marines, to oblige the town to surrender, or begin the attack. Between six and seven o'clock they entered the harbour, under a very thick fog; and, perceiving a boat crossing from one side to the other, brought her to, in which they found the commissary, who acted as governor. The confusion that the place was thrown into from the sudden attack, prevented the inhabitants from assembling together; and at half past seven the commissary surrendered the island, by delivering the colours to lieutenant Davies. From what has been since learned, there is no doubt, that, if the inhabitants could have had time to have collected themselves from their different situations, they would have made a strong resistance, having since discovered upwards of 100 stand of arms among them. Knowing the small force in the boats, I used my utmost efforts to get his majesty's ship into the harbour, but was as frequently prevented by thick fogs. About eleven, it being somewhat clear, I entered under a very heavy press of sail between the rocks, which were not a cable's length across, and at two P. M. brought to with the best bower in fifteen fathom water. Found here a French merchant brig (*La Reine des Anges*) and a schooner (*Le Prevoyier*), with eleven small schooners, and upwards of one hundred battoes.

The island contained fish, stores, salt, and merchandize of various descriptions, and, upon a rough survey, about 220 men were upon the island and in the boats; but they being so detached, several got away in the small craft, one of which, I have since been informed, was taken off Liverpool, in Nova Scotia, and another at St. Lawrence, in Newfoundland. On every thing being secured, I ordered one of the fishing schooners to be fitted as a tender; and, having her manned and armed with a twelve pound carronade, gave the command to lieutenant Davies, with directions to scour the coast, and take possession of the islands of Great and Little Miquelon, which he did, but no inhabitants or stores were found at either of those places.

J. Malbon.

*Dispatch from Lieut. Col. Nicholson, to Gen. Grinfield, Commander in Chief in the Windward and Leeward Charibbee Islands.*

*New Amsterdam, Berbice, Sept. 25.*

Sir,

Agreeably to your orders of the 19th inst. I proceeded with the troops under my command, and arrived off the river Berbice on the 23d inst. in the morning, where the ships of war and transports came to anchor: as it was from thence captain Bland and myself agreed to send brigade-major Armstrong and lieutenant Pardoe, in a flag of truce, with a summons to the provisional government, the naval and military commanders, to surrender the colony of Berbice to his majesty's forces under our command. The flag of truce returned early the next morning, having on board a committee of the provisional



provisional government, a captain of artillery, and a lieutenant of the Batavian navy, to treat for the surrender of the colony, which was done, and the articles of capitulation signed; but as the commander of the Batavian troops would not sanction the surrender, without consulting the officers under his command, it was agreed that the *Netly* schooner, with the smallest of the transports, should pass over the bar, there anchor, and wait till the flag of truce returned from the fort with the commandant's answer; which not arriving as soon as was expected, the *Netly* and the transports got under way, and were proceeding to pass the forts, when the flag of truce returned, with a captain of artillery, to signify the commandant's approval of the terms, but requesting the British troops might not land until this day, which was complied with, and they remained on board the vessels, at anchor off the town, until noon this day, when the troops landed and took possession of the forts, &c. of the Batavian garrison, consisting of upwards of 600 men, who were made prisoners. The steady and active co-operation of capt. Bland, and the officers, seamen, and marines, employed on this service, demand my warmest acknowledgments; and it is my duty to report to you how much I am satisfied with the zeal and active exertions of lieutenant-col. McCreagh, of the 7th West India regiment, and all the officers and every individual of all the corps employed on this service. I am engaged in preparing the returns of ordnance and stores of every description found in the enemy's forts and magazines, which I shall have the honour of presenting to you on my return

to Demarara, which I expect will be in three days from this date. Herewith I inclose a copy of the summons and articles of capitulation, and have the honour to remain, &c.

(Signed) R. Nicholson,

Lient. col. 1st battalion of Royals.

Return of prisoners of war who surrendered at Demarara and Esse-qui-bo, on the 20th September:—1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 10 captains, 26 lieutenants, 1 adjutant, 1 quarter-master, 1 serjeant-major, 3 surgeons, 5 assistant-surgeons, 174 serjeants and corporals, 1 armourer, 27 trumpeters and drummers, 685 privates.

Surrendered in the colony of Berbice on the 25th September:—1 lieutenant-colonel, 4 captains, 10 lieutenants, 6 second lieutenants, 1 quarter-master, 1 surgeon, 1 assistant-surgeon, 1 cadet, 26 serjeants and corporals, 10 trumpeters and drummers, 563 privates.

Total. 2 lieutenant-colonels, 1 major, 14 captains, 36 lieutenants, 6 second lieutenants, 1 adjutant, 2 quarter-masters, 1 serjeant-major, 4 surgeons, 6 assistant-surgeons, 1 cadet, 200 serjeants and corporals, 1 armourer, 37 trumpeters and drummers, 1248 privates.

Dispatches from commodore Hood, of the same date, contain a spirited eulogium on the bravery of, and good understanding between, the land and sea forces: they also contain a letter from capt. L. O. Bland, of the *Heureux*, who landed the marines to second the efforts of the military. He observes, "the garrison did not join in the capitulation till we arrived with the British land and sea forces nearly within gun-shot of their works. Seeing

we were determined, a boat was hurried off to inform us they would surrender if we would wait till next day; which was agreed, on our being allowed to go into the harbour that night, and take possession of the shipping."

Return of shipping found in the river Demarara:—Hippomenes Batavian corvette, pierced for 18 guns; Sophia, a ship claimed as English property; Rotterdam, ditto; Diana, ditto; Elbe, detained by the Dutch before our arrival, under British colours; Nile, ditto; Admiral Kingsbergen; Aurora; Leesfield; Maria; Wilhelmina, ditto; Boodes Welfeer, and Wilhelmina, Dutch merchant ships.

At Berbice.—Serpent national schooner, and five merchant vessels. Total 19.

*Extract of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Sir J. T. Duckworth, K. B. Shark, Port Royal, Jamaica, Sept. 29.*

Understanding from gen. Dessalines, that it was his intention to summon the town of St. Marc immediately, which was reduced to the last extremity, I was strongly induced to urge him not to put the garrison to death, which he consented to: and I stipulated with him, that, if they surrendered, he should march them round to the Mole in safety, and that I should appear off the Bay, and take possession of the shipping, one of which I knew to be a ship of war.

*Vanguard, off Cape Nicola Mole, Sept. 9.*

Sir,

I received gen. Dessalines' dispatches about 8 o'clock at night of the 31st of October, and got under

weigh at 1 A. M. At day-light we chased a man of war brig off St. Marc, but the wind being light and partial, she got into that place. In the afternoon we perceived a flag of truce coming out, but a heavy squall of wind and rain obliged them to return. The following morning they came on board, and brought a letter from Gen. D'Henin, which I answered by making several distinct propositions; and sent them in the ship's boat as a flag of truce, with an officer, and Mr. Cathcart had the goodness to take charge of them: about 5 o'clock the same day the general himself came on board in the boat, and we agreed to a convention: the next day and part of the night we were busily employed in effecting the embarkation of the garrison, &c. and the whole being completed, gen. D'Henin and his staff came on board the Vanguard at 3 o'clock in the morning of the 4th, and we made sail out of the bay. The situation of this garrison was the most deplorable it is possible to imagine; they were literally reduced to nothing, and long subsisted on horse-flesh. I forgot to mention, that on the first we captured the same schooner we had taken on the 26th past, with 25 barrels of flour going to St. Marc, which I took out; and transferring her people, with 15 soldiers she had on board, to a small sloop we took at the same time, sent her away, and kept the schooner, as she might be eventually useful to us; and she is the vessel I have made over to gen. D'Henin. The vessels delivered to us consist of the Papillon corvette, pierced for 12 guns, but only mounting 6, having 52 men on board, commanded by monsieur Dubourg, lieutenant de vaisseau; the brig Les Trois



Trois Amis, transport, nothing in; and the schooner Mary Sally, who has between 40 and 50 barrels of powder. Gen. D'Henin has given me regular receipts for the garrison, which amounts in all to 850 men. I have farther to inform you, Sir, that on the 5th we captured the national schooner *Le Courier de Nantes*, of 2 guns and 4 swivels, and 15 men, commanded by an ensign de vaisseau, from Port-au-Prince, with a supply of 30 barrels of flour and sundry other articles, for St. Marc. I inclose a weekly account, and have great satisfaction in stating, that we are almost well again: not one of the men who came from the hospital has died.—I am, &c.

Jas. Walker.

*Rear-Adm. Duckworth, &c.*

*Letter from Capt. Bligh to Admiral Duckworth.*

*Theseus, Port Dauphin, St. Domingo, Sept. 8.*

Sir,

Having found extreme difficulty in preventing small vessels from passing into Cape François, with provisions, from the little ports on the northern part of the island, in consequence of their finding a safe retreat from our pursuit under the batteries of Port Dauphin, and conceiving that port to be of the utmost importance to the enemy, I deemed it necessary to make some efforts for the reduction of the place, and the capture of a ship at anchor there.—As soon as the sea-breeze, this morning, rendered it impossible for the enemy's frigates to leave their anchorage, I proceeded to Manchermel Bay, leaving the *Hercule* and *Cumberland* on their station. The water being sufficiently deep to al-

low me to place the ship within musket-shot of Fort Labouque, situated at the entrance of the harbour, our fire was so well directed, that it was impossible for the guns of the battery to be pointed with any precision, the colours of which were struck in less than half an hour. Another fort in the harbour, and the ship, being the next objects of our attention, the *Theseus* entered the port, with the assistance of the boats; and, having fired a few shot at the ship of war, she hauled her colours down, and proved to be *La Sagesse*, mounting 20 eight-pounders on the main-deck, and 8 four-pounders on the quarter-deck and forecastle, commanded by lieutenant J. B. Baruesche, and having only 75 men on board. The commandant, conceiving the place no longer tenable after the loss of the ship, and being under some apprehensions of being exposed to the rage of the blacks, whom he considered as a merciless enemy, claimed British protection, and surrendered the fort and garrison at discretion.—Having spiked the guns and destroyed the ammunition, the garrison and inhabitants, many of whom were sickly, were embarked, and landed under a flag of truce at Cape François. Being informed, by the prisoners, that their gen. Dumont and his suite had lately fallen into the hands of the blacks, and that they were in the most imminent danger, I was induced, from motives of humanity, to solicit their freedom from the chief of those people; and I had the satisfaction of having my request immediately complied with: they accompanied the rest of the prisoners into Cape François.

I am, &c.

John Bligh.

*Letter*



*Letter from Admiral Duckworth, detailing the Particulars of a Negotiation with General Rochambeau, for the Surrender of the French Force in St. Domingo. Dated Sloop Shark, Port Royal, November 30.*

Sir,

I transmit you inclosures, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, stating an attempt at capitulation made by gen. Rochambeau on the 19th instant, from which I hope the period is not far distant, when it will be brought to a proper issue for the whole of St. Domingo.

J. T. Duckworth.

[TRANSLATION.]

ARMY OF ST. DOMINGO.

*Head-quarters at the Cape, 27th Brumaire, 12th Year of the French Republic.*

*The General in Chief to Commodore Loring, commanding the Naval Forces of his Britannic Majesty, before the Cape, &c.*

Sir,

In order to prevent the effusion of blood, and to preserve the scattered remnant of the army of St. Domingo, I have the honour to send to you two officers, charged with instructions from me to enter into an accommodation with you. The general of brigade, Boyer, chief of the staff, and captain Barré, are charged to transmit my letter to you; and they are also the officers whom I have chosen to treat with you.

I have the honour to be, &c.

D. Rochambeau.

*Copy of the Propositions made by the General Rochambeau, to evacuate Cape François, St. Domingo.*

4

I. The general Rochambeau proposes to evacuate the Cape; himself and his guards, consisting of about 4 or 500 men, to be conveyed to France without being considered prisoners of war.—Not granted.

II. The Serveillant and Cerf to be allowed to carry him and suite to France.—Not granted.

(Signed) John Loring.

*Bellerophon, off Cape François, November 19.*

Sir,

I have to acquaint you, on the subject communicated to me by general Boyer and commodore Barré, of your desire to negotiate for the surrender of Cape François to his Britannic majesty, that I send for the purpose, and to know your final determination, capt. Moss, of his majesty's ship *Le Desirée*, in order to agree with your wishes, insomuch as is consistent with the just rights of his Britannic majesty on that point. I have also to inform you, my instructions confine me to the French officers and troops in health being sent to Jamaica, and the sick to go to France or America, the transports to convey them being first valued, and security given by the commander in chief, for the due payment of the valuation by the French republic. The white inhabitants of the Cape will not be permitted to go to Jamaica. Such are the parts of my instructions, with which I am bound to comply in any agreement for the surrender of Cape François.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. Loring.

*Gen. Rochambeau, Commander in Chief.*

[TRANSLATION.]

[TRANSLATION.]

COLONY OF ST. DOMINGO.

*Head-quarters at the Cape, 28th  
Brumaire, An. 12.**The General in Chief of the Army of  
St. Domingo, Captain General of  
the said Colony, Commander of the  
French West India Islands, &c.  
&c. &c. to Commodore Loring,  
Commander of the Naval Forces  
of his Britannic Majesty, before  
the Cape, &c.*

Sir,

I have received the letter which  
you have done me the honour to ad-  
dress to me. As your propositions  
are inadmissible, I request you will  
consider my preceding letter as  
amounting to nothing.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

with great consideration,

D. Rochambeau.

*Port Royal, Dec. 18.*

Sir,

Having, in my letter No. 3, by  
this conveyance, stated to you, for  
the information of my lords commis-  
sioners of the admiralty, that gen.  
Rochambeau had made proposals for  
capitulating, which, though inad-  
missible, I thought soon must lead  
to others more reasonable; the event  
has justified my opinion; but I am  
sorry to say, that officer, whose ac-  
tions are too extraordinary to ac-  
count for, had, on the 19th ultimo,  
(previous to his proposals to captain  
Loring, through the general of bri-  
gade, Boyer, and commodore Barré)  
actually entered into a capitulation  
with the black general Dessalines,  
to deliver up the Cape to him, with  
all the ordnance, ammunition, and  
stores, on the 30th; I conclude, flat-  
tering himself that the tremendous  
weather, which our squadron was  
then and had been experiencing for

three weeks, would offer an opening  
for an escape, but the perseverance  
and watchfulness thereof precluded  
him from even attempting it. On  
the 30th, the colours of the blacks  
were displayed at the forts, which  
induced capt. Loring to dispatch  
capt. Bligh, to know gen. Dessal-  
lines' sentiments respecting gen.  
Rochambeau and his troops; when,  
on his entering the harbour, he met  
commodore Barré, who pressed him,  
in strong terms, to go on board the  
Surveillante, and enter into some  
capitulation, which would put them  
under our protection, and prevent  
the blacks from sinking them with  
red-hot shot, as they had threaten-  
ed, and were preparing to do;  
which capt. Bligh complied with,  
when they hastily brought him a few  
articles they had drawn up, which he  
(after objecting to some particular  
parts, that they agreed should be al-  
tered, to carry his interpretation on  
their arrival at Jamaica) signed, and  
hastened to acquaint gen. Dessal-  
lines, that all the ships and vessels in  
port had surrendered to his ma-  
jesty's arms; and with great diffi-  
culty he obtained the promise to  
desist from firing, till a wind offered  
for carrying them out (it then blow-  
ing hard directly into the harbour);  
this promise he at length obtained,  
and the first instant the land-breeze  
enabled them to sail out under  
French colours, which, upon a shot  
being fired athwart them, the vessels  
of war fired their broadsides, and  
hauled down their colours, except  
the *Clorinde*, a large frigate of 38  
guns, who unluckily took the ground  
abast, and was forced to throw most  
of her guns overboard, and knocked  
her rudder off, when there was great  
apprehension for her safety; and I



am informed, by the captains of the squadron, that we must attribute the saving her (apparently without farther damage) to the uncommon exertions and professional abilities of acting lieut. Willoughby, with the boats of the *Hercule*, who, I trust, will be honoured with their lordships' protection. Capt. Loring, after seeing the generality of the prizes taken possession of, left the *Theseus* and *Hercule* to fix a temporary rudder to the frigate, and bring the remainder with them, bearing away for the Mole, and on the 2d summoned the general of brigade, Noailles, who commanded there, to capitulate: this he declined doing, asserting he had provisions for five months; and herewith I transmit a copy of his letter.—The numerous and crowded state of the prisoners on board all the prizes, and their being without provisions, making it necessary for capt. Loring to proceed to Jamaica, he arrived here the 5th, with the *Elephant* and *Blanche*, also the *Surveillante* and *Vertu* 38 gun frigates, and various other prizes, leaving the *Pique* to blockade the Mole, who anchored in this port the 8th, and acquainted me that gen. Noailles had evacuated the night he refused to capitulate, bringing in with her 5 out of the 6 vessels in which the garrison had embarked, a brig with the general on board only escaping. I send a vessel of war to England, with gen. Rochambeau, and those officers who are said to have participated in his cruelties at the Cape.

I am, &c. J. T. Duckworth.  
*Sir Evan Nepean, bart. &c.*

[TRANSLATION.]

RIGHT DIVISION OF THE NORTH.

*General Noailles to Commodore Loring.*

VOL. XLV.

*Mole, 10th Frimaire, An. 12.*  
Sir,

I have received the letter which you have done me the honour to address to me, under the date of the 10th Frimaire.—I request you will inform me of the terms upon which you propose to treat with me.

I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration, sir, your most obedient humble servant.

(Signed) Noailles.

*Shark, Port Royal, Jamaica,*  
*Dec. 20.*

Sir,

Accompanying this, you will receive, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, copies of various letters, &c. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, relative to the proceedings of capt. Loring, of his majesty's ship *Bellerophon*, while senior officer of the squadron blockading Cape François.

J. T. Duckworth.

*Sir Evan Nepean, bart. &c.*

*Bellerophon, off Cape François,*  
*Nov. 23.*

Sir,

Having received information that gen. Rochambeau's intentions are to endeavour to make his escape in a schooner, and observing, yesterday afternoon, several boats pass and repass between the *Surveillante* and an armed schooner laying in the Caracol Passage, I made the signal for the launches armed to assemble on board the *Blanche*, and ordered capt. Mudge to proceed with them off the entrance of the passage, to intercept her, should she attempt to come out. I directed the launches to act under the command of lieut. Pilch, of the *Bellerophon*, and at 2 A. M. she was very judiciously boarded

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boarded and taken by the launches of the *Bellerophon* and the *Elephant*, without the loss of a man killed or wounded, though, for a short time, under a very smart fire from the enemy's great guns and small arms: she proves to be the French national schooner *La Decouvert*, commanded by Monsieur Froyan, *enseign de vaisseau*; she had mounted six six-pounders, and six brass swivels, and 52 men: the enemy had two men wounded.—The officer commanding the *Desirée's* launch, being anxious to secure the passage, got so far to the eastward of the entrance, as not to observe the motions of the other boats, that he unfortunately could not join them, or get near the schooner till daylight, or, I am sensible, from the character he bears, would have been as vigilant as the other boats.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. Loring.

*Sir J. T. Duckworth.*

*Bellerophon, off Fortuda,  
Nov. 30.*

Sir,

I have to inform you of the surrender of Cape François to the gen. Dessalines, on the 18th inst. when he attacked it at the head of the army, and agreed with the general in chief, Rochambeau, for ten days to complete the evacuation. Not having received a second proposition from Rochambeau, during the suspension of hostilities between the two parties, I endeavoured, if possible, to learn the disposition of Dessalines, seeing his flag displayed on the forts, as to the ships of war and other vessels in the harbour; and you will see, by his letter to me of the 27th, which I herewith trans-

mit, as well as a copy of mine to him, the indefinite mode of expression he makes use of. I therefore sent capt. Bligh to explain with him. On his arrival at the Cape, he met, on the part of Rochambeau, a strong desire to agree for the surrender of the ships and vessels, which, from his declaration to destroy them, I had no reason to expect. The articles of agreement which were entered into I herewith inclose, and hope they will meet your approbation. Capt. Bligh immediately made known to Dessalines the surrender of the frigates and merchant-vessels to his Britannic majesty, and requested he would give orders to prevent firing on them, which till then was his intention; and, after some hesitation, gen. Dessalines reluctantly complied. This morning the *Surveillante*, *Cerf* brig, an hospital ship, and three or four neutral schooners, came out; the whole were under weigh in the harbour, but, owing to the sudden change of wind, they were prevented from proceeding.—I am sorry to say, the *Clorinde* is on shore under Fort St. Joseph, and I fear will be totally lost. I have taken possession of the vessels that are out, and left capt. Bligh with the *Herculé*, *Desirée*, and *Pique*, to complete the evacuation of the Cape and Monte Christie.—When the *Elephant* joins with the *Vertu* and merchant-vessels I left in the Cape, I shall proceed with her and prizes to Port Royal, leaving the *Tartar* to blockade the Mole.

I am, &c. John Loring.

*His Majesty's Ship Bellerophon.*

Sir,

Not having had the honour to receive

ceive your answer to my letter of yesterday, I beg to represent, that, from the tenor of yours of the 22d, I did hope to see your flag flying this morning at Fort Picolet. As I have full confidence you will not rescind the agreement with general Rochambeau, who intends, if possible, to have more time granted him to escape, and that you will have possession of the town, and its forts, this afternoon; I shall then be much obliged, if you will send me some experienced pilots, to conduct a part of my squadron into the harbour, to take possession of the shipping.

John Loring.

*General Dessalines.*

[TRANSLATION.]

LIBERTY OR DEATH.

*Head-quarters, 6th Frimaire,  
An. 12.*

*The General in Chief of the Indigenous Army to Capt. Loring, commanding the Naval Forces of his Britannic Majesty before the Cape.*

Sir,

I am accused by you of the receipt of a letter which I never had the honour to receive. You may be assured that my favourable disposition towards you, and hostility towards general Rochambeau, are unalterable. I shall enter the Cape tomorrow morning at the head of my army. It is a matter of great regret to me I cannot send you the pilots which you require. I presume you will have no occasion for them. I shall force the French ships to quit the road, and you will do with them as you may judge proper.

Dessalines.

[Here follows the capitulation

agreed upon by captain Bligh and general Boyé, by which the French naval and military forces were surrendered to his majesty's squadron.]

*Bellerophon, off Cape Nicola  
Mole, Dec. 2.*

Sir,

From general Rochambeau's extraordinary conduct on the public service, neither captain Bligh nor myself have had any thing to say to him farther than complying with his wishes in allowing him to remain on board the *Surveillante* until her arrival at Jamaica, which I very readily agreed to; as also the commodore. I have general Boyer, with about 22 officers, and 190 soldiers and sailors, on board the *Bellerophon*, and 60 more on board the *Hercule* that were taken out of the *Surveillante*; the *Blanche* has on board all the crew of the *Cerf*. I had began this letter yesterday, to have dispatched the *Blanche* early this morning, but, seeing the *Desirée* coming down with six sail, waited until she joined, and am happy to inform you, that, through the exertions of lieutenant Willoughby, the *Clorinde* is afloat again with the loss of her rudder, and captain Bligh is preparing a temporary one to bring her down; the *Vertu* and other ships are out, and I am in hourly expectation of seeing them with the *Elephant*. I have sent captain Ross into the Mole, to summon that garrison to surrender; and shall dispatch the *Blanche* immediately I have general Noailles's answer.

Half past four. Captain Ross has this instant returned with the inclosed answer; and I dispatch the *Blanche* in consequence, and shall follow soon after. The *Elephant*,

N n 2

*Vertu,*



Vertu, and ten sail of various descriptions of vessels, are now joining.

I am, &c. John Loring.

Rear-admiral sir J. T.

Duckworth, K. B. commander in chief, &c.

*Shark, Port Royal, Dec. 20.*

Sir,

Feeling that the lords commissioners of the Admiralty would wish to be acquainted with the articles of capitulation between the general Rochambeau and Dessalines, for the surrender of the Cape, and having just obtained a copy thereof, I herewith transmit the same for their lordship's information.

I am, &c. J. T. Duckworth.

*Sir Evan Nepeun, bart. &c.*

[TRANSLATION.]

FRENCH AND INDIGENOUS ARMIES.

*27th Brumaire, Anno 12,*

*19th November.*

Adjutant commander Duveyrier, charged with due powers by general Rochambeau, commander of the French army, to treat for the surrender of the Cape, and J. Jacques Dessalines, general in chief of the indigenous army, have agreed to the following articles:

I. The town of the Cape, and the forts which belong to it, shall be surrendered in ten days, from the 28th of the present month, to the general in chief Dessalines.

II. The ammunition and warlike stores in the arsenal, the arms and the artillery which are in the town and in the forts, shall be left in their present state.

III. All the ships of war, or others, which shall be judged necessary by general Rochambeau for transporting the troops, and the in-

habitants who may wish to depart from the island, shall be at liberty to sail on a day to be appointed.

IV. The officers, civil and military, the troops composing the garrison of the Cape, shall depart with the honours of war, carrying with them their arms, and the effects belonging to their demi-brigade.

V. The sick and wounded are especially recommended to the humanity of gen. Dessalines, who engages to embark them for France on board neutral vessels.

VI. Gen. Dessalines, in giving the assurance of his protection to the inhabitants who may continue in the country, relies on the justice of gen. Rochambeau to set at liberty all men belonging to the country, of whatever colour they may be; and that none of them shall, under any pretence, be compelled to embark with the French army.

VII. The troops belonging to the two armies shall remain in their respective positions until the tenth day fixed for the evacuation of the Cape.

VIII. Gen. Rochambeau shall send, as a security for the fulfilment of the present convention, the adjutant-commandant Urbain de Vaux; in return for whom, gen. Dessalines shall send an officer of equal rank.

Done in good faith, at the headquarters of Haut du Cap, the same day, month, and year, above stated.

(Signed) Dessalines.  
Duveyrier.

*Shark, Port Royal, Dec. 23.*

Sir,

Accompanying this you will receive, for the information of the lords



lords commissioners of the Admiralty, an account of vessels captured and destroyed by his majesty's squadron under my command, since the return made in November last.

I am, &c. J. T. Duckworth.  
*Sir Evan Nepean, bart. &c. &c.*

[Here follows a list of 37 ships and vessels captured, detained, and destroyed, by his majesty's squadron employed at Jamaica, the Bahama islands, under the orders of sir J. T. Duckworth, K. B.]

N. B. There has been destroyed since last return 30 sail of small craft of various descriptions at Cape François, Monte Christe, and the Mole, &c. &c.

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*Extract of a Dispatch from Governor the Hon. Frederick North, to the Right Hon. Lord Hobart, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, dated Columbo, 8th July, 1803.*

I inclose to you the deposition of a person, stating himself to be an eye-witness of one of the most atrocious acts of perfidy and cruelty ever committed. Every particular of the narration may not be true; but it appears that Candi was attacked in the midst of a truce, by the first Adigaar, on the 23d (or I rather believe on the 24th) ultimo; that major Davie, commanding the garrison there, capitulated on the following day; and that, after he left the fort, all the English soldiers who accompanied him were treacherously murdered in cold blood. I cannot believe that major Davie would have consented to evacuate, on any terms less favourable than those stated in the deposition; viz. of being allowed to proceed with arms and ammunition, and without

molestation, to Trincomalée, and that care should be taken of the sick whom he left behind; for the fort was rendered, in the opinion of most military men, tenable against any force that was likely to be brought against it, and large supplies of provisions had been sent thither, in addition to those which lieutenant colonel Barbot declared to be sufficient for six months' consumption, 2 months ago. Lieutenant Husskisson was also on the road from Trincomalée (as major Davie must have known) with 100 doolies, under an escort of 150 Malays; and when I heard of the breach of the truce, I ordered lieutenant Hunter to proceed from Trincomalée with 200 of his majesty's 9th regiment, and 50 Malays, to secure the evacuation, which (had it been delayed for a fortnight) would have been safely effected. But what I can still less account for is, that major Davie, having obtained such terms, should have consented to lay down his arms, when he must have felt that the person who insisted on such an infraction of agreement could have no other design but that of murdering him and his men, and when he must, in common with all the army, have known that a corps of forty Europeans in good health, and of 200 Malays, might cut their way through any army of Candians to any part of the island. Indeed, captain Mudge, late commandant of Fort Macdowall, brought off his men in circumstances of as great difficulty; and a small detachment of 22 invalid Malays, 14 convalescents of the 19th regiment from Candi, and 60 sepoy's under lieutenant Nixon, ensign Grant, and ensign Smellie, defended themselves in a miserable little fort of fascines at Dembadenia, for more than a week,

against an immense multitude collected by the second Adagaar, after they had expended their ammunition, till they were relieved by a detachment of 50 Europeans and as many sepoys, whom I sent under the command of captain Blackhall of the 51st to bring them down, in which he has succeeded without loss. Under the oppression of so dreadful a misfortune, it is satisfactory to me to state, that an opinion formed of a spirit of defection in his majesty's Malay regiment is perfectly unfounded. Some individuals of that corps had, indeed, deserted from Candi; but the great majority, including all officers of influence and respectability, were staunch to the end. Those who, after the English were separated from them, were forced into the Candian service, are certainly not blameable; and of those, five have already escaped and arrived here, who say that all the others are ready to follow their example. The princes of that nation, who are settled at Columbo, waited on me, as soon as the melancholy intelligence arrived, to assure me of their regret and indignation at hearing that any Malays had deserted, and of their invariable attachment to the British government.

*Deposition of the Lascoryn, arrived from Candi.*

Milihinage Joannes, of the reformed religion, being duly sworn, deposeth, that, the 6th of last month, he was sent, along with 12 other Lascoryns, by the town-major to Candi; that he passed at Negumbo, where doolies were put under their charge; and that he arrived at Candi, after a route of about 12 days; and that the Lascoryns delivered up the doolies and

other stores which were under their charge, to the English gentlemen. After remaining there three days, they were ordered to return to Columbo with 12 doolies, in 11 of which were sick Europeans, and one which contained baggage. These doolies, with 12 European soldiers as an escort, passed the river, and stopped upon the opposite side; that the same day he heard firing at Candi; that a great many Coolies, upon hearing the firing, attempted to pass the river, but were stopped by a Malay sentry. Several Candians approached the place where the doolies and the sick were, and fired upon them, which were returned by the Europeans and 12 Malays, who were posted there. They fired till their ammunition was expended, when the Malays jumped into the river, and the European officer who commanded the detachment did the same. He does not know what became of all the European soldiers, of whom he only saw 3 cross the river, and 1 killed by the Candians. That the lascars, who served the cannon at that post, threw the cannon into the river, and passed to Candi, and that he followed their example and escaped to Candi; that he does not know what became of the sick who were in the doolies. He went first to the mandore, where he had been before; but, finding many Candians there, he got into the palace, and remained in the court where the Malay soldiers were. The firing continued until two o'clock, when a white flag was hoisted from the palace, and the firing ceased. That major Davie, the captain of artillery, and an European Malay officer, who spoke Malay, and two or three Malay native officers, went to the Adagaar, and returned soon after with



with an ola from the Adigaar, which he himself read, importing that the whole might proceed to Trincomalee without receiving any molestation; and that the sick should be taken care of, and have medicine given to them until they were well, when they might either go to Columbo, or stay at Candi. The garrison set out on Friday, with their arms and ammunition, at five in the evening, to Allungantotte, where they remained all night, exposed to a very heavy rain, he the deponent being with them. On Saturday morning, major Davie ordered a raft to be made, to pass the river: several Candians came, and demanded Mootoo Sawmy, who, they said, was not at Candi. They seized upon him, and carried him off. Mootoo Sawmy gave his sword to major Davie. The Candians told major Davie, that it was unnecessary to make rafts, as next day a number of doneys would be procured, in which they might all pass. Next day, however, Sunday, no doneys came, and it was proposed to send some person across the river to fasten a cord by which they might pass; that he, the deponent, swam across the river, and fastened a cord to the other side, after which he returned, but while he was doing so, a Candian cut the cord. Soon afterwards there came an order from the Adigaar to major Davie, to make his men lay down their arms, and return to Candi, which, after some time, they did; that, between Candi and Allungantotte, there is a village called Geventotte, where two cannons were placed, and where the Malays were ordered to separate from the rest, and proceed to Candi, which they all did, except four native officers, who remained

with major Davie. Soon afterwards all the prisoners were taken, two by two, and delivered over to Candians, who took them to a little distance and cut their heads off; that they were likewise going to kill the women, but this was put a stop to by order of the Adigaar. Major Davie, with the captain of artillery, with the four Malay officers who had not followed their countrymen, were carried off, as he supposes, to the Adigaar. The sepoy and Bengal lascars were not put to death. A Malay servant of capt. Nouradin, whom he saw, told him that the two English officers, and the four Malays were with the Adigaar. Upon Monday he saw the two English officers, and was told they were to be carried to Hargaroonketti, where the king was. In the evening of that day the Adigaar collected all the effects which the English had left, and ordered the cannon to be fired without ball, as a mark of rejoicing. That, having heard afterwards that the Coolies, Lascoryns, &c. might return, he set out on Friday night, and came to Columbo yesterday evening, the 5th of July.

Taken down by me from the interpretation of Mr. Jonville and the Mahamodliar,

(Signed) Robert Arbuthnot,  
Chief secretary to government.

Columbo, 6th July, 1803.

(A true copy,)

(Signed) Richard Plasket,  
Assistant to the chief secretary to government.

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*A Dispatch, of which the following is a Copy, has been received this Day, by his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General, from*  
N n 4 his



*his Excellency the Commander in Chief.*

*To his Excellency the Most Noble Marquis Wellesley, Governor General, &c. &c. &c.*

*Fort William, Sept. 23, 1803.*

My lord,

I have the satisfaction to inform your lordship, that, after a march of eighteen miles, this morning I learnt, that the enemy, in great force, under Mr. Louis, had crossed the Jumna from Delhi, with the intention of attacking us.

When we had encamped, we found our posts were attacked by a body of the enemy. On reconnoitering to our front, I found that the enemy's whole army were drawn up in order of battle; I immediately ordered out the whole line, and advanced to attack them in front.

The enemy opposed to us a tremendous fire from a numerous artillery, which was uncommonly well served, and caused us considerable loss in officers and men; but I have the satisfaction to add, that our advance under a most heavy cannonade, and actual charge of the enemy, at about one hundred paces distant, caused a most precipitate retreat, and left in our possession the whole of their artillery.

The cavalry pursued the fugitives to the Jumna, making great havoc, and numbers were drowned in attempting to cross.

In short, I have only to express my entire approbation of the gallantry of the troops under my command, during the whole of this most brilliant action; and shall have the honour to detail it more particularly to-morrow, which the lateness of the hour prevents me doing at present.

The whole army was under arms

from three this morning till this moment.

I have the honour to be,

My lord,

Your lordship's most faithful

Humble servant,

(Signed) G. Lake.

*Head Quarters, Camp opposite Delhi, half past seven P. M. Sept. 11, 1803.*

*Published by command of his Excellency the most noble the governor general in council.*

J. Lumsden,

Chief sec. to the govt.

*A Dispatch, of which the following is a Copy, has been received this Day, by his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General, from his Excellency the Commander in Chief.*

*To his Excellency the Most Noble Marquis Wellesley, &c. &c. &c.*

*Fort William, Sept. 24, 1803.*

My lord,

My letter of yesterday will have informed your lordship of the total defeat of the force under Mr. Louis. The lateness of the hour prevented my detailing the operations of the day as fully as I could have wished.

I cannot find terms sufficiently strong to express the high sense I entertain of the gallant services performed by the whole of the officers and men in the army under my command.

When the length of our march (upwards of eighteen miles,) is considered, the fatigue the whole army underwent, and that we were exposed to a most galling fire from the enemy, of grape and chain shot, while advancing in line, the operations of yesterday must ever reflect the highest credit on all descriptions of troops engaged; and cannot fail of

of striking the enemy with a dread of our army; and prove to them, that opposition to such superior discipline and courage, is useless.

To major-general Ware, who commanded the right wing, and to the hon. major-general St. John, who commanded the left, I feel myself under infinite obligations. The former, I am sorry to say, received a very severe contusion, while advancing with the right wing.

Major-general St. John was opposed to the enemy's right; the steadiness and ability displayed by the hon. the major-general, quickly surmounted every difficulty, and forced the enemy to retire in disorder, with very heavy loss.

To col. St. Leger, who commanded the cavalry, my warmest praises are due; the steadiness and gallantry of the whole corps, both Europeans and natives, under a formidable fire of artillery, does them infinite honour.

After the gallant and steady charge of his majesty's 76th regiment, led by capt. Boyce, and the whole of the infantry line, who advanced to within one hundred paces of the enemy, without taking their firelocks from their shoulders, when they fired a volley, and rushed on with the bayonet, with a determination nothing could resist; had forced the enemy to abandon their formidable artillery, col. St. Leger, with the cavalry under his command, moved rapidly forward, when a dreadful slaughter ensued. By a well-timed manœuvre of the colonel's, in intercepting their retreat to the Jumna, much execution was done: the enemy's confusion was such, that many were drowned, in attempting to cross the river.

To col. Horsford, and every officer of the corps of artillery, I feel

myself infinitely indebted for their meritorious services on the occasion.

The number of the enemy's guns already collected, is between fifty and sixty; and I expect more before the evening. I shall have the honour to forward a regular return of the enemy's ordnance to-morrow.

I have to lament the loss of many officers and men killed and wounded in this action, returns of which shall be transmitted for your lordship's information.

From the extreme heat and fatigue that both officers and men experienced, I have to regret the loss of major Middleton, of the 3d native cavalry, and cornet Sanguine, of the 27th light dragoons, as well as of several European soldiers, who fell, from the effects of the sun.

I have to lament the loss of capt. Robert M'Gregor, (Persian interpreter in the field) who fell, when advancing in a gallant style.

The consequences of this victory, are the evacuation of the city and forts of Delhi, and the dispersion of the enemy in all directions.

At the earnest request of his majesty, who is anxious to put himself under the protection of the British government, I shall cross the river with my army, as soon as a sufficient number of boats can be procured.

My staff, as usual, conducted themselves to my entire satisfaction, and merit my warmest approbation.

I have the honour to be,

My lord,

Your lordship's most faithful

Humble servant,

(Signed) G. Lake.

Head Quarters, Camp, Delhi

Ghaut, Sept. 12, 1803.

*Killed by the effects of the sun.*—  
Major Middleton, 3d native cavalry.  
Cornet Sanguine, 27th light dragoons.

*Killed*



*Killed in action.*—Capt. M'Grogan; lieutenant Hill; 12th native infantry. Lieutenant Preston; 15th native infantry, lieutenant Alden.

*Wounded.*—Capt. Covell, 27th light dragoons. Cornet Crowe, 2d native cavalry. Cornet Mather, 2d native cavalry. Cornet Swindell, 3d native cavalry. Lieutenant M'Donald, 76th foot. Lieutenant Wrotesley, 2d battalion 2d regiment. Captain Matthews, artillery.

The above is the most correct return that has yet been received.

*Published by command of his Excellency the most noble governor general in council.*

J. Lumsden,

Chief sec. to the govt.

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*A Dispatch, of which the following is a Copy, has been received this Day, by his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General, from his Excellency the Commander in Chief.*

*To his Excellency the Most Noble Marquis Wellesley, Governor General, &c. &c. &c.*

*Fort William, Sept. 23, 1803.*

My lord,

For your lordship's information, I have the honour to enclose a list of the killed and wounded, officers and men, of the army under my command, in the action of the 11th instant.

Your lordship will perceive that our loss has been very great; but when I consider, that we moved on against an immense artillery, of nearly one hundred pieces of cannon, and many of a very large calibre, under as heavy a fire as I have ever been witness to, and that this fire was directed against a line, consisting, on the most correct calculation, of not more than four thou-

sand five hundred men, including cavalry, artillery, and infantry; and that we were opposed by upwards of four times that number, it is no longer a matter of surprise.

It is necessary to remark, that we had only one brigade of cavalry; consisting of the 27th light dragoons, and the 2d and 3d regiments of native cavalry; the other brigades being detached for the protection of our own provinces.

The more I reflect on the glorious affair of the 11th, the more forcibly I feel the bravery and intrepidity displayed by every individual composing my army. I cannot find words to express my feelings on this occasion, nor can I sufficiently lament the loss of many brave fellows who have fallen.

I have the honour to be,

My lord,

Your lordship's most faithful

Humble servant,

(Signed) G. Lake.

*Head Quarters, Camp, near Delhi Ghaut, Sept. 13, 1803.*

*Return of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing, in the Action of the 11th September, 1803.*

27th dragoons.—Killed—1 cornet, 1 quartermaster, 1 serjeant, 9 privates—horses, troop 22, officer's 1, quartermaster's 1.—Wounded—1 captain-lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 17 privates—horses, troop 22, officer's 1.—Missing—1 private—horses, troop 24, officer's 3.—Total killed, wounded, and missing,—men 32, horses 74.

Artillery.—Killed—1 serjeant, 1 corporal, 1 matross, 1 lascar.—Wounded—1 captain, 1 serjeant, 1 corporal, 2 gunners, 8 matrosses, 2 serangs, 13 lascars.—Missing—1 gunner, 1 lascar.—Total, 34.

2d regiment



2d regiment native cavalry.—Killed—15 horses.—Wounded—2 cornets, 1 naik, 14 privates, 16 horses.—Missing—5 horses.—Total killed, wounded, and missing—Men, 17, horses 36.

3d regiment native cavalry.—Killed—1 major, 1 havildar, 5 troopers, 28 horses.—Wounded—1 cornet, 1 jemadar, 1 naik, 9 troopers, 20 horses.—Missing—12 horses.—Total killed, wounded, and missing—Men 19, horses 60.

76th foot.—Killed—2 serjeants, 3 corporals, 29 privates.—Wounded—1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 3 corporals, 93 privates.—Missing—1 corporal, 5 privates.—Total killed, wounded, and missing, 138.

2d battalion 4th regiment.—Killed—2 havildars, 1 naik, 9 sepoy.—Wounded—1 lieutenant, 2 subadars, 2 havildars, 4 naiks, 1 drummer, 69 sepoy.—Total killed and wounded, 91.

2d battalion 12th regiment.—Killed—1 lieutenant, 1 subadar, 2 havildars, 1 naik, 3 drummers, 11 sepoy.—Wounded—1 subadar, 1 havildar, 2 naiks, 32 sepoy, 1 bhisty.—Total killed and wounded, 56.

1st battalion 15th regiment.—Killed—1 subadar, 3 sepoy.—Wounded—3 havildars, 1 naik, 8 sepoy.—Total killed and wounded, 16.

2d battalion 15th regiment.—Killed—1 lieutenant, 1 drummer, 5 sepoy.—Wounded—9 sepoy.—Total killed and wounded, 16.

1st battalion 2d regiment.—Killed—1 havildar, 1 naik, 1 sepoy.—Wounded—1 lieutenant, 1 havildar, 1 naik, 12 sepoy.—Total killed and wounded, 18.

2d battalion 2d regiment.—Killed—2 havildars, 4 sepoy.—

Wounded—2 lieutenants, 1 havildar, 1 naik, 18 sepoy.—Total killed and wounded, 28.

1st battalion 14th regiment.—Wounded—1 havildar, 12 sepoy.

Total. Europeans.—Killed—1 major, 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 1 cornet, 1 quartermaster, 4 serjeants, 4 corporals, 39 privates.—Wounded—1 captain, 1 captain-lieutenant, 4 lieutenants, 3 cornets, 3 serjeants, 4 corporals, 2 gunners, 118 privates.—Missing—1 corporal, 1 gunner, 6 privates.—Total killed, wounded, and missing, 197.

Total. Natives.—Killed—2 subadars, 8 havildars, 3 naiks, 38 privates, 3 drummers, 1 lascar.—Wounded—3 subadars, 1 jemadar, 9 havildars, 11 naiks, 191 privates, 1 drummer, 2 serangs, 13 lascars, 1 bhisty.—Total killed and wounded, 288.

Horses.—Killed—67.—Wounded 59.—Missing—47.—Total, 173.

*Names of Officers killed and wounded in the Action of the 11th Instant.*

Killed—Major Middleton, 3d regiment cavalry. Capt. M'Gregor, Persian interpreter in the field. Lieut. Hill, 2d battalion 12th regiment. Lieut. Preston, 2d battalion 15th regiment. Cornet Sanguine, 27th dragoons, quartermaster R. Richardson, 27th dragoons.—Wounded—Major-general Ware. Capt. Matthews, artillery. Capt. lieut. Covell, 27th dragoons. Lieut. M'Donald, 76th regiment. Lieut. Wrottesley, 2d battalion 4th regiment. Lieutenants Alden and Harriot, 2d battalion 2d regiment. Cornets Crowe and Mather, 2d regiment cavalry. Cornet Swindell, 3d regiment cavalry.

(Signed) J. Jerrard,  
Adjutant General.  
*Published*

*Published by command of his  
Excellency the most noble the  
governor general in council.*

J. Lumsden,  
Chief sec. to the govt.

*Fort William, Oct. 30, 1803.*

*Dispatches, of which the following  
are Extracts, have been received  
this Day by his Excellency the  
Most Noble the Governor General,  
from the Hon. Major General  
Wellesley.*

*Camp at Assye, Sept. 24,  
My lord, 1803.*

I was joined by major Hill, with the last of the convoys expected from the river Kistna on the 18th, and, on the 20th, was enabled to move forward towards the enemy, who had been joined in the course of the last seven or eight days by the infantry under col. Pohlman, by that belonging to Begun Sumroo; and by another brigade of infantry, the name of whose commander I have not yet ascertained. The enemy's army was collected about Bokerdun, and between that place and Jassierabad.

I was near colonel Stevenson's corps on the 21st, and had a conference with that officer, in which we concerted a plan to attack the enemy's army with the divisions under our command on the 21th in the morning, and we marched on the 22d, col. Stephenson by the western route, and I by the eastern route, round the hills between Budnapur and Jalna.

On the 23d I arrived at Naulniah, and there received a report that Scindiah and the rajah of Berar had moved off in the morning with their cavalry, and that the infantry were about to follow; but were still in

camp at the distance of about six miles from the ground on which I had intended to encamp. It was obvious that the attack was no longer to be delayed; and, having provided for the security of my baggage and stores at Naulniah, I marched on to attack the enemy.

I found the whole combined army of Scindiah and the rajah of Berar encamped on the bank of the Kaitna river, nearly on the ground which I had been informed that they occupied. Their right, which consisted entirely of cavalry, was about Bokerdun, and extended to their corps of infantry, which were encamped in the neighbourhood of Assye. Although I came first in front of their right, I determined to attack their left; as the defeat of their corps of infantry was most likely to be effectual: accordingly I marched round to their left flank, covering the march of the column of infantry by the British cavalry in the rear, and by the Marhatta and Mysore cavalry on the right flank.

We passed the river Kaitna at a ford beyond the enemy's left flank, and I formed the infantry immediately in two lines, with the British cavalry, as a reserve, in a third, in an open space between that river and a nullah running parallel to it. The Marhatta and Mysore cavalry occupied the ground beyond the Kaitna on our left flank, and kept in check a large body of the enemy's cavalry, which had followed our march from the right of their own position.

The enemy had altered the position of their infantry previous to our attack; it was no longer, as at first, along the Kaitna; but extended from that river, across to the village of Assye, upon the nullah which

was



was upon our right. We attacked them immediately, and the troops advanced under a very hot fire from cannon, the execution of which was terrible. The picquets of the infantry, and the 74th regiment, which were on the right of the first and second lines, suffered particularly, from the fire of the guns on the left of the enemy's position near Assye. The enemy's cavalry also made an attempt to charge the 74th regiment, at the moment when they were most exposed to this fire, but they were cut up by the British cavalry, which moved on at that moment. At length, the enemy's line gave way in all directions, and the British cavalry cut in among their broken infantry; but some of their corps went off in good order, and a fire was kept up on our troops from many of the guns from which the enemy had been first driven, by individuals who had been passed by the line under the supposition that they were dead.

Lieut. col. Maxwell, with the British cavalry, charged one large body of infantry which had retired, and was formed again, in which operation he was killed; and some time elapsed before we could put an end to the straggling fire which was kept up by individuals from the guns from which the enemy were driven. The enemy's cavalry also, which had been hovering round us throughout the action, was still near us. At length, when the last formed body of infantry gave way, the whole went off, and left in our hands ninety pieces of cannon.

This victory, which was certainly complete, has, however, cost us dear. Your excellency will perceive, by the enclosed return, that

our loss, in officers and men, has been very great; and in that of lieut. col. Maxwell and other officers, whose names are therein included, greatly to be regretted.

I cannot write in too strong terms of the conduct of the troops; they advanced in the best order, and with the greatest steadiness, under a most destructive fire, against a body of infantry far superior in numbers, who appeared determined to contend with them to the last, and who were driven from their guns only by the bayonet; and, notwithstanding the numbers of the enemy's cavalry, and the repeated demonstrations they made of an intention to charge, they were kept at a distance by our infantry.

I am particularly indebted to lieut. col. Harness, and lieut. col. Wallace, for the manner in which they conducted their brigades; and to all the officers of the staff for the assistance I received from them. The officers commanding brigades; nearly all those of the staff, and the mounted officers of the infantry, had their horses shot under them.

I have also to draw your excellency's notice to the conduct of the cavalry, commanded by lieutenant colonel Maxwell, particularly of that of the 19th dragoons.

The enemy are gone off towards the Ajuntée Ghaut, and I propose to follow them as soon as I can place my captured guns and the wounded in security.

I have the honour to be,

My lord,

With the greatest respect,

Your excellency's most obedient,

And faithful humble servant,

(Signed) Arthur Wellesley.

Colonel Stevenson arrived this morning at Bokerdun, and I imagine



gine that he will be here this evening.

*His Excellency the governor general, &c. &c. &c.*

*A Return of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing, of the Detachment under the Command of Major General the Honourable Arthur Wellesley, at the Battle of Assye, against the Army of Dowlut Rao Scindiah, on Friday the 23d of September, 1803.*

Europeans killed.—1 lieut. col. 6 captains, 2 capt. lieuts. 12 lieuts. 1 volunteer or cadet, 1 lieut. and adjutant, 1 non-commissioned staff, 12 serjeants, and 162 rank and file.

Natives killed.—5 subidars or sy-rangs, 3 jemidars or 1st tindals, 13 havildars or 2d tindals, 4 trumpeters or drummers, 195 rank and file; 8 gun lascars, 2 puckallies or beasties.—Total 428.

Europeans wounded.—1 lieut. col. 2 majors, 4 captains, 2 captain lieuts. 17 lieuts. 3 cornets or ensigns, 1 lieut. and quartermaster, 1 non-commissioned staff, 34 serjeants, 6 trumpeters or drummers, and 371 rank and file.

Natives wounded.—12 subidars or sy-rangs, 16 jemidars or 1st tindals, 30 havildars or 2d tindals, 6 trumpeters or drummers, 586 rank and file, 35 gun lascars, 2 puckallies or beasties.—Total 1138.

Missing.—16 rank and file, and 2 gun lascars.

Horses.—325 killed; 111 wounded; and 2 missing.

*List of Officers Killed and Wounded.*

His majesty's 19th light dragoons.—lieut. col. Maxwell, commanding the cavalry, and captain R. Boyle, killed; captains Cathcart and Sale, lieuts. Wilson and Young, wounded.

4th native cavalry.—Captain H. Mackay, agent for public cattle, killed; cornet Meredith, wounded.

5th native cavalry.—Captain J. Colebrooke, wounded; lieutenant Bonomi, adjutant, killed; lieuts. Macleod, quartermaster, and Darke, wounded.

7th native cavalry.—Capt. M<sup>c</sup>Gregor, wounded.

1st battalion artillery.—Captains lieutenant Steele and Fowler; lieuts. Lindsay and Griffith, killed.

His majesty's 74th regiment.—Captain D. Aytone, A. Dyce, R. Macleod, paymaster of the regiment, and J. Maxwell; lieutenants J. Campbell, J. M. Campbell, J. Grant, R. Neilson, L. Campbell, and M. Morris; volunteer G. Tew, not on the strength, but recommended for an ensigncy, killed; major S. Swinton, capt. lieut. N. J. Moore, lieutenants J. A. Mein, M<sup>c</sup>Murdo, and M. Shawe, ensign B. Keirnan, wounded.

His majesty's 78th regiment.—lieut. J. Douglas, killed; captain lieut. C. M<sup>c</sup>Kenzie, lieutenants J. Kinlock and J. Larkin, ensign J. Bethune, acting adjutant, wounded.

1st battalion second native infantry.—Lieut. Brown, killed.

1st battalion fourth native infantry.—Lieut. Mavor, killed.

1st battalion eighth native infantry.—Lieuts. Davie, Fair, Hunter, and Desgraves, wounded.

1st battalion tenth native infantry.—Lieut. Perrie killed; lieut. Taylor, wounded.

2d battalion twelfth native infantry.—Lieut. col. Macleod, major M<sup>c</sup>Cally, lieuts. Bowdler, Harvey, Smith, and De Crez, wounded.

(Signed) R. Barclay.

Deputy adjutant-gen. in Mysore.  
Camp,

*Camp, Sept, 30, 1803.*

My lord,

I have the honour to enclose an account of the ordnance taken from the enemy in the action of the 23d instant. I have reason to believe that there are still four more guns, which were thrown into the river by the enemy in their retreat.

We have taken seven stand of colours, and the enemy lost all their ammunition, although the tumbrils having blown up, some during the action, and others during the succeeding night, we have got nothing but the shot. The ordnance is very fine; but I have destroyed the iron guns, and shall put the brass guns in a place of security.

The enemy lost twelve hundred men killed in the field of battle, and their wounded are scattered in all parts of the country. It is reported that Jadoon Row, Scindiah's principal minister, received a wound, of which he died the day before yesterday. Their army are in the greatest confusion and retiring to Burhaunpoor. Col. Stevenson has followed them down the Ajunttee Ghaut, and I propose to descend the Ghauts, as soon as I shall have placed the wounded soldiers in security.

I have the honour to be,

My lord,

With the greatest respect,

Your excellency's most obedient,

And faithful humble servant,

(Signed) Arthur Wellesley.

*His Excellency the governor  
general, &c. &c. &c.*

*A Return of Ordnance taken from the  
Enemy in the Battle of the 23d  
September, 1803.*

Two 24 pounders, eight 18 ditto,  
ten 16 ditto, three 12 ditto, one

10 ditto, four 9 ditto, three 8 ditto,  
twenty-seven 6 ditto, eight 4 ditto,  
twelve 3 ditto, nine  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ditto, four  
1 ditto, two 8 inch ditto, two  $5\frac{1}{2}$   
ditto, one 5 ditto. Total 98.

The number of tumbrils, and quantity of ammunition and stores taken, cannot be ascertained, as, after the action, and during the night, a great number of tumbrils were blown up.

(Signed) M. Beauman,  
Capt. com. artillery.

*Camp, Assye, 29th Sept. 1803.*

*Published by command of his  
excellency the most noble the  
governor general in council.*

J. Lumsden,  
Chief sec. to the govt.

*Fort William, Nov. 15, 1803.*

*A Dispatch, of which the following is  
a Copy, has this Day been received  
from his Excellency the Comman-  
der in Chief, by his Excellency  
the Most Noble the Governor Ge-  
neral.*

*To his Excellency the Most Noble the  
Marquis Wellesley, &c. &c. &c.*

My lord,

In my dispatch of yesterday's date, I did myself the honour to state, for your lordship's information, some particulars of the march of the army from Agra to the camp it now occupies, together with the general result of the action which took place yesterday. I now have the honour to send your excellency a more detailed account of that affair.

After a forced march of 25 miles, which was performed by the cavalry in a little more than six hours, I came up with the enemy, who appeared to be upon their retreat, and in such confusion, that I was tempted to try the effect of an attack upon  
him



him with the cavalry alone. By cutting the embankment of a large reservoir of water, the enemy had rendered the road very difficult to pass, which caused a considerable delay in the advance of the cavalry; of this the enemy had availed himself to take an advantageous post, having his right upon a rivulet, which we had to cross, and his left upon the village of Laswaree; the whole of his front was amply provided with artillery. I was prevented from discovering this change in the situation of the enemy by the quantity of dust which, when once clear of the water, totally obscured him from our sight; I therefore proceeded in the execution of my design, by which I hoped to prevent his retreat into the hills, and secure his guns; directing the advanced guard, and first brigade, commanded by col. Vandeleur, upon the point where I had observed the enemy in motion, but which proved to be the left of his new position; the remainder of the cavalry I ordered to attack in succession, as soon as they could form after passing the rivulet.

The charge of the advanced guard under major Griffith, and that of the first brigade, led by colonel Vandeleur, was made with much gallantry; the enemy's line was forced, and the cavalry penetrated into the village; they still, however, continued to be exposed to a most galling fire of cannon and musquetry, which, as it was impossible under such circumstances to form the squadrons for a fresh attack, determined me to withdraw them. The guns which had fallen into our hands could not be brought away, from the want of bullocks. In this charge, colonel Vandeleur

fell, mortally wounded; in him the service has lost a most valuable officer.

The attacks of the other brigades were conducted with the same spirit, but after taking several of the enemy's guns, being still fired upon, without being able to discover the enemy, they retired in good order, retaining possession of a part of the artillery. In the performance of this service, the third brigade, consisting of his majesty's 29th regiment, and the 4th regiment of native cavalry, under the command of that meritorious officer, colonel Macan, met my entire approbation.

The infantry having marched at three, A. M. arrived upon the banks of the rivulet about eleven o'clock. After so long a march, it was absolutely necessary to allow some time for the men to refresh themselves, during which the enemy sent in to say, that if certain terms were allowed them, they were willing to surrender their guns. Anxious to prevent the further effusion of blood, I directed a letter to be written, assuaging in their proposals, and allowing them an hour to decide; in the mean time, the several columns for the attack were formed. The infantry formed in two columns upon the left; the first, composed of the right wing, under the command of major-general Ware, was destined to gain the enemy's right flank, which he had thrown back since the morning, leaving a considerable space between it and the rivulet, and to assault the village of Laswaree; the second, composed of the left wing under major-general St. John, was to support the first column. The 3d brigade of cavalry, under col. Macan,



was to support the infantry; the 2d brigade under lieut. col. Vandeleur, was detached to the right, to be ready to take advantage of any confusion in the enemy's line, and to attack him upon his retreat; the brigade under colonel Gordon composed the reserve, and was formed between the 2d and 3d brigades. As many of the field-pieces as could be brought up, with the gallopers attached to the cavalry, formed four different batteries.

At the expiration of the time which I had allowed the enemy to decide, I ordered the infantry to advance; as soon as they became exposed to the enemy's guns, the four batteries commenced their fire, and continued to advance, though opposed by a great superiority, both in number and weight of metal.

When the 76th regiment, which headed the attack, had arrived at the point from which I intended to make the charge, they were so much exposed to the enemy's fire, and losing men so fast, that I judged it preferable to proceed to the attack with that regiment, and as many of the native infantry as had closed to the front, to losing time in waiting until the remainder of the column should be able to form, the march of which had been retarded by impediments in the advance.

As soon as this handful of heroes were arrived within reach of the enemy's canister shot, a most tremendous fire was opened upon them. The loss they sustained was very severe, and sufficient alone to prevent a regular advance; at this moment, the enemy's cavalry attempted to charge, but were repulsed by the fire of this gallant body; they, however, rallied at a

short distance, and assumed so menacing a posture, that I thought it advisable to order them to be attacked by the cavalry; this service fell to the share of his majesty's 29th regiment, commanded by capt. Wade (major Griffith having, at that instant, been unfortunately killed by a cannon shot) and was performed with the greatest gallantry, and in a manner which entitles capt. Wade, and every officer and soldier in the regiment to my warmest acknowledgments. The remainder of the first column of infantry arrived just in time to join in the attack of the enemy's reserve, which was formed in the rear of his line, with its left upon the village of Laswaree, and its right thrown back.

About this time, major-general Ware fell dead, his head being carried off by a cannon shot. He was a gallant officer, and one whose loss I deeply lament. On his death, the command of this column devolved upon col. M'Donald, who, though wounded, continued to acquit himself, in this important command, very much to my satisfaction.

The enemy opposed a vigorous resistance to the last, and it was not until he had lost his guns, that he abandoned his post. Even then his left wing did not fly, but attempted to retreat in good order; in this, however, they were frustrated by his majesty's 27th regiment, and the 6th regiment of native cavalry, under the command of lieut. col. Vandeleur, who broke in upon the column, cut several to pieces, and drove the rest in prisoners, with the whole of the baggage.

Severe as the loss has been which we have sustained in the achievement of this complete victory, that

of the enemy has been far greater. With the exception of upwards of 2000 who have been taken prisoners (of which number I have only detained the principal officers, amounting to forty-eight); I have reason to believe that very few escaped the general slaughter.

It would be a violation of my feelings were I to close my dispatch without bearing testimony to the gallant conduct of major M'Leod and capt. Robertson of his majesty's 76th regiment, and of every officer and soldier of that inestimable corps, in the attack of the village of Laswaree. Major Gregory, too, at the head of the 2d battalion 12th regiment of native infantry, in the same service, displayed a conduct highly meritorious.

In the list of those officers who particularly distinguished themselves, I cannot omit the names of lieut. Wallace of his majesty's 27th regiment, who was entrusted with the command of a battery of gallopers, nor that of lieut. Dixon of the 6th regiment native cavalry, who was employed in the same service.

The whole of my staff upon this, as upon every former occasion, are entitled to a large share of praise, and to my warmest gratitude. The zeal which they displayed upon this memorable day, is too plainly proved by the enclosed returns of the killed and wounded. I have sustained a great loss by the death of major William Campbell, the deputy quartermaster-general, and by that of my aid-de-camp, lieutenant Duval, of his majesty's 19th light dragoons, who was a young man of great promise.

Herewith I have the honour to enclose returns of the ordnance and

colours which were captured upon this occasion.

I have the honour to be,

My lord,

Your lordship's most faithful

And humble servant,

(Signed) G. Lake.

*Head quarters, Camp, near*

*Laswaree, November 2,*

1803.

P. S. In the hurry which I wrote my dispatch of yesterday's date, I fear I did not explain to your lordship, that the enemy's corps which we have defeated, comprized the whole of the fifteen regular battalions which had been sent from the Dekan, under the command of Monsieur Duderne, and two battalions of the same description, which had escaped from Delhi. I, therefore, have the satisfaction of congratulating your excellency, upon the annihilation of the whole of the regular force in Scindiah's service, commanded by French officers.

(Signed) G. L.

*Return of Officers and Men, Killed and Wounded in the Action of the 1st Nov. 1803.*

Killed.—1 major-general, 1 col. 2 majors, 1 captain, 4 lieutenants, 2 quartermasters, 2 cornets, 11 serjeants, 4 matrosses, 67 rank and file, 1 subadar, 7 havildars, 6 naicks, 60 privates, and 3 lascars.—Total 172.

Wounded.—1 colonel, 2 lieut. cols. 2 majors, 7 captains, 12 lieutenants, 3 quartermasters, 1 cornet, 1 ensign, 27 serjeants, 6 matrosses, 248 rank and file, 1 drummer, 4 subadars, 7 jemadars, 26 havildars, 19 naicks, 279 privates, 5 lascars, and 1 beasties.—Total 652.

Horses.—277 killed, 154 wounded, and 122 missing.

*List*



*List of Officers Killed in the Action  
of the 1st of Nov. 1803.*

Major-general Charles Ware.

General staff.—Major William Campbell, deputy quartermaster general; lieutenant Duval, aid-de-camp to the commander in chief.

His majesty's 8th regiment light dragoons.—Colonel T. P. Vandeleur, captain Story.

His majesty's 29th regiment light dragoons.—Major Grillith, cornet Fitzgerald, quartermaster Philley, quartermaster R. M'Goughy.

1st regiment native cavalry.—cornet Coxwell.

His majesty's 76th regiment foot.—Lieut. and adjutant Meulh, lieutenant Hurd.

1st battalion 15th regiment native infantry.—Lieut. Lambert.

*List of Officers Wounded in the Action of the 1st Nov. 1803.*

General staff.—Lieutenant-colonel Gerard, adjutant-general; major G. A. F. Lake, secretary to the commander in chief; captain J. Campbell, gram agent attached to head-quarters; lieutenant Ashhurst, commanding the escort with his excellency the commander in chief.

His majesty's 8th regiment light dragoons.—Lieut. Lyndon, since dead; lieutenant Wellard.

His majesty's 27th regiment light dragoons.—Capt. White, capt. Mylne, capt. Sandys, and lieutenant Gore, major of brigade.

His majesty's 29th regiment light dragoons.—Lieut. Holstead, since dead; capt. Sloane, lieutenant Thorne, and quartermaster Tallen.

1st regiment native cavalry.—Lieut. Cornish.

4th regiment native cavalry.—Lieut. Read.

6th regiment native cavalry.—Cornet Dickson.

His majesty's 76th regiment foot.—Capt. Robertson, lieutenant Marston, lieutenant Wibmer, and lieutenant Sinclair.

1st battalion 12th regiment of native infantry.—Ensign Dalton.

2d battalion 12th regiment native infantry.—Major Gregory, captain Fletcher, and lieutenant Ryan.

1st battalion 15th regiment native infantry.—Colonel M'Donald.

2d battalion 16th regiment native infantry.—Lieut. col. White, ensign G. Deane Heathcote.

(Signed) J. Gerard,  
Adj. general.

*Report of the Ordnance, &c. captured  
at Laswaree, on the 1st November,  
1803.*

71 pieces of cannon of different calibres. The whole mounted on field carriages, with limbers and traces complete.

64 Tumbrils complete, laden with ammunition, and 44 stand of colours.

Ditto ditto blown up on the field of battle, the number not ascertained.

The whole of the above-mentioned ordnance, except eight, appear serviceable.

The iron guns are of Europe manufacture. The brass guns, mortars, and howitzers have been cast in India, one Dutch six-pounder excepted. The dimensions are, in general, those of the French. The mortars and howitzers are furnished with elevating screws, made by a simple and ingenious adjustment, to give either of them the double capacity of mortar and howitzer. The ammunition is made up in the same manner as that taken at Delhi.

57 carts or hackrees laden with  
O o 2 matchlocks



matchlocks, musquets, and stores,  
also 12 artificer's carts.

(Signed) J. Gerard, adj. gen.  
J. Robinson, capt.  
Com. the art.

*Published by Command of his  
Excellency the most noble the  
governor general in council.*

J. Lumsden, chief sec. to  
the govt.

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*Correspondence between his Majesty,  
the Prince of Wales, the Duke of  
York, and Mr. Addington, respect-  
ing the Offer of Military Service  
made by his Royal Highness the  
Prince of Wales.*

(COPY.)

Carlton-House, July 18, 1803.

Sir,

The subject on which I address  
you presses so heavily on my mind,  
and daily acquires such additional  
importance, that, notwithstanding  
my wish to avoid any interference  
with his majesty's ministers, I find  
it impossible to withhold or delay an  
explicit statement of my feelings, to  
which I would direct your most se-  
rious consideration.

When it was officially communi-  
cated to parliament, that the avowed  
object of the enemy was a de-  
scent on our kingdoms, the question  
became obvious that the circum-  
stances of the times required the vo-  
luntary tender of personal service;  
when parliament, in consequence of  
this representation, agreed to ex-  
traordinary measures for the de-  
fence of these realms alone, it was  
evident the danger was not believed  
dubious or remote.—Animated by  
the same spirit which pervaded the  
nation at large, conscious of the du-  
ties which I owed to his majesty and  
the country, I seized the earliest

opportunity to express my desire of  
undertaking the responsibility of a  
military command; I neither did,  
nor do presume on supposed ta-  
lents as entitling me to such an ap-  
pointment. I am aware I do not  
possess the experience of actual  
warfare; at the same time I cannot  
regard myself as totally unqualified  
or deficient in military science, since  
I have long made the service my  
particular study. My chief preten-  
sions were founded on a sense of  
those advantages which my example  
might produce to the state, by ex-  
citing the loyal energies of the na-  
tion, and a knowledge of those ex-  
pectations which the public had a  
right to form as to the personal ex-  
ertions of their princes at a moment  
like the present. The more elevated  
my situation, in so much the efforts  
of zeal became necessarily greater;  
and, I confess, that if duty had  
not been so paramount, a reflection  
on the splendid achievements of my  
predecessors would have excited in  
me the spirit of emulation; when,  
however, in addition to such recol-  
lections, the nature of the contest  
in which we are about to engage  
was impressed on my consideration,  
I should, indeed, have been devoid  
of every virtuous sentiment, if I  
felt no reluctance in remaining a  
passive spectator of armaments,  
which have for their object the very  
existence of the British empire.

Thus was I influenced to make  
my offer of service, and I did ima-  
gine that his majesty's ministers  
would have attached to it more va-  
lue. But when I find that, from  
some unknown cause, my appoint-  
ment seems to remain so long unde-  
termined; when I feel myself ex-  
posed to the obloquy of being re-  
garded by the country as passing my  
time

time indifferent to the events which menace, and insensible to the calls of patriotism, much more of glory, it then behoves me to examine my rights, and to remind his majesty's ministers that the claim which I have advanced is strictly constitutional, and justified by precedent; and that, in the present situation of Europe, to deny my exercising it is fatal to my own immediate honour, and the future interests of the crown.

I can never forget that I have solemn obligations imposed on me by my birth, and that I should ever shew myself foremost in contributing to the preservation of the country. The time is arrived when I may prove myself sensible of the duties of my situation, and of evincing my devotion to that sovereign, who, by nature, as well as public worth, commands my most affectionate attachment.

I repeat, that I should be sorry to embarrass the government at any time, most particularly at such a crisis. But, since no event in my future life could compensate for the misfortune of not participating in the honours and dangers which await the brave men destined to oppose an invading enemy, I cannot forego the earnest renewal of my application.

All I solicit is, a more ostensible situation than that in which I am at present placed; for situated as I am, as a mere colonel of a regiment, the major general commanding the brigade, of which such a regiment must form a part, would justly expect and receive the full credit of pre-arrangement, and successful enterprize.

I remain, sir,

Very sincerely, your's,

(Signed) G. P.

Right Hon. Henry Addington, &c.

This topic was further urged by the same personage, July 26, in a letter to Mr. Addington, who, in reply, briefly alluded to similar representations, which, in obedience to the *commands* of his royal highness, had been laid before his majesty upon former occasions.

The prince then desired his note of the 26th of July, to be laid before his majesty, which was accordingly done.

His majesty referred, in Mr. A.'s answer, to the order he had before given Mr. Addington; with the addition, "that the king's opinion being fixed, he desired that no farther mention should be made to him on the subject."

The following letter was then written by the prince.

*To the King.*

Sir,

A correspondence has taken place between Mr. Addington and myself, on a subject which deeply involves my honour and character. The answer which I have received from that gentleman, and the communication which he has made to the house of commons, leave me no hope but in an appeal to the justice of your majesty. I make that appeal with confidence, because I feel that you are my natural advocate, and with the sanguine hope that the ears of an affectionate father may still be opened to the supplications of a dutiful son.

I ask to be allowed to display the best energies of my character; to shed the last drop of my blood in support of your majesty's person, crown and dignity; for this is not a war for empire, glory, or dominion, but for existence. In this contest, the lowest and humblest of your ma-



jesty's subjects have been called on; it would, therefore, little become me, who am the *first*, and who stand at the very footstool of the throne, to remain a tame, an idle, and lifeless spectator, of the mischiefs which threaten us, unconscious of the dangers which surround us, and indifferent to the consequences which may follow.—Hanover is lost—England is menaced with invasion—Ireland is in rebellion—Europe is at the foot of France. At such a moment, the prince of Wales, yielding to none of your servants in zeal and devotion—to none of your subjects in duty—to none of your children in tenderness and affection, presumes to approach you, and again to repeat those offers which he has already made through your majesty's ministers. A feeling of honest ambition; a sense of what I owe to myself and to my family; and, above all, the fear of sinking in the estimation of that gallant army which may be the support of your majesty's crown, and my best hope hereafter, command me to persevere, and to assure your majesty, with all humility and respect, that, conscious of the justice of my claim, no human power can ever induce me to relinquish it.

Allow me to say, sir, that I am bound to adopt this line of conduct by every motive dear to me as a man, and sacred to me as a prince. Ought I not to come forward in a moment of unexampled difficulty and danger? Ought I not to share in the glory of victory, when I have every thing to lose by defeat? The highest places in your majesty's service are filled by the younger branches of the royal family; to me alone no place is assigned. I am not thought worthy to be even the junior

major-general of your army. If I could submit in silence to such indignities, I should, indeed, deserve such treatment, and prove, to the satisfaction of your enemies, and my own, that I am entirely incapable of those exertions, which my birth and the circumstances of the times peculiarly call for. Standing so near the throne, when I am debased, the cause of royalty is wounded; I cannot sink in public opinion, without the participation of your majesty in my degradation. Therefore every motive of private feeling, and of public duty, induce me to implore your majesty to review your decision, and to place me in that situation which my birth, the duties of my station, the example of my predecessors, and the expectations of the people of England, entitle me to claim.

Should I be disappointed in the hope which I have formed, should this last appeal to the justice of my sovereign, and the affection of my father, fail of success, I shall lament in silent submission his determination; but Europe, the world, and posterity must judge between us.

I have done my duty; my conscience acquits me; my reason tells me that I was perfectly justified in the request which I have made, because no reasonable arguments have ever been adduced in answer to my pretensions. The precedents in our history are in my favour; but if they were not, the times in which we live, and especially the exigencies of the present moment, require us to become an example to our posterity.

No other cause of refusal has or can be assigned, except that it was the will of your majesty. To that will and pleasure I bow with every degree of humility and resignation; but I can never cease to complain

of



of the severity which has been exercised against me, and the injustice which I have suffered, till I cease to exist. I have the honour to subscribe myself,

With all possible devotion;

Your majesty's

Most dutiful and affectionate

Son and subject,

(Signed) G. P.

*Brighthelmstone, Aug. 6, 1803.*

*Answer, from the King.*

*Windsor, 7th August.*

My dear son,

Though I applaud your zeal and spirit, of which, I trust, no one can suppose any of my family wanting, yet, considering the repeated declarations I have made of my determination on your former applications to the same purpose, I had flattered myself to have heard no farther on the subject. Should the implacable enemy so far succeed as to land, you will have an opportunity of shewing your zeal at the head of your regiment. It will be the duty of every man to stand forward on such an occasion; and I shall certainly think it mine to set an example in defence of every thing that is dear to me and to my people. I ever remain, my dear son,

Your most affectionate father,

(Signed) G. R.

*From the Prince to the King.*

*Brighthelmstone,*

*23d Aug. 1803.*

Sir,

I have delayed thus long an answer to the letter which your majesty did me the honour to write, from a wish to refer to a former correspondence which took place between us in the year 1798. Those

letters were mislaid, and some days elapsed before I could discover them: they have since been found. Allow me, then, sir, to recal to your recollection the expressions you were graciously pleased to use, and which I once before took the liberty of reminding you of, when I solicited foreign service, upon my first coming into the army. They were, sir, that your majesty did not then see the opportunity for it; but if any thing was to arise at home, I ought to be "first and foremost." There cannot be a stronger expression in the English language, or one more consonant to the feelings which animate my heart. In this I agree most perfectly with your majesty—"I ought to be the first and foremost." It is the place which my birth assigns me—which Europe—which the English nation expect me to fill—and which the former assurances of your majesty might naturally have led me to hope I should occupy. After such a declaration, I could hardly expect to be told, that my place was at the head of a regiment of dragoons.

I understand from your majesty, that it is your intention, sir, in pursuance of that noble example which you have ever shewn during the course of your reign, to place yourself at the head of the people of England. My next brother, the duke of York, commands the army; the younger branches of my family are either generals or lieutenant-generals; and I, who am the prince of Wales, am to remain a colonel of dragoons. There is something so humiliating in the contrast, that those who are at a distance would either doubt the reality, or suppose that to be my fault, which is only my misfortune.

Who could imagine, that I, who am the oldest colonel in the service, had asked for the rank of a general officer in the army of the king my father, and that it had been refused me!

I am sorry, much more than sorry, to be obliged to break in upon your leisure, and to trespass thus a second time on the attention of your majesty. But I have, sir, an interest in my character more valuable to me than the throne, and dearer, far dearer to me than life. I am called upon by that interest to persevere, and I pledge myself never to desist till I receive that satisfaction which the justice of my claim leads me to expect.

In these unhappy times, the world, sir, examines the conduct of princes with a jealous, a scrutinizing, a malignant eye. No man is more aware than I am of the existence of such a disposition, and no man is, therefore, more determined to place himself above all suspicion.

In desiring to be placed in a forward situation, I have performed one duty to the people of England; I must now perform another, and humbly supplicate your majesty to assign those reasons which have induced you to refuse a request which appears to me and to the world so reasonable and so rational.

I must again repeat my concern that I am obliged to continue a correspondence which, I fear, is not so grateful to your majesty as I could wish. I have examined my own heart—I am convinced of the justice of my cause—of the purity of my motives. Reason and honour forbid me to yield: where no reason is alledged, I am justified in the conclusion that none can be given.

In this candid exposition of the

feelings which have agitated and depressed my wounded mind, I hope no expression has escaped me which can be construed to mean the slightest disrespect to your majesty. I most solemnly disavow any such intention; but the circumstances of the times—the danger of invasion—the appeal which has been made to all your subjects, oblige me to recollect what I owe to my own honour and to my own character, and to state to your majesty, with plainness, truth, and candour, but with the submission of a subject, and the duty of an affectionate son, the injuries under which I labour, which it is in the power of your majesty alone at one moment to redress.

It is with the sentiments of the profoundest veneration and respect, that I have the honour to subscribe myself,

Your majesty's most dutiful

And most affectionate

Son and subject,

(Signed) G. P.

*Brighton, 2d Oct. 1803.*

My dear brother,

By the last night's Gazette, which I have this moment received, I perceive that an extensive promotion has taken place in the army, where, in my pretensions are not noticed; a circumstance which, whatever may have happened upon other occasions, it is impossible for me to pass by, at this momentous crisis, without observation.

My standing in the army, according to the most ordinary routine of promotion, had it been followed up, would have placed me either at the bottom of the list of generals, or at the head of the list of lieutenant generals. When the younger branches of



of my family are promoted to the highest military situations, my birth, according to the distinctions usually conferred on it, should have placed me first on that list.

I hope you know me too well, to imagine that idle inactive rank is in my view; much less is the direction and patronage of the military departments an object which suits my place in the state, or my inclinations; but, in a moment when the danger of the country is thought by government so urgent as to call forth the energy of every man in its defence, I cannot but feel myself degraded, both as a prince and as a soldier; if I am not allowed to take a forward and distinguished part in the defence of that empire and crown, of the glory, prosperity, and even existence of that people in all which mine is the greatest stake.

To be told I may display this zeal solely and simply at the head of my regiment, is a *degrading mockery*.

If that be the only situation allotted me, I shall certainly do my duty, as others will; but the considerations to which I have already alluded entitle me to expect, and bind me in every way to require, a situation more correspondent to the dignity of my own character and to the public expectations.

It is for the sake of tendering my services in a way more formal and official than I have before pursued, that I address this to you, my dear brother, as the commander in chief, by whose counsels the constitution presumes that the military department is administered.

If those who have the honour to advise his majesty on this occasion, shall deem my pretensions, among those of all the royal family, to be the only one fit to be rejected and

disdained, I may at least hope, as a debt of justice and honour, to have it explained, that I am laid by in virtue of that judgment, and not in consequence of any omission or want of energy on my part, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) G. P. W.

*His Royal Highness the Duke of York, &c.*

*Horse Guards, Oct. 6, 1803.*

Dearest brother,

Nothing but an extraordinary press of business would have prevented me from acknowledging sooner your letter of the 2d instant, which I received, while at Oatlands, on Monday evening.

I trust that you are too well acquainted with my affection for you, which has existed since our most tender years, not to be assured of the satisfaction I have felt, and ever must feel, in forwarding, when in my power, every desire or object of your's; and, therefore, will believe how much I must regret the impossibility there is, upon the present occasion, of my executing your wishes of laying the representation contained in your letter before his majesty.

Suffer me, my dearest brother, as the only answer that I can properly give you, to recal to your memory what passed upon the same subject soon after his majesty was graciously pleased to place me at the head of the army; and I have no doubt that, with your usual candour, you will yourself see the absolute necessity of my declining it.

In the year 1795, upon a general promotion taking place, at your instance, I delivered a letter from you to his majesty; urging your pretensions to promotion in the  
army;



army; to which his majesty was pleased to answer, that before he had appointed you to the command of the 10th light dragoons, he had caused it to be fully explained to you what his sentiments were with respect to a prince of Wales entering into the army, and the public grounds upon which he could never admit of your considering it as a profession, or of your being promoted in the service. And his majesty, at the same time, added *his positive command and injunctions* to me, never to mention this subject again to him, and to decline being the bearer of any application of the same nature, should it be proposed to me; which message I was, of course, under the necessity of delivering to you, and have constantly made it the rule of my conduct ever since; and, indeed, I have ever considered it as one of the greatest proofs of affection and consideration towards me, on the part of his majesty, that he never allowed me to become a party in this business.

Having thus stated to you, fairly and candidly, what has passed, I trust you will see that there can be no grounds for the apprehension expressed in the latter part of your letter, that any slur can attach to your character as an officer—particularly as I recollect your mentioning to me yourself, on the day on which you received the notification of your appointment to the 10th light dragoons, the explanation and condition attached to it by his majesty; and therefore, surely, you must be satisfied, that your not being advanced in military rank, proceeds entirely from his majesty's sentiments respecting the high rank you hold in the state, and not from

any impression unfavourable to you.

Believe me ever, with the greatest truth,

Dearest brother,

Your most affectionate brother,

(Signed)

Frederick.

*His Royal Highness the  
Prince of Wales.*

Brighton, Oct. 9, 1803.

My dear brother,

I have taken two days to consider the contents of your letter of the 6th inst. in order to be as accurate as possible in my answer, which must account to you for its being longer, perhaps, than I intended, or I could have wished.

I confide entirely in the personal kindness and affection expressed in your letter, and am, for that reason, the more unwilling to trouble you again on a painful subject, in which you are not free to act, as your inclination, I am sure, would lead you. But, as it is not at all improbable, that every part of this transaction may be publicly canvassed hereafter, it is of the utmost importance to my honour, without which I can have no happiness, that my conduct in it shall be fairly represented, and correctly understood. When I made a tender of my services to his majesty's ministers, it was with a just and natural expectation, that my offer would have been accepted, in the way in which alone it could have been most beneficial to my country, or creditable to myself: or, if that failed, that at least (in justice to me) the reasons for a refusal would have been distinctly stated; so that the nation might be satisfied, that nothing had been omitted on my part, and enabled to judge of the validity of the reasons assigned

assigned for such refusal. In the first instance, I was referred to his majesty's will and pleasure; and now I am informed, by your letter, that before "he had appointed me to the command of the 10th light dragoons, he had caused it to be fully explained to me, what his sentiments were with respect to a prince of Wales entering into the army."

It is impossible, my dear brother, that I should know all that passed between the king and you; but, I perfectly recollect the statement you made of the conversation you had had with his majesty, and which strictly corresponds with that in your letter now before me. But I must, at the same time, recal to your memory, my positive denial, at that time, of any condition or stipulation having been made, upon my first coming into the army; and I am in possession of full and complete documents, which prove that no terms whatever were then proposed, at least to me, whatever might have been the intention: and the communications which I have found it necessary subsequently to make, have ever disclaimed the existence of such a compromise at any period, as nothing could be more averse to my nature, or more remote from my mind.

As to the conversation you quote in 1796 (when the king was pleased to appoint me to succeed sir William Pitt), I have not the most slight recollection of its having taken place between us. My dear brother, if you date it right, you must be mistaken in your exact terms, or, at least, in the conclusion you draw from it; for, in the intimacy and familiarity of private conversation, it is not at all unlikely that I

should have remembered the communication you made me the year before; but, that I should have acquiesced in, or referred to a compromise, which I never made, is utterly impossible.

Neither in his majesty's letter to me, nor in his correspondence with Mr. Addington (of which you may not be fully informed), is there one word, or the most distant allusion to the condition stated in your letter; and even if I had accepted the command of a regiment on such terms, my acquiescence could only have relation to the ordinary situation of the country, and not to a case so completely out of all contemplation at that time, as the probable or projected invasion of this kingdom by a foreign force, sufficient to bring its safety into question. When the king is pleased to tell me, "that should the enemy land, he shall think it his duty to set an example in defence of the country;" that is, to expose the only life which, for the public welfare, ought not to be hazarded, I respect and admire the principles which dictate that resolution; and as my heart glows with the same sentiments, I wish to partake in the same danger, that is, with dignity and effect. Wherever his majesty appears as king, he acts and commands; you are commander in chief; others of my family are high in military station; and even by the last brevet a considerable number of junior officers are put over me. In all these arrangements, the prince of Wales alone, whose interest in the event yields to none but that of the king, is disregarded; omitted; his services rejected. So that, in fact, he has no post or station whatsoever, in a contest, on which the fate of  
the



the crown and the kingdom may depend.

I do not, my dear brother, wonder that, in the hurry of your present occupations, these considerations should have been overlooked; they are now in your view, and I think cannot fail to make a due impression.

As to the rest, with every degree of esteem possible for your judgment of what is due to a soldier's honour, I must be the guardian of mine to the utmost of my power, &c. &c. (Signed) G. P.

*His Royal Highness the  
Duke of York.*

*Horse Guards, Oct. 11.*

My dear brother,

I have this moment, upon my arrival in town, found your letter, and lose no time in answering that part of it which appears to me highly necessary should be clearly understood.

Indeed, my dear brother, you must give me leave to repeat to you, that, upon the fullest consideration, I perfectly recollect your having yourself told me, at Carlton-house, in the year 1793, on the day on which you was informed of his majesty's having acquiesced in your request of being appointed to the command of the 10th regiment of light dragoons, of which sir William Pitt was then colonel, the message and condition which was delivered to you from his majesty, and which his majesty repeated to me, in the year 1795, as mentioned in my letter of Thursday last: and I have the fullest reason to know, that there are others to whom, at that time, you mentioned the same circumstance; nor have I the least recollection of your having denied

it to me, when I delivered to you the king's answer, as I should certainly have felt it incumbent upon me to recal to your memory, what you had told me yourself in the year 1793.

No conversation whatever passed between us, as you justly remark, in the year 1796, when sir William Pitt was promoted to the king's dragoon guards, which was done in consequence of what was arranged in 1793, upon your first appointment to the 10th light dragoons; and I conceive, that your mentioning in your letter my having stated a conversation to have passed between us in 1798, must have arisen from some misapprehension, as I do not find *that* year ever adverted to in my letter.

I have thought it due to us both, my dear brother, thus fully to reply to those parts of your letter, in which you appear to have mistaken mine; but, as I am totally unacquainted with the correspondence which has taken place upon this subject, I must decline entering any further into it.

I remain ever, my dear brother,

With the greatest truth,

Your most affectionate brother,  
(Signed) Frederick.

*Brighton, Oct. 12, 1803.*

My dear brother,

By my replying to your letter of the 6th instant, which contained no sort of answer to mine of the second, we have fallen into a very frivolous altercation, upon a topic which is quite foreign to the present purpose: indeed, the whole importance of it lies in a seeming contradiction in the statement of a fact, which is unpleasant, even upon the idlest occasion.

I meant



I meant to assert that no previous condition to forego all pretensions to ulterior rank, under any circumstances, had been imposed upon me, or even submitted to me, in any shape whatsoever, on my first coming into the service; and with as much confidence as can be used in maintaining a negative, I repeat that assertion.

When I first became acquainted with his majesty's purpose to withhold from me further advancement, it is impossible to recollect; but that it was so early as the year 1793, I do not remember; and if your expressions were less positive, I should add, or believe; but I certainly knew it, as you well know, in 1795; and possibly before. We were then engaged in war, therefore I could not think of resigning my regiment; if, under other circumstances, I had been disposed to do it; but, in truth, my rank in the nation made military rank, in ordinary times, a matter of little consequence, except to my own private feelings. This sentiment I conveyed to you in my letter of the second, saying, expressly, that mere *idle, inactive* rank, was in no sort my object.

But upon the prospect of an emergency, where the king was to take the field, and the spirit of every Briton was roused to exertion, the place which I occupy in the nation, made it indispensable to demand a post correspondent to that place, and to the public expectation. This sentiment, I have the happiness to be assured, in a letter on this occasion, *made a strong impression on the mind, and commanded the respect and admiration of one very high in government.*

The only purpose of this letter,

my dear brother, is to explain, since that is necessary, that my former ones meant not to give you the trouble of interceding as my advocate for mere rank in the army. Urging further my other more important claims upon government, would be vainly addressed to any person, who can really think that a formal refusal of mere rank, under circumstances so widely different, or the most express waving of such pretensions, if that had been the case, furnishes the slightest colour for the answer which I have received to the tender I have now made of my services.

Your department, my dear brother, was meant, if I must repeat it, simply as a channel to convey that tender to government, and to obtain either their attention to it, or an open avowal of their refusal, &c. (Signed) G. P.

*To His Royal Highness  
the Duke of York.*

*Horse Guards, Oct. 13.*

Dear brother,

I have received your letter this morning, and am sorry to find, that you think that I have misconceived the meaning of your first letter, the whole tenor of which, and the military promotion which gave rise to it, led me naturally to suppose your desire was, that I should apply to his majesty, in my official capacity, to give you military rank, to which might be attached the idea of subsequent command.

That I found myself under the necessity of declining, in obedience to his majesty's pointed orders, as I explained to you in my letter of the 6th instant; but, from your letter of to-day, I am to understand that your object is *not* military rank, but,

but, that a post should be allotted to you, upon the present emergency, suitable to your situation in the state.

This I conceive to be purely a political consideration, and, as such, totally out of my department; and, as I have most carefully avoided, at all times, and under all circumstances, ever interfering in any political points, I must hope that you will not call upon me to deviate from the principles by which I have been invariably governed.

Believe me, my dear brother,

Your most affectionate brother,

(Signed) Frederick.

*His Royal Highness the  
Prince of Wales.*

Carlton House, Oct. 14.

My dear brother,

It cannot but be painful to me to be reduced to the necessity of further explanation on a subject, which it was my earnest wish to have closed, and which was of so clear and distinct a nature, as, in my humble judgment, to have precluded the possibility of either doubt or misunderstanding.

Surely there must be some strange fatality to obscure my language in statement, or leave me somewhat deficient in the powers of explanation, when it can lead your mind, my dear brother, to such a palpable misconstruction (for far be it from me to fancy it wilful) of my meaning, as to suppose for a moment I had unconnected my object with *efficient military rank*, and transferred it entirely to the view of a *political station*, when you venture to tell me "my object is *not* military rank, but that a post should be allotted to me, upon the *present* emergency, suitable to my situation

in the state." Upon what ground you can hazard such an assertion, or upon what principles you can draw such an inference, I am utterly at a loss to determine. For I defy the most skilful logician, in torturing the English language, to apply with *fairness* such a construction to any word or phrase of mine, contained in any one of the letters I have ever written on this, *to me*, most interesting subject.

I call upon you to re-peruse the correspondence. In my letter of the 2d instant, I told you unequivocally that I hoped you knew me too well to imagine, that *idle, inactive* rank was in my view; and that sentiment, I beg you carefully to observe, I have, in no instance whatever, for one single moment, relinquished or departed from.

Giving, as I did, all the considerations of my heart to the delicacy and difficulties of your situation, nothing could have been more repugnant to my thoughts, or to my disposition, than to have imposed upon you, my dear brother, either in your capacity as commander in chief, or in the near relationship which subsists between us, much less the expectation of causing you to *risque* any displeasure from his majesty, by disobeying, in any degree, *his* commands, although they were even to militate against myself. But, with the impulse of my feelings towards you, and quickly conceiving what friendship and affection may be capable of, I did not, I own, think it entirely impossible that you might, considering the magnitude and importance which the object carries with it, have officially advanced my wishes, as a matter of propriety, to *military rank and subsequent command*, through his majesty's



jesty's ministers, for that direct purpose; especially when the honour of my character and my future fame in life were so deeply involved in the consideration. For, I must here emphatically again repeat, "*idle, inactive* rank was never in my view; and that military rank, with its consequent command, was NEVER out of it."

Feeling how useless, as well as ungracious, controversy is, upon every occasion, and knowing how fatally it operates on human friendship, I must entreat that our correspondence on this subject shall cease here; for nothing could be more distressing to me, than to prolong a topic, on which, it is now clear to me, my dear brother, that you and I can never agree, &c.

(Signed)

G. P.

*His Royal Highness the  
Duke of York.*

*Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon.  
Henry Addington, dated Richmond  
Park, Oct. 23, 1803.*

Sir,

In consequence of some intelligence which has reached me, I am impelled, by a sense of duty to your royal highness, and to the public, to express an earnest and anxious hope, that you may be induced to postpone your return to Brighton until I shall have had an opportunity of making further inquiries, and of stating the result of them to your royal highness.

I have the honour to be, with the utmost deference and respect,

Sir,

Your royal highness's faithful

And most humble servant,

Henry Addington.

*The Prince of Wales.*

*Answer.*

*Carlton House, Oct. 24.*

Sir,

By your grounding your letter to me upon intelligence which has just reached you, I apprehend that you allude to information which leads you to expect some immediate attempt from the enemy. My wish to accommodate myself to any thing which you represent as material to the public service, would, of course, make me desirous to comply with your request; but if there be reason to imagine that invasion will take place directly, I am bound, by the king's precise order, and by that honest zeal which is not allowed any fitter sphere for its action, to hasten instantly to my regiment. If I learn that my construction of the word intelligence be right, I must deem it necessary to repair to Brighton immediately, &c. &c.

(Signed)

G. P.

*Right Hon. Henry Addington.*

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*Correspondence between the Right  
Hon. the Lord Chancellor of Ire-  
land and the Earl of Fingall.*

(No. 1.)

*From the Right Hon. the Lord Chan-  
cellor of Ireland, to the Right Hon.  
the Earl of Fingall.*

*Ely Place, Dublin,*

*My lord, - Aug. 18, 1803.*

According to your lordship's request, I have signed, with great pleasure, a warrant for your lordship's appointment to be a justice of the peace for the county of Meath.

At this moment, my lord, it is peculiarly important that every person entrusted specially with the preser-



preservation of the public peace should know, and conscientiously pursue, the strict line of his duty. Your lordship's distinguished loyalty, at all times, and on all occasions, leaves me no room to doubt that you will exert yourself to the best of your judgment for this important purpose; and the same distinguished loyalty has, probably, marked out your lordship, as one to whom nothing could safely be uttered, tending to demonstrate any disposition towards the rebellious outrages; which of late produced such dreadful effects, and excited so much alarm. But I fear there have been too many, in whose presence and hearing, demonstrations have been made, and words uttered, which ought to have alarmed the minds of loyal men; and induced them to communicate the ground for that alarm, to those in authority under the government, and especially to the justices of the peace in their several districts; but who have thought fit to retain the impression made in their minds within their own breasts; and to leave the chance of discovery to other means. The persons to whom I allude have principally been persons professing to hold the same religious faith with your lordship, and over whom I most sincerely hope your lordship's high character may give you that influence which justly belongs to it.

It will be highly important, therefore, that your lordship, in the discharge of your duty as a magistrate, should take every opportunity of clearly stating, and most strongly inculcating and enforcing, the great duty of allegiance; and that that duty is not confined to forbearance from open rebellion, or even from acts

tending towards rebellion; that true allegiance is an active duty, requiring every man not only to suppress rebellion when it shall shew itself in violence, but to disclose to that government under which he lives, (whether he be a natural born subject of that government, or a sojourner only under its protection,) every thing which can raise ground for such suspicion of disloyalty in others; and it is particularly important that your lordship should, as a magistrate, state and enforce, that persons knowing of a treasonable purpose who do not disclose it, are guilty, in the eye of the law, of that crime which has been denominated *misprision* of treason; and if they yield any kind of assent to the intended treason, they become traitors themselves. Your lordship's enlarged and liberal mind, distinguishing clearly between spiritual and temporal concerns, must feel that there can be no duty of religion contrary to the duty of allegiance; and, indeed, no man, however ignorant or prejudiced, can read the holy scriptures, without finding that the duty of allegiance to a Pagan government was strongly and repeatedly enforced by Christ and his apostles, and especially the latter, who found the christians of their times, too much disposed to consider their faith in Christ as absolving them from their allegiance to the country in which they lived. I am truly sorry to say, that I fear, in this country, all who profess to be ministers of the gospel of Christ, do not teach Christ's doctrine of allegiance to their flocks; and I particularly lament to find in the minds of men, who assume the highest rank amongst the ministers of the Roman

Roman persuasion, the frequent use of language tending to raise in the minds of the ignorant, an opinion that none are to be considered as members of the catholic church of Christ; that none, therefore, are to be esteemed brethren in Christ, but those who profess adherence to the see of Rome. Until the minds of men shall be brought to a different temper, until the priests of the Roman persuasion shall cease to inculcate, that all who differ from them in religious opinions are to be considered as guilty of defection from the see of Rome, that is, as guilty of rebellion, including his majesty's sacred person in that description, it cannot be expected that vulgar men should think themselves bound by any tie of allegiance to a king thus represented to them, as himself guilty of a breach of what is termed a higher duty of allegiance. That liberty of conscience which those of the Roman persuasion desire for themselves, they ought to allow to others; and they do not allow that liberty of conscience; but, on the contrary, sanction the worst of persecutions, whenever they treat any man sincerely believing in Christ, the Redeemer of mankind; as not a member of the catholic or universal church formed by Christ and his apostles, because that man does not believe, all that they believe of the see of Rome, and of the doctrines taught by it. I can consider no man, whatever his professions of loyalty may be, as truly the loyal subject of a king, whom he thus holds up to his people as an object of disaffection, nay, of hatred, because that king holds a different opinion in matters of religion from those who adhere to the see of Rome, and because he refuses any

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obedience in matters temporal or spiritual to that see.

It will be your duty, my lord, as a justice of the peace, to watch the preservation of the peace with the most anxious attention; to respect no man whose conduct shall tend to disturb it; to exhort all men by patience and forbearance, as well as by exertions to use their utmost endeavours to preserve it. And, however anxiously they may wish for a change in the establishment provided by the law of the land for the maintenance of religion; however conscientiously they may think that the end of religion would be better answered, by putting those of the Roman persuasion in the place of those of the protestant faith; they cannot, consistently with the duties of their allegiance, pursue that purpose, by abetting or even by declining to resist and suppress the rebellious conspiracy formed for that purpose. I have no doubt that the firm and distinguished loyalty, which has marked your lordship's character in every other situation in life, will guide your steps in the discharge of your duties of a magistrate. May God, to whom alone all our errors and imperfections are known, protect and guard you, and lead you to that end which will most accord with the beneficent purpose for which the office of magistracy was intended; and for which alone I am persuaded you prevail on yourself to undertake so arduous a charge under circumstances of so much difficulty.

I have the honour to be, with the most sincere respect and esteem,

My lord,

Your lordship's faithful humble

Servant, Redesdale.

To the Right Hon. the  
Earl of Fingall, &c. &c. &c.

P p

No. 2.



No. 2.

*Answer to the foregoing, by the Right  
Hon. the Earl of Fingall.*

*Great Denmark Street,*

*Aug. 19, 1803.*

My lord,

I have the honour to receive your lordship's letter, and am much obliged to you for appointing me a magistrate of the county of Meath, at a time when the task is so arduous. I must beg leave to assure your lordship, that nothing but my most anxious desire to be useful, by every means in my power, would have induced me to solicit the commission of the peace.

Permit me to return your lordship my best thanks, for the very able and excellent instructions contained in your letter: it shall be my unceasing endeavour to prove myself not unworthy the trust confided to me, for which I should feel myself very ill qualified, if I did not understand the duties of active loyalty, to be exactly such as they are laid down by your lordship. I have always been taught, that that man was a traitor, and violated his allegiance, who concealed any plot against the state: to this opinion, all those who profess the same religious faith that I do; are bound by the most solemn pledges: I am very sorry any have deviated from it; they cannot be, I am persuaded, those remarkable for their religious and good conduct. It gives me much concern, and I should be extremely sorry, were it generally conceived that your lordship, the person to whom the catholics of another part of the united kingdom never cease expressing their obligations; with your superior talents; enlightened and liberal mind; holding the high situation you do in this country, with

so much credit to yourself, and advantage to the public, should have an opinion, in any degree, unfavourable to the Irish catholics.

My lord, the catholic religion is the same every where. I very reluctantly enter on the subject. Religious disputes I have always considered the greatest misfortune any country could experience. I must, however, beg leave to state to your lordship, what I have always found to be the conduct and faith of the catholic. I need not speak of his attachment to, and respect for, an oath: were he less delicate, why should he labour under any exclusion now, or have suffered many years of penal restriction? I must say, I never heard a catholic wish for the overthrow of the protestant establishment, and setting up in its place one of his own religion. This was not, as is well ascertained, the object of the promoters of the rebellion in 1798; nor do I believe it was that of the ruffians and murderers who disgraced this country on a late occasion. The catholic is ready at this moment to sacrifice his life, his property, every thing dear to him, in support of the present constitution; in defence of that beloved sovereign to whom your lordship does not seem to think we look up, with that veneration, gratitude, and attachment, which, I assure you, we do. The catholic wishes no other family on the throne, no other constitution; but certainly wishes to be admitted, whenever it shall be deemed expedient, to a full share in the benefits and blessings of that happy constitution under which we live; a participation which I trust we have, and shall continue to prove ourselves not undeserving of. Catholic  
loyalty



loyalty and allegiance, I need not tell your lordship, would oblige every one of that persuasion to resist and repel even the head of the see of Rome, were it possible to suppose that the usurper, who now disturbs the peace of the world, could send him hither with his invading armies. My lord, the doctrine of allegiance is perfectly understood, and unceasingly preached by the catholic clergy. I have just seen an address in the newspapers, from doctor Coppinger to his flock at Cloyne, in which catholic principles and allegiance are much more ably and fully explained and inculcated, than I could attempt doing. The late exhortation of the rev. doctor Troy, in Dublin, your lordship has probably seen, and his character for distinguished loyalty is known to every one. In the year 1796, when Hoche's fleet was in Bantry Bay, the rev. doctor Moylan published an address to his people, for which, had the French landed, he would undoubtedly have lost his head.—Surely, my lord, *solemn pledges*, and *distinguished acts* of loyalty, are the best proofs that can be given. I have, my lord, taken the liberty of stating to your lordship what I consider catholic principles, and catholic conduct. Standing in the situation I do, I feel it my duty to vindicate the catholics from any unfavourable opinion entertained of them. That your lordship should know, and properly appreciate their sentiments and conduct, is my only aim; and would, I am sure, be highly gratifying to them. I beg pardon for trespassing so long on your lordship; but when there is question of the conduct and opinion of so large a portion of his majesty's subjects, at the time every arm is

wanting to defend the empire, you will, I trust, excuse me. I think I could not give your lordship a better proof that I shall endeavour to merit the good opinion you are so kind as to entertain of me, and which I hope I shall never forfeit.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.  
Fingall.

*To the Right Hon.  
Lord Redesdale, &c. &c. &c.*

(No. 3.)

*From the Right Hon. the Lord  
Chancellor to the Earl of Fingall.*

*Ely Place, Aug. 21, 1803.*

My lord,

Many parts of your lordship's letter have given me much pain. I have no doubt that your lordship has every feeling of christian charity towards those who differ from you in religious opinion; but I have daily experience, that the same charity does not prevail amongst a great many who profess to be of the same religious persuasion with your lordship. I am fully persuaded that the want of true christian charity, one towards the other, has been the real cause of all the unfortunate events which have of late disgraced this country: and I think it the duty of every man, however he may differ in points of faith from others, to endeavour to impress the great doctrine of christian charity on the minds of all, as the only means of restoring peace to this distracted country.—Your lordship seems to imagine that those inhabitants of Ireland, who adhere in matters of faith to the doctrines of the see of Rome, are disposed to discontent, because, as your lordship is pleased to express yourself, they are not admitted to a full share of the benefits and blessings of the happy con-

stitution under which they live. If your lordship means they are discontented, because they are not admitted to be members of either house of parliament, or to hold certain great offices; or because they are excluded from the throne; I must confess, I cannot believe that the lower orders of the people in Ireland, amongst whom the ferment principally prevails, have any anxiety on the subject, except as it may be raised in their minds by others: and your lordship must allow that no disturbances, of the same description, are excited amongst the quakers, who certainly are liable to more disabilities, for conscience-sake, than those of which your lordship complains. I am afraid, or, rather, I am persuaded, that the difference arises from the different temper given to their minds by their religious instructors: that the quaker is taught to live in charity with all men, whilst those who follow the see of Rome are unfortunately taught a very confined charity, being told they are exclusively members of the church of Christ: and those whose minds have not been enlarged by education or habit, feel it difficult to conceive how those whom they are taught to consider as not members of the church, can be deemed christians: and, accordingly, your lordship will find, upon enquiry, that the appellation of heathen is applied by those to every protestant. If those who are considered as holding a higher rank in the priesthood, used their influence to correct this impression on the minds of the lower orders, we might hope, that, by degrees, they might be taught to consider all who believe in Christ as their redeemer, though not adhering to the see of Rome, as

their brethren in Christ; but, unfortunately, that is not the case. Dr. Troy, in his pastoral instruction on the duties of christian citizens, published in 1793, holds up high the exclusive doctrine; which those who think humility a christian virtue, in all respects, most becoming so weak and fallible a creature as man, cannot but consider as savouring of presumption. Dr. Hussey, in his pastoral letter, published in 1797, expresses himself in a stronger language: and, indeed, it is difficult for a loyal subject to read that publication without feeling, that, especially at the time of its appearance, it could not tend to produce loyalty, or even submission to the government of the country, in the minds of those to whom it was addressed. Whilst such impressions, so excited, are rankling in the minds of men, very little regard can be paid to addresses of the nature to which your lordship refers me. They are given to the winds, as long as the priests of the see of Rome shall think fit to hold up to their flocks, that all who do not yield obedience to that see, are guilty of rebellion against it; are not to be considered as members of the church of Christ; and, therefore, are not (in the eyes of the vulgar at least) to be considered as christians. I am fully persuaded, that those who listen to their doctrines, will never bear christian charity towards those whom so represented, and will never be loyal and dutiful subjects of a king, thus held out to them as himself a rebel. In fine, my lord, those who clamour for liberty of conscience, (which in truth they have,) must be taught to allow liberty of conscience to others; and those who desire complete participation, must treat



treat those, with whom they desire to participate, as brothers. Until, therefore, the priests of the Romish persuasion shall think it their duty to preach honestly and conscientiously, the great doctrine of *universal charity in Christ*; until they shall, in all their instructions to those under their care, represent, honestly and conscientiously, all who sincerely believe in Christ, the redeemer of mankind, to be brethren in Christ, however mistaken they may suppose any of them to be in certain points of faith; until they shall teach their flocks, that desiring liberty to think for themselves, they ought also to permit others to think for themselves, and not to murder them because they differ in religious opinions; peace never can be established in the land; and the loyal addresses of doctor Troy and doctor Coppinger, will, as I have before said, be given to the winds. They can have no effect; they may, indeed, reach the eyes or the ears, but never will enter the hearts of those to whom they are addressed. There are parts of your letter to which I will not advert, because I cannot without pain, or without giving pain.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

Redesdale.

*To the Right Hon.*

*The Earl of Fingall, &c. &c.*

(No. 4.)

*Answer from the Earl of Fingall.*

*Aug. 27, 1803.*

My lord,

I feel, indeed, much concern, that any part of the letter I had the honour of addressing to your lordship, should have given you pain. You need not, I hope, my lord, any as-

surance that nothing could be more foreign to my intentions. This I took the liberty of requesting Mr. Wickham, whom I had the honour of seeing this morning, to do me the favour of mentioning to your lordship on the earliest occasion. I merely stated to your lordship what my own feelings were, and what I have always found to be the opinion of the catholics. I do not apprehend, that, in expressing any further wish of the catholic body, which it is impossible should not be entertained, I hinted at any discontents; on the contrary, I did assure, and do now assure your lordship, we are now ready to make every sacrifice, encounter every danger, for the defence of the king and constitution, and for the preservation of the peace. Those who are most affected, by any remaining restrictions, it is well known have never excited clamour or tumult, but have always been foremost in opposing them. I cannot attempt to vindicate all those who have at different times addressed the catholics; but the late exhortations, I must beg leave to say, are intended and calculated to inspire sentiments of loyalty, obedience, and christian charity: and they will, I trust, have that effect. Such have been the instructions I have constantly heard given by the catholic clergy to their flocks.—Nothing to excite ill-will or dislike to any person, on account of his religious belief, but the most perfect brotherly love and affection to all. Your lordship will, I hope, allow me to repeat my regret that any thing I have written should have given you pain, or me reason to feel it, which I should, in a very high degree, indeed, if I was conscious of having intentionally advanced any



thing that would appear improper or unreasonable to your lordship.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Fingall.

*To the Right Hon.*

*Lord Redesdale, &c. &c.*

(No. 5.)

*From the Right Hon. the Lord Chancellor to the Earl of Fingall.*

*Ely-Place Dublin,*

*Aug. 28, 1803.*

My lord,

The high respect and esteem I bear for your lordship, whose loyalty and humanity have been at all times conspicuous, and the manner in which your lordship, in the letter with which I was honoured yesterday, has expressed your regret, that any part of your former letter should have given me pain, compel me again to trouble your lordship with a few words. The pain I felt arose from an apprehension, that I could not hope for such a change in the sentiments of those of the people of Ireland, who adhere to the see of Rome, towards those who refuse obedience to it, as might lead to their living together in peace. In some parts of Europe, misfortune appears to have produced so much of humility, that the persons who have occupied the choice of that see, have been inclined to bend towards countries, in which some of its most important pretensions have been rejected; and in this state of humiliation, it might have been hoped that a sense of the weakness and imperfections of man might have been so far felt, as to lead the adherents to that see, in Ireland, no longer to teach their followers a doctrine so repugnant (as it appears to me) to the repose of mankind, as that to which I had

alluded in my letter. I conclude, from your lordship's letter to me, that there is no person amongst the adherents of the see of Rome, in Ireland, whose mind, however cultivated, however liberal in other respects, can be thought to consider any persons as christians, who refuse obedience to that see. I conclude, also, that the priests of that persuasion still teach their flocks, that all who refuse obedience are guilty of a wicked rebellion against divine authority, which must produce their eternal damnation in the next world, and render them objects of horror and dislike in this. As long as this doctrine (which, with all humility I say it, appears to me to be repugnant to every idea of christian charity, taught by the Scriptures) shall be preached to their congregations; and until those congregations shall be taught that protestants of every description, although in their opinion in error on certain points, are to be considered as members of the church of Christ, and their brethren in the faith of Christ, it seems to me, that there can be no hope that exhortations to loyalty and obedience to a protestant government will have any effect. Men of education and property may feel loyalty and obedience to such a government to be proper, or, at least, expedient; but preaching to men of the lower orders, and especially to those without property, loyalty, and obedience, under such circumstances, cannot be sincere, without supposing their minds of a refinement of which they are utterly incapable; and seems, therefore, to me, to be either mockery or folly. Perhaps I am too presumptuous in forming this opinion, but it seems to me confirmed

firmed by recent events, and I cannot otherwise account for the fact so generally asserted by the priests of the Romish persuasion, that, during the late rebellion, their exhortations to loyalty and obedience had no effect. I find it also confirmed by the circumstances, that those priests were, I presume, utterly ignorant that those under their instructions had ever conceived in their minds the horrid purposes which they manifested on the 22d of July, and which persons came from all parts of Ireland with design to effect.

I have the honour to be,

With much respect,

My lord,

Your lordship's obedient humble

Servant, Redesdale.

*The Earl of Fingall,*

&c. &c. &c.

(No. 6.)

*Answer from the Earl of Fingall.*

*Great Denmark Street,*

*Sept. 4, 1803.*

My lord,

I must beg your lordship will be kind enough to excuse my not having sooner acknowledged the receipt of the last letter you did me the honour to address me, which has been occasioned by my absence from town for some days past. Honoured as I must feel by your lordship's correspondence, and the expressions of personal regard towards me contained in your letters, I am the more anxious to impress your lordship with that favourable opinion of the persons in this country who profess the same religious faith I do myself, which it has been my endeavour to prove to your lordship they are deserving of. Nothing but my wish to procure for them an object so desirable, and

my high respect for your lordship, would have induced me to touch at all on a discussion of religious subjects: and not having been, I fear, fortunate enough to satisfy your lordship's mind, as to the objections you make to our religion, I should be glad, with your lordship's permission, to state them to some of our superior clergy, who would, I am pretty certain, enable me to convince your lordship, that our religious doctrine preaches charity and brotherly love to all mankind, without distinction of religion; true and sincere allegiance to our good king; inviolable attachment to the constitution and our country; from an honest and conscientious conviction that such is the duty of a good subject, and a good catholic, be the religion of the monarch what it may. For my own part, my lord, I cannot attribute the unfortunate situation of this country to any thing connected with matters of religious faith; Jacobinism and French principles and politics, the want of morality, and the depraved state of the human mind, are, I conceive, the sources of our misfortunes; religion may have been made a tool by wicked and designing people: this has often happened in every country, and is easily effected when religious differences exist. The distracted and melancholy state we are in, every body must lament; how it is to be mended is a matter for the statesman; and surely it would be difficult to find an object more worthy of your lordship's high talents and abilities.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

Fingall,

*To the Right Hon.*

*Lord Redesdale, &c. &c. &c.*

P p 4

*From*



(No. 7.)

*From the Right Hon. the Lord Chancellor to the Earl of Fingall.*

*Ely Place,*

*Sept. 6, 1803.*

My lord,

I find myself as little qualified as your lordship represents yourself to be, to discuss with the persons to whom you refer me on the points you mention. I can only say, that the impression made on the minds of those of the lower orders, certainly does not correspond with the doctrines which your lordship represents to be the doctrines of the religion you profess. I have no doubt that your lordship heartily and conscientiously embraces and acts upon those doctrines—the whole tenor of your life shews that you have done so; but the whole tenor of the conduct of the lower orders of the people of the Romish persuasion shews, that such doctrines are not *effectually* taught to them; and, if I am to judge from the writings, as well as the conduct of some of the higher orders of the laity as well as of the clergy, I cannot believe that they are thoroughly impressed with the feelings which appear to guide your lordship's liberal and beneficent mind. On the contrary, in many instances, it appears to me, that the conduct of some, high amongst the priesthood, is calculated to excite in the minds of those under their care, hatred to

their protestant fellow-subjects, and disloyalty to their government. I am assured, from very high and very respectable authority, that (at least in one district) the priests who were instrumental in saving the lives of the loyalists in the late rebellion, are universally discountenanced by their superior,\* and that a priest proved to have been guilty of sanctioning the murderers in 1798, transported to Botany Bay, and since pardoned by the mercy of government, has been brought back in triumph by the same superior, to what, in defiance of the law, he calls his *parish*, and there placed as a martyr, in a manner the most insulting to the feelings of the protestants, to the justice of the country, and to that government, to whose lenity he owes his redemption from the punishment due to his crimes.

It is strongly reported, that the successor to Dr. Hussey, (whose disaffection was so manifest, that, perhaps, government consulted its disposition to lenity much more than its duty, when it permitted him to return to Ireland) is to be a man also notoriously disaffected. If the appointment is to be made in the usual manner, at the recommendation of the higher order of your clergy, I cannot think that much of loyalty is to be expected from those who recommended such a man.† If the authority of the see

of

\* In the district alluded to, the "Superior" selected for his vicar-general, (the highest situation in his power to bestow) a clergyman, who, in the year 1798, had been happily instrumental in saving the life of a respectable gentleman, by putting him on his guard against an assassin.

† The successor to Dr. Hussey is not yet named, and it was impossible that the noble writer could have accurate information on the subject. The recommendation to Rome is in the bishops of the province—of whom one is Dr. Moylan, and another Dr. Coppinger; both have eminently distinguished themselves by their personal



of Rome supersedes the ordinary recommendation, it must be recollected that that authority is now in the hands of France; indeed it cannot be forgotten, that your whole priesthood acknowledge obedience to one who is the vassal of France, who exists as a temporal prince at least only by the permission of France, the avowed enemy of the government under which we live. Under such circumstances, it cannot be believed, that any *honest* and conscientious means have been or will be taken by the priests of the Romish persuasion, to make the lower orders of the people; composing their congregations, loyal subjects of the protestant government of this country.

I have the honour to be, with the sincerest respect and esteem,

My lord,

Your lordship's most obedient,

And humble servant,

Redesdale.\*

To the Earl of Fingull,

&c. &c.

*Important Considerations for the People of this Kingdom.*

At a moment when we are entering on a scene deeply interesting, not only to this nation, but to the whole civilized world; at a moment when we all, without distinction of rank or degree, are called upon to rally round, and to range ourselves beneath the banners of that sovereign, under whose long, mild, and

fostering reign, the far greater part of us, capable of bearing arms, have been born and reared up to manhood; at a moment, when we are, by his truly royal and paternal example, incited to make every sacrifice and every exertion in a war, the event of which is to decide, whether we are still to enjoy, and bequeath to our children, the possessions, the comforts, the liberties, and the national honours, handed down to us from generation to generation, by our gallant forefathers; or whether we are, at once, to fall from this favoured and honourable station, and to become the miserable crouching slaves, the hewers of wood, and the drawers of water, of those very Frenchmen, whom the valour of our fleets and armies have hitherto taught us to despise; at such a moment, it behoves us, calmly, and without dismay, to examine our situation, to consider what are the grounds of the awful contest in which we are engaged; what are the wishes, the designs, and the pretensions of our enemies; what would be the consequences, if those enemies were to triumph over us; what are our means, and what ought to be our motives, not only for frustrating their malicious intentions, but for inflicting just and memorable chastisement on their insolent and guilty heads.

The grounds of the war are, by no means, as our enemies pretend, to be sought for in a desire entertained by his majesty to keep the island of Malta, contrary to the treaty of peace, or to leave unfilled

sonal attachment to the British government, and by their pathetic and nervous exhortations addressed to their clergy, for the purposes of exciting and maintaining loyalty and good conduct in their respective districts.

\* This letter was not answered. But, after some interval, the correspondence recommenced, and four letters were interchanged; but, as the latter have not got into circulation, the same motives do not exist for their publication, as for that series now laid before the public.

filled any other part of his sacred engagements: they are to be sought for in the ambition of the consul of France, and in his implacable hatred of Britain, because, in the power and valour of Britain alone, he finds a check to that ambition, which aims at nothing short of the conquest of the world. His majesty, ever anxious to procure for his people prosperity and ease, eagerly seized the first opportunity that offered itself for the restoration of peace; but not without remembering, at the same time, that their safety, for which it was his peculiar duty to provide, was not to be sacrificed to any other consideration.— This peace he concluded with the most sincere desire that it might be durable, and that the conduct of France would be such as to authorize him to execute, with scrupulous punctuality, every one of the stipulations of the treaty: but scarcely was that compact concluded, when the first consul, at the very time that his majesty was surrendering to France and Holland, the great and numerous conquests he had made from them during the war, began a new sort of hostility upon the weak and defenceless states on the continent of Europe: Piedmont, a country equal to all Scotland, was added to France; Holland, which had, at the making of the peace, been recognized as an independent nation, became, more than ever, the object of French rapacity and despotism; was compelled to furnish ships and stores for French expeditions, and to feed and clothe French armies; the only use of which was, to keep her in a state of slavish subjection, and to render her shores an object of serious alarm and real danger to Great Britain; Switzerland was in-

vaded by a French army, which compelled the people of that once free and happy country to submit to a government framed at Paris; the members of which government were chiefly composed of men, who had betrayed the liberties of their country, and who were nominated by the consul himself. Notwithstanding, however, all these and several other acts of aggression and tyranny, some of which were highly injurious to Great Britain, and were shameful violations of the treaty of peace, still his majesty earnestly endeavoured to avoid a recurrence to arms; but the consul, emboldened by our forbearance, and imputing to a dread of his power, that which he ought to have imputed solely to our desire to live at peace, manifested his perfidious intentions, again to take possession of Egypt, whence we had driven him in disgrace; again to open a road to our possessions in India, there to destroy one of the principal sources of our wealth and our greatness.

Not contented with thus preparing for our destruction from without, endeavouring to cut off our intercourse with the rest of the world, shutting, as far as he was able, all the ports of other countries against us; gradually destroying our navigation, commerce, and trade; hemming us up in our own island, and exposing our manufacturers, artizans, and labourers to the danger of starving for want of employment; not contented with these malignant endeavours, and seeming to regard us as already within his grasp, he audaciously interfered in the management of our domestic concerns; required us to violate our laws, by banishing those subjects of the French monarch, who had fled hither  
for



for shelter from his unjust and tyrannical government; demanded of us the suppression of the liberty of speech, and of the press; and, in a word, clearly demonstrated his resolution not to leave us a moment's tranquillity, till we had surrendered our constitution, till we had laid all our liberties at his feet, and till, like the Dutch, the Italians, and the Swiss, we had submitted to be governed by the decrees sent us from France.

Besides the motives of ambition, the desire to domineer over, and to trample upon, all the rest of mankind, the first consul has a reason, peculiar to himself, for wishing to reduce us to a state of poverty, weakness, submission, and silence: which reason will be at once evident, when we consider the origin of his authority, and the nature of his government. Having succeeded through a long course of perfidious and bloody deeds, in usurping the throne of his lawful sovereign; having, under the name of *equality*, established, in his own person and family, a government the most pompous and expensive, while the people are pining with hunger, and in rags; having, with the word *liberty* continually on his lips, erected a despotism the most oppressive, the most capricious, and the most cruel that the Almighty, in his wrath, ever suffered to exist; having, by such means, obtained such an end, he feared, that while there remained upon the earth, and especially within a few leagues of France, a people enjoying, under a mild and legitimate sovereign, all the blessings of freedom; while there remained such a people, so situated, he dreaded, and not without reason, that their sentiments and their example would,

by degrees, penetrate through his forests of bayonets, his myriads of spies, and would, first or last, shake the foundation of his ill-gotten power. He could not, indeed, impute, either to our sovereign or to his subjects, any design, much less any attempt, to disturb him in the exercise of his usurped authority.— We never have interfered, nor have we ever shewn any desire to interfere, in the concerns of the consul or his pretended republic; and his majesty, even after all the acts of provocation, all the injuries and insults committed against himself and his people, has now solemnly renewed his declaration, that his object is not to destroy or change any thing in the internal state of other countries, but solely to preserve, in his own dominions, every thing dear to himself and his subjects.

This, however, is not sufficient to satisfy the consul of France; it is not sufficient that we abstain, both by actions and by words, from exciting discontent amongst those who have the misfortune to be subjected to his sway; we must not afford them an example, we must not remain free, lest they should learn lessons of freedom; we must destroy our ancient and venerable monarchy, lest they should sigh for a lawful and merciful king; we must not be happy, lest they should covet happiness; we must not speak, lest our voice should disturb the peace of Bonaparte; we must not breathe, we must cease to exist, because our existence gives umbrage to a man who from the walls of Acre fled, in shame and disgrace, before a handful of Britons.

Such being the grounds of the war, such the wishes and designs, such the preposterous and insolent pretensions



pretensions of the enemy, it next behoves us to consider, what will be the consequence to ourselves, what will be our wretched lot, if that enemy should succeed in the invasion and subjugation of our country.—Of what the French would, in such a case, do here, we may form some judgment, from what they have done in all those countries, where the remissness of the government, together with the pusillanimity of the people, have given them the predominance. There is no country, into which they have been able to enter, where their footsteps have not been marked with blood; where they have spared either high or low, rich or poor, sex or age; where terror has not been their forerunner, and where desolation and misery have not marched in their rear. In the long and black catalogue of French cruelties towards the people of other countries, those of the first consul, and of the generals and soldiers immediately under his command, first present themselves to our attention. In 1796, Bonaparte, at the head of a numerous French army, invaded Italy, declaring to the people, that he came as their friend and their brother, to deliver them from taxes and slavery, and promising them safety for their persons, security for their property, respect for their laws, and reverence for their religion. They listened, they believed; they threw open their gates, they laid down their arms, they received the Gallic serpent to their bosom; and fatal, indeed, were the effects of their credulity. His reverence for their religion he displayed, by giving up all their places of worship to indiscriminate plunder, and by defiling them with every species of sacrilege; his respect for their laws was evincetl,

not only by the abrogation of those laws, but by the arbitrary enforcement of an unconditional submission to the mandates of himself and his generals; the security which he promised to their property was exhibited in enormous contributions, in the seizure of all the public funds, as well as those of every charitable foundation, not excepting schools, hospitals, or any other resource for the support of the poor, the aged, and the helpless; and, as to the persons of the unfortunate people, he provided for their safety, by laying the whole country under the severest military execution; by giving up the towns and villages to fire and sword, and by exposing the inhabitants to be pillaged and murdered by his rapacious and inhuman soldiers, whom he authorised and even ordered to shoot every man that attempted to resist them, whatever might be the crimes in which they were engaged.

On his return from Italy, which he left in a state of beggary and irretrievable ruin, he prepared for the invasion of Egypt, a country which was at peace with France, and against the people, or the government of which, France had no cause of complaint; but the conquest of this country was necessary, in order to open a road to the Indian possessions of Great Britain. In pursuit of this object, Bonaparte invaded Egypt, where he repeated his promises to respect religion, property, and persons, and where, the more effectually to disguise his purposes, he issued a proclamation, declaring himself and his army to be true Mahometans; and boasting of having made war upon the christians, and destroyed their religion. One of his first deeds, after this act of apostacy,

apostacy, was to massacre almost all the inhabitants of the populous city of Alexandria. "The people," says one of his generals, "betake themselves to their prophet, and fill their mosques; but men and women, old and young, and even babes at the breast, all are massacred!"—Some time after this sanguinary transaction, Bonaparte, having made prisoners of three thousand eight hundred Turks, in the fortress of Jaffa, and wishing to relieve himself from the trouble and expence of guarding and supporting them, ordered them to be marched to an open place, where part of his army fired on them with musquetry and grape-shot, stabbing and cutting to death the few who escaped the fire, while he himself looked on, and rejoiced at the horrid scene. Nor were his cruelties, while in Egypt, confined to those whom he called his enemies; for finding his hospitals at Jaffa crowded with sick soldiers, and desiring to disencumber himself of them, he ordered one of his physicians to destroy them by poison.—The physician refused to obey; but an apothecary was found willing to perpetrate the deed: opium was mixed with the food; and thus five hundred and eighty Frenchmen perished by the order of the general, under whose banners they had fought; by the order of that very man, to whose despotic sway the whole French nation now patiently submits! Let them so submit, but let us not think of such shameful, such degrading submission. Let us recollect that this impious and ferocious invader was stopped in his career of rapine and blood, by a mere handful of Britons; and was finally induced to desert his troops, and to flee from the land he had invaded, at

the approach of that gallant British army, by which Egypt was delivered from the most odious and most destructive of all its plagues. This it is for us to recollect; and so recollecting, shame and disgrace upon our heads, if we do not resist, if we do not overcome, if we do not chastise this rapacious, this bloody-minded tyrant, who has now marked out our country for subjugation, our fields for devastation, our houses for pillage; and who, in the insolence of his ambition, has held us forth in the world, as a meek, a feeble, and cowardly race, destined to grace his triumphal car, and to augment the number of his slaves.

Not, however, to the deeds of Buonaparte alone, must our recollection be confined. Not only Italy and Egypt, but Holland, Switzerland, and Germany, and, indeed, almost every country in Europe have been the scenes of French rapine, insult, and cruelty. Holland, formerly the seat of freedom, commerce, industry, and affluence, presents at this moment, the sad spectacle of a country divided against itself, torn to pieces by factions, contending not for the suffrages of the people, but for the favour of France; a country governed by the haughty mandates of a foreign power; awed by foreign arms; holding the remains of its wealth, together with the residue of its military and naval means, in constant readiness to be disposed of in the service of another nation, and that nation its ancient and implacable enemy, and now its inexorable oppressor. When the French armies entered the territories of Holland, their motto was, "*War to the palace, but peace to the cottage.*" They came to deliver the people from



from their rulers, and from the burthens which those rulers imposed. The Dutch, like the Italians, lent an ear to these artful and perfidious declarations, believing that their cottages would be spared, and careless of the fate of the palace. But, alas! they soon found, that the French rapacity, like the hail and the thunder, fell alike on the thatched roof, and the gilded dome. The palaces once seized on, the cottages soon followed; while all those who were found in the intermediate space, the merchant, the manufacturer, the farmer, and the tradesman, were sunk in one common ruin; happy, if, by the loss of their property, they had the good fortune to preserve their lives. Bonaparte is, indeed, now, not only the sovereign of the country, not only does he exercise the powers of dominion, but he is, as to every practical effect, the master and the owner of all the property, and of all the people in Holland. These miserable beings possess nothing of their own; they can acquire nothing with the hopes of enjoying or bequeathing it; they can make no provision for the weakness of disease, the feebleness of old age, or the helplessness of infancy; they are the mere political drudges of a hard-hearted tyrant, who suffers them to live, only while their labours administer to his projects of ambition, and who, when his purposes demands it, puts an end at once to their toils, and their existence.

In Switzerland, where high rank and great riches were unknown, where men were nearer upon an equality than in any other country in the world; in a country having no commerce, scarcely any manufactures, and possessing few of the

sources of wealth and distinction; a country of shepherds and labourers; a country which might be truly said to contain a nation of poor men; in such a country, to cry "*war to palaces*," seemed useless and absurd. Yet did the French find a pretext for war with this poor and harmless race, and for invading and laying waste their territory. The Swiss, from their anxiety to preserve peace, consented to every sacrifice demanded of them by France: they exposed themselves to the hostility of other nations, by sending away the ambassadors of those nations; they broke off their connexion with some of their most powerful allies; they banished the loyal subjects of their ancient protector the king of France, men whom the ties of gratitude and the laws of hospitality bound them to cherish; and when they had thus exhausted the source of concession, when they could grant no more, because France could find nothing more to demand; when they had humbled themselves in the dust, and degraded the character of their country in the eyes of all Europe; when they had thus done and thus suffered, rather than see their country the scene of war, then did the French invade their territory; then did these restless disturbers of the world march an army into the heart of Switzerland, in order to compel the people to change the nature and form of their government, and to commit it to the hands of traitors, who had been chosen by France, and by the assistance of whose treachery the French invasion had been effected.

After having, by means of an armistice, joined to the most solemn promise of respect for persons and property, lulled the people into a  
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state of imaginary security, the armistice was broken, and the French pushed on their forces, when those of the Swiss were dispersed. Resistance on the part of the latter, whose numbers did not amount to a tenth of those of their flagitious enemy, now became hopeless: and though the little army was brave, though the people were faithful and active, though the last battle was long, obstinate, and bloody; though the Swiss achieved wonders, and though the women fought by the sides of their husbands, inciting them to victory or death, all was in vain; hundreds and thousands perished by the sabres of the French, and while the earth was strewn with their dead bodies, and while the flames ascended from the once happy dwellings of this valiant and innocent people, the hard-earned and long-preserved liberties of Switzerland expired.

Germany, which closes this awful lesson, was invaded by the French in 1796 and 1798. There invasions were attended with crimes too atrocious to be credited, were they not proved by indisputable evidence, and did they not accord with the general practice of the inhuman wretches by whom they were committed. In adverting to these detestable acts of oppression and cruelty, we must recollect, that they were perpetrated upon a people, who had made no resistance of any sort against the invaders, and who in every instance had entered into an agreement with the French generals, to pay them great sums of money, in order to preserve their country from plunder. In consequence of the ransom thus wrung from the people, the invaders declared, by public proclamation, that the persons and property

of the inhabitants should be strictly respected; and that their rights, usages, laws, and religion, should remain inviolate and undisturbed. On these assurances, thus solemnly made, the credulous people all implicitly relied; while some of the poorer classes regarded the French, not as enemies, but as their deliverer from taxes and labour. No sooner, however, had the invasion taken place, no sooner had the French become masters of the country, than they spread themselves over it like beasts of prey, devouring and destroying every thing before them. They spared neither cities nor towns, neither villages nor hamlets, nor solitary houses; from the church to the cell, from the castle to the cottage; no state of life, however lofty or however humble, escaped their rapacious assaults; no sanctity excited their veneration; no grandeur their respect; no misery their forbearance or their pity. After having plundered the houses of the gentry, the clergy, and the tradesmen; after having pillaged the shops, warehouses, and manufactories, they proceeded to the farm-houses and cottages; they rifled the pockets and chests of the inhabitants, cut open their beds, tore up the floors of their rooms, dug up their cellars, searched the newly made graves, and broke open the coffins in hopes of finding secreted money. They sometimes threatened people with immediate death, sometimes put them to the torture, sometimes lacerated and crippled them, in order to wring from them a discovery of their little pittance of ready money. The deepest and most apparent poverty was no protection against their rapacity; grey hairs and lisping infancy; the sick,  
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the dying, women in child-bed, were alike exposed to the most inhuman treatment; dragged from their beds, kicked, wounded, and frequently killed, under pretence that they were the keepers of concealed treasure. The flocks and herds, cattle of every kind, the marauders drove off, cut to pieces on the spot, or left in a state of mutilation; corn, hay, and straw, they wasted or burnt; they demolished the household furniture, destroyed the utensils of the dairies, the barns, and the stables; tore down the gates, levelled the fences. In many places they stripped the cloaths from the backs of the people, set their liquor flowing in the cellar, burnt their provisions to ashes. The churches, whether Romish or Protestant, they rendered a scene of indiscriminate robbery, of sacrilege, and blasphemy, too shocking to describe. Towards women of all ages and all conditions, they were guilty of brutality never before heard of: neither extreme youth nor extreme age; neither weakness nor deformity; nor the most loathsome disease; neither the pangs of labour, nor the agonies of death, could restrain them; shrieks, tears, supplications were of no avail; and where fathers, husbands, or brothers interfered, murder seldom failed to close the horrible scene. To spread nakedness and hunger, to introduce misery and disease amongst all ranks, seems to have been their uniform desire; but the lower orders of the people, the artisans and the labourers, were the objects of their direct malignity: against them was directed the sharpest bayonet; for their bodies the choicest torment; for their minds the keenest anguish was reserved; from one end of the coun-

try to the other, we trace the merciless ruffians through a scene of conflagration and blood; frequently we see them butchering whole families, and retiring by the light of their blazing habitations; but amongst the poor alone, do we find them deferring the murder of the parents for the purpose of compelling them to hear their children shriek amidst the flames!

Such are the barbarities which have been inflicted on other nations. The recollection of them will never be effaced; the melancholy story will be handed down from generation to generation, to the everlasting infamy of the republicans of France; and as an awful warning to all those nations whom they may hereafter attempt to invade. We are one of those nations; we are the people whom they are now preparing to invade: awful, indeed, is the warning, and, if we despise it, tremendous will be the judgment. The same generals, the same commissaries, the same officers, the same soldiers, the very same rapacious and sanguinary host, that now hold Holland and Switzerland in chains, that desolated Egypt, Italy, and Germany, are, at this moment, preparing to make England, Ireland, and Scotland, the scenes of their atrocities. For some time past, they have had little opportunity to plunder: peace, for a while, suspended their devastations, and now, like gaunt and hungry wolves, they are looking towards the rich pastures of Britain: already we hear their threatening howl; and if, like sheep, we stand bleating for mercy, neither our innocence nor our timidity will save us from being torn to pieces and devoured. The robberies, the barbarities, the brutalities they



they have committed in other countries, though, at the thought of them, the heart sinks, and the blood runs cold, will be mere trifles to what they will commit here, if we suffer them to triumph over us. The Swiss and the Suabians were never objects of their envy; they were never the rivals of Frenchmen, either on the land or on the sea; they had never disconcerted or checked their ambitious projects, never humbled their pride, never defeated either their armies or their fleets. We have been, and we have done all this: they have long entertained against us a hatred engendered by the mixture of envy and of fear; and they are now about to make a great and desperate effort to gratify this furious, this unquenchable, this deadly hatred. What then, can we expect at their hands? What but torments even surpassing those which they have inflicted on other nations. They remained but three months in Germany; here they would remain for ever; there, their extortions and their atrocities were, for want of time, confined to a part of the people; here they would be universal; no sort, no part, no particle of property would remain unseized; no man, woman, or child would escape violence of some kind or other. Such of our manufactories as are moveable, they would transport to France, together with the most ingenious of the manufacturers, whose wives and children would be left to starve. Our ships would follow the same course, with all the commerce and commercial means of the kingdom. Having stripped us of every thing, even to the stoutest of our sons, and the most beautiful of our daughters, over all that remained they would establish

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and exercise a tyranny, such as the world never before witnessed. All the estates, all the farms, all the mines, all the land and the houses, all the shops and magazines, all the remaining manufactories, and all the workshops of every kind and description, from the greatest to the smallest; all these they would bring over Frenchmen to possess, making us their servants and their labourers. To prevent us from uniting and rising against them, they would crowd every town and village with their brutal soldiers, who would devour all the best part of the produce of the earth, leaving us not half a sufficiency of bread. They would, besides, introduce their own bloody laws, with additional severities: they would divide us into separate classes; hem us up in districts; cut off all communication between friends and relations, parents and children; which latter they would breed up in their own blasphemous principles; they would affix badges upon us, mark us in the cheek, shave our heads, split our ears, or clothe us in the habits of slaves!—And, shall we submit to misery and degradation like this, rather than encounter the expences of war; rather than meet the honourable dangers of military combat; rather than make a generous use of the means which Providence has so bounteously placed in our hands? The sun, in his whole course round the globe, shines not on a spot so blessed as this great, and now united kingdom. Gay and productive fields and gardens, lofty and extensive woods, innumerable flocks and herds, rich and inexhaustible mines, a mild and wholesome climate, giving health, activity, and vigour to fourteen millions of people; and shall we, who

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are thus favoured and endowed ; shall we, who are abundantly supplied with iron and steel, powder and lead ; shall we, who have a fleet superior to the maritime force of all the world, and who are able to bring two millions of fighting men into the field ; shall we yield up this dear and happy land, together with all the liberties and honours, to preserve which, our fathers so often dyed the land and sea with their blood ; shall we, thus, at once, dishonour their graves, and stamp disgrace and infamy on the brows of our children ; and shall we too, make this base and dastardly surrender to an enemy, whom, within these twelve years, our countrymen have defeated in every quarter of the world ! No ; we are not so miserably fallen ; we cannot, in so short a space of time, have become so detestably degenerate : we have the strength and the will to repel the hostility, to chastise the insolence of the foe. Mighty, indeed, must be our efforts, but mighty also is the need. Singly engaged against the tyrants of the earth, Britain now attracts the eyes and the hearts of mankind ; groaning nations look to her for deliverance ; justice, liberty, and religion, are inscribed on her banners ; her success will be hailed with the shouts of the universe, while tears of admiration and gratitude will bedew the heads of her sons, who fall in the glorious contest\*.

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### *Trial of Colonel Marcus Despard.*

The commission appointed to try col. Despard, was opened before

lord chief justice Ellenborough, Mr. justice Le Blanc, Mr. justice Chambre, and Mr. Baron Thompson. The grand jury being sworn, lord Ellenborough addressed and informed them that they were assembled for the purpose of entering upon trials for high treason and misprision of treason. He said that the statute of the 36th of the present reign particularly applied to the case about to be considered : it provides, with peculiar care, for the safety of his majesty's person. A statute of the 37th of the present king was enacted to punish the seduction of any of his majesty's forces from their allegiance, or their incitement to rebellious meetings : and another statute, of the same year, to prohibit the administering of unlawful oaths. The law had guarded, with the most zealous anxiety, against every attempt to injure the person of his majesty, and, therefore, the operations of the mind, the secret workings of malvolence, which indicate a disposition hostile to the existence of the king, is, by law, equally regarded with the perpetration of the crime, and any attempt to subject the king's person to restraint, or to depose him from his authority, implied the most flagitious purpose of treason, and also that any consultation, agreement, or resolution, to effect this design, although nothing was actually done, was yet demonstrative of treasonable intentions.

The bill of indictment being found, on Feb. 5, col. Despard was brought to the bar and arraigned. The indictment consisted of three counts, setting forth eight distinct and separate overt acts.

The first stated, that the prisoner and

\* This admirable Philippic was published July, 1803, and sent round to the officiating minister of every parish in England.

and others conspired to seduce several soldiers, for the purpose of subverting the government, and with intent to destroy the king.

The second set forth the administration of illegal oaths, in order to bind certain persons to effect the aforesaid purpose.

The third charged the possession of printed forms of an oath, binding the conspirators not to give evidence of each other.

The fourth charged the administration of the said oath to Thomas Blades, &c.

The fifth charged the prisoners with meeting to concert on a plan to assassinate the king, &c.

The sixth charged them with a conspiracy to seize on the bank, the tower, &c.

The seventh charged the prisoners with meeting, the better to effect the murder of the king.

The eighth and last, charged them, generally, with the intent of shooting the king on the day he should meet his parliament, &c. &c.

On Monday, Feb. 7, 1803, the court met, and proceeded to try E. M. Despard. The attorney-general addressed them, observing, that there were three counts in the indictment, charging the different acts to have been done with three several intentions:—that the prisoner, in conjunction with others, had established a society professedly for the extension of liberty, had frequently attempted to seduce soldiers into the association, and that he had printed copies of an oath to be administered to their proselytes, and had formed a plan to destroy his majesty on the 16th of November: to prove which, he called the following witnesses.

1st. John Stafford.—He, together

with a number of police officers, went, on the 16th November, to the Oakley Arms, Lambeth, where they found col. Despard and several others. On the floor of the room in which they were, three printed papers were found—they were as follow:

“ Constitution! The independence of Great Britain and Ireland—an equalization of civil, political and religious rights—an ample provision for the wives of the HEROES who shall fall in the contest—a liberal reward for distinguished merits. These are the objects for which we contend; and to obtain these objects, we swear to be united in the awful presence of Almighty God!”

*Form of the Oath.*

“ I, A. B. do voluntarily declare, that I will endeavour, to the utmost of my power, to obtain the objects of this union, namely, to recover those rights which the Supreme Being, in his infinite bounty, has given to all men: that neither hopes, fears, rewards, nor punishments, shall ever induce me to give any information, directly, or indirectly, concerning the business, or of any member of this, or any similar society. So help me God.”

These facts other police officers attested. Thomas Windsor, a private in the guards, was called, and swore, that he received printed papers from John Francis, who told him that the object of those concerned with him was to unite in overturning the present tyrannical system of government, to unite in different companies, and to get arms; that they met frequently, and, to avoid detection, at different public houses. The object of the members was to unite, to raise subscrip-



tions, to pay delegates to go into the country, and to defray the expence of printing their affidavits; and their principal purpose was to overturn the present system of government, and to destroy the royal family. The persons belonging to these societies were to be divided into companies; each consisting of ten men, with an eleventh, who took the command, and was called captain of the company of ten. The next order was, that the oldest captain of five companies, took the command of these fifty men, and was called the colonel of that sub-division. Encouragements were given to get as many recruits as possible, and cards were to be distributed through the country for that purpose.—On the 12th of November, at the Flying Horse, at Newington, he first met col. Despard, at which meeting, it was recommended to the col. to have a regular organization in London; to which he objected, because it lay under the eye of government; but in the country it was necessary, and, he believed, general, particularly at Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, and the other great towns, and now was the moment. He then said that the attack was to be made upon the parliament house, and that the king must be put to death. He further said, that he had weighed the matter well, and his heart was callous. After the destruction of the king—the mail coaches were to be stopped, as a signal to the people in the country, that the revolt had taken place in town. He then desired Windsor to meet him, in order to consult about the best manner of taking the tower, and securing the arms. He observed to the witness, that they had been deceived as to the number of arms in the bank,

there being only 600 stand there, and that they had taken out the hammer to render them useless.

He then privately informed witness, that the king must be put to death the day he went to the house; and then the people would be at liberty. He said he would, himself, make the attack upon his majesty, if he could get no assistance, on the Middlesex side of the water.

John Embly, another witness, deposed nearly to the same effect, but more circumstantially. He met col. Despard at the Flying Horse, who said, that it seemed the wish of a great number of people, that an effort should be made to endeavour to recover some of their lost liberty; that a considerable force, he had been given to understand, was ready to act, constituted by great numbers of the army and great numbers of the people, particularly in Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester, Sheffield, and other great towns; and that, in London, and near it, people were every where ripe; and anxious for the moment of attack; that the attack must not be made in London and the country on the same day, but that, by stopping the mail and stage coaches, it would be a signal to the country. He clenched his right hand, and swore that no good would be done, unless the whole family were secured, which might be effected by shooting the fore horses of the king's carriage, which must of course stop, and then seize the king directly, as he returned from the parliament house, which he would do with his own hand. A subsequent plan, was to load the great gun in the park, with four balls or chain-shots, and fire it at the coach in which the king returned



ed from the house. This was the substance of the evidence for the crown.

Mr. Serjeant Best, on behalf of the prisoner, addressed the court, and acknowledged the enormity of the crime with which his client was charged, but contended, that, the facts urged were not made out by clear and satisfactory testimony, and that the law required, as a proof of guilt, that the treason should be made out by printing or writing, or some overt act or deed, and that the evidence of witnesses was not alone sufficient. In support of this opinion, he cited an apposite passage from Montesquieu. He allowed that col. Despard had attended the before-mentioned meetings, and that it is sworn that he had spoken obnoxious words—but it had not been proved that he knew it was a treasonable meeting, or that he attended it for treasonable purposes;—that there was no testimony to shew that the prisoner was in any shape connected with the printed cards which had been distributed, except the testimony of one witness, who was acknowledged to be one of the most infamous men living. He contended, that the case was totally unlike any other case which had been decided since the revolution. He next contended, that it was a most important rule of evidence, that the case should be made out by credible witnesses; and being, itself, a most improbable one, it required the most cogent and decisive evidence. The case was, fourteen or fifteen men, at a common tap-room, with no fire-arms but their tobacco-pipes; men of the lowest order, without mind or intelligence; were to seize the king, the bank, the tower, and the members of both houses of parliament. Their

means were an exchequer of fifteen shillings and sixpence—without a pike, pistol, or rusty musket. The tower, defended by a brigade of guards, was to be taken; the king's person seized, in the midst of his guards; which last action was to be performed by the prisoner himself, if the witnesses were to be believed. The witnesses were, he said, most infamous characters: one of them, Windsor, had once, as a soldier, taken the oath of allegiance to his king, and afterwards had taken another to bind himself in a conspiracy to destroy him: he again swore against those whom he had himself seduced. With respect to Francis, he was the most infamous and incredible of mankind. He had sworn that, “refusing to be a member of that nefarious society, he told col. Despard that his principles were opposite; yet, that, with a rashness and madness incredible, notwithstanding col. Despard told him all their plans, persuaded him to join them, and wondered how he could have principles so opposite from those of his brother.” He finally concluded with a hope, that, for the true interest of the country, the jury would, by lenity, endeavour to attach men, rather than by fear.

Lord Nelson, on the part of the prisoner, bore the most honourable testimony to his character. They were on the Spanish main together, in 1799; together in the enemy's trenches, and had slept in the same tent; that he was a loyal man and a brave officer.

Sir Alured Clarke gave nearly the same evidence in favour of col. Despard. After Mr. Gurney, the other counsel for the prisoner, had spoken at some length, lord Ellenborough asked col. Despard if he

would himself add any thing to what had been said by his counsel, which he declined: "his counsel having acquitted themselves with so much ability, and so entirely to his satisfaction, that he had no wish to say any thing himself."

Mr. solicitor-general, on the part of the crown, replied: He reviewed the whole evidence, and insisted that the words, which were mere loose and idle words, although they could not be treason, yet, if they excited and stirred up others to commit acts of treason, then they became treason themselves.

Lord Ellenborough began to sum up nearly as follows: "Gentlemen of the jury, the evidence, on both sides, and the arguments of counsel being concluded, it only now remains for me to discharge my duty. An irksome duty it certainly is: but considering with what minds you come prepared, for I have observed your deep attention to all parts of the cause, it will facilitate my means of doing it. Those means are, by a faithful detail of the evidence, and such faithful observations upon it, as I am best able to make. Gentlemen, the prisoner stands charged with high treason, of three sorts, not very different in their nature: 1st. For compassing the death of the king; next, for compassing to seize his person; and, 3dly, for conspiring to depose him. The first of these is treason, by the statute of Edward III.; the two last, by a recent statute of the present reign. Eight distinct overt acts are stated as evidences of this intention. It is not necessary to do more than to state the substance of them. Gentlemen, the overt acts are the holding conversation for effecting those malignant purposes of

the heart. Before I state the evidence of the overt act, I think fit to say a word or two on the topics urged respecting the nature of the proof. It is said, by the defendant's counsel, to consist only of loose words, the ebullition of an irritated or crazy mind, it would not be treason, because it would be too much to infer such a purpose as the destruction of the king from words so spoken. But when words are spoken at a public meeting, and addressed to others, exciting and persuading them to that purpose, it never was doubted by any one English lawyer; it never will be doubted but that they amount to treason. Another subject, upon which I wish to say a few words, is, the nature of evidence by accomplice:—that he is a competent witness, upon whose testimony you may found a conclusion, cannot be doubted. If it were not so, it would be a dereliction of duty in the judges sitting here, and those who have formerly sat in courts of justice, not to have repelled witnesses from the oath, and have told the jury, that they were not fit to be credited: but they are always received, and although sullied with the contamination of the crime which they impute to others, they are credible, though their testimony must be received with caution and attention. They may be confirmed by various circumstances, by the clearness of their own narration, or by the narration of others. They may be confirmed by the coincidence of external circumstance; and broken in upon by no one fact of adverse circumstance. In the case before us, when so many scenes are laid, all of which, if untrue, may be falsified, and it is falsified in no one instance; if a per-



son so fortified is not to be believed, it would form a case by which conspiracies would always be protected, because conspiracies can never be known but through some who were participators in the crime. But the case would be otherwise, as it regarded some who are not strictly accomplices. Such, as I take it, is the case of Windsor. I do not think, strictly, that he can be called an accomplice; though, without question, a great degree of blame attaches to him for his conduct in repeatedly going to these meetings. Gentlemen, having made these observations, that if each evidence is confirmed, is consistent, is uncontradicted, and more especially confirmed from pure sources, it ought to be credited, I shall now proceed to detail the evidence itself. His lordship here read, verbatim, the whole of the evidence taken throughout the day. In commenting upon the form of oath, he observed, that it appeared, on the face of it, to have an ulterior purpose, which was to be carried by the conflict of arms, and not of reason, or argument, or why was there a provision to be made 'for the families of the heroes who should fall in the contest?' and if Despard was found distributing those papers, and acting with those united in this bond, it formed stronger indicia of the purposes of his mind. Having gone through the evidence, his lordship continued: Gentlemen, this is the whole of the evidence, and you have been properly told, there is no question of law in the case. It is admitted, that a traitorous scheme did exist, but it is denied that it was the prisoner's. If it was not his treason, whose was it? If the witnesses, produced upon their oath, were not to be believed,

it was open to impeach them; but no such thing is done. Then, with respect to accomplices, we find in the law-books, particularly in the case of King, Charnock, and another, that the evidence was wholly that of accomplices, without half so many circumstances of corroboration as are found in this case. The main circumstance of the case is confirmed; that of treason. Then who is the traitor? The prisoner is found in the society of those most unfit for his rank and situation; no account is given why he attended these meetings; we find him sitting down and associating with common soldiers, and partaking of their ordinary fare. No other explanation is given of this but his former character. Happy, indeed, would it have been for him, if he had preserved that character down to this moment of peril. Now, Gentlemen, this is the whole evidence on the one side and on the other: see how it applies to the charge. First, with respect to an overt act, committed within the county. It is proved at the Oakley Arms, and at the Flying Horse; that point of law is, therefore, satisfied. The only remaining consideration is, whether you will believe the evidence of Blades, Windsor, Emblyn, and Francis, or either or any of them? If you have any hesitation, you will look at the circumstances,—the confirmation. When he was taken with them, they had about them the mischievous furniture of their designs; I mean the printed papers.—He was found almost in the act of command, and they of obedience. "Follow me, one and all," was the language he used. It was in confirmation that he was at the Coach and Horses, in Whitechapel, by Campbell and

Dean



Dean, two soldiers totally unconnected with the conspirators, and indifferent witnesses. Their testimony perfectly agreed with that of Windsor. If you, therefore, believe Emblyn and Windsor, there is an end of the question. You have also heard the high character given him by a man, on whom, to pronounce an eulogy, were to waste words; but you are to consider whether a change has not taken place since the period he speaks of. If you do not believe the witnesses, then he will stand exempted from the consequences of the charge imputed to him; but if you do believe them, as there is no question upon the law, so here will be none upon the act. Gentlemen, you will consider of your verdict."

The jury withdrew for about half an hour: when they returned, Mr. Knapp, having called them over by their respective names, to which they answered—

He then said—"How say you, Gentlemen, are you agreed in your verdict? Is Marcus Edward Despard guilty of the treason where-with he stands charged, or not guilty?"

The foreman replied, "guilty; but we earnestly recommend him to mercy," on account of his former good character, and the services he has rendered his country."

Lord Ellenborough bowed.

After the verdict was given, there was a silent pause for a few moments; after which, the prisoner was ordered to be taken away, and the court was adjourned about three in the morning.

The prisoner, during the whole of the trial, appeared very composed; nor did he exhibit any marks of

agitation when the verdict was returned.

The court was uncommonly crowded, but the spectators behaved, the whole day, with great decorum and attention.\*

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*Trial of Jean Peltier, for publishing in L'Ambigu, a Periodical Work, a Libel on Napoleon Bonaparte, First Consul of the French Republic. Tried in the Court of King's Bench, Westminster, Feb. 21, 1803, before Lord Ellenborough and a Special Jury.*

The information was filed by his majesty's attorney-general, *ex officio*, and stated, "That peace existed between N. Bonaparte and our lord the king; but that M. Peltier, intending to destroy the friendship so existing, and to despoil said Napoleon of his consular dignity, did devise, print, and publish, in the French language, to the tenor following," &c. which words, translated into English, will be found in the attorney-general's speech.

The attorney-general began by observing on the degree of curiosity which had crowded the court with an extraordinary audience. He should be very sorry if that curiosity was excited by any view it was supposed he might take of the words upon which he had founded the indictment: nothing of that kind was in his intention. He should go into a dry discussion; and the principles to which he should refer were obvious and simple. After passing a number of high encomiums on the counsel for defendant, he doubted whether it was in the power of that gentleman (Mr. Mackintosh)

\* *Vide Chronicle*, for the execution and behaviour of the culprit, and "CHARACTERS" for some further account of him.

Mackintosh) to gratify the curiosity so visible in the audience. For the points to be argued were nothing more than the fact of publication, and the intention and tendency of the same; and if it should occur to my learned friend, he continued; from the instruction of his client, that the legal proceedings of the first court of justice in this country shall be made the vehicle of slander, or means of aggravating that offence, and giving greater weight and extension to the libel I prosecute,—I think I should ill discharge my duty, if I did not press it to the consideration of the court in inflicting that punishment—that where the proceedings of a court of justice were made the vehicle of that mischief they were intended to repress, the punishment inflicted should mark, not only to France, but to all the nations of Europe, and to the world, that a British court of justice will not, with impunity, allow its proceedings to become the means of such extended defamation. Gentlemen, I say so, because from this consideration I am much led to suppose that even the expectation that has been excited by my learned friend will be disappointed. But, to be sure, the disappointment or gratification of curiosity is no part of our business; our business is neither to satisfy nor disappoint curiosity; our business is to satisfy justice, and to take care, as far as we can, that the law shall not be disappointed. And with that view I am desirous of stating to you, not only what this present prosecution is, but what this prosecution is not. This is not the prosecution of a publication, which may be laying before the world an his-

torical narration of events which may have taken place in a neighbouring country, where those events may, or may not, be accompanied with circumstances, with just reflections on the conduct and characters of the persons who may have been the actors in the different scenes. This is not a prosecution meaning to bring to punishment the author of a narration of historical truth, which should not be complained of when written in the spirit of history, though it may give pain to others—if it be written with an honest zeal, though even with some degree of freedom approaching to licentiousness. Nor is it a prosecution for a piece of flippancy, of insolence, or impudence, on those who are the subjects of it, and on which account it might be treated with contempt. But it is the case of a prosecution bringing into notice a publication, which, as it seems to me, must be considered originally, and from the first, as a libel and defamation—that has defamation for its sole object, or at least for its best object, and its general object. The farther object of it, I think I shall satisfy you, is to excite the subjects of that magistrate whom our country recognizes, and with whom our country is at peace, to excite the subjects of that country to rebel against their chief magistrate, *de facto*, and farther to excite them to his assassination and to his murder.

Gentlemen, that being the general object and character, which I ascribe to the publication I prosecute, I have to state to you, more particularly, that it is charged by this prosecution as having been published with the intention of traducing and defaming Napoleon Bonaparte; who is stated, as he is known to be, the



first consul and chief magistrate of France; between whom and this country, at the time of the publication, there was, and continues to be, peace and amity. That it was published with the intention of bringing him into hatred and contempt, not only with the subjects of this country, but with the subjects of his own; and for the purpose of exciting the subjects of that country to rebel against him, and to remove him from the situation of power which he held; and farther, that it was published with the intention of exciting to his assassination and his death, and likewise with the intention of disturbing and interrupting that peace which exists between that country and this. With this intention it is charged to have been published; with this tendency it is characterized as having been published. The offence here charged to have been committed by the defendant is this, that his publication is a direct incitement and exhortation to the people of the French republic to rise up in arms against their first consul and chief magistrate, to arrest the power from the hands, in which, *de facto*, it is placed, and to take away the life of the man who presides over them. Is it possible we can have any difficulty in supporting this proposition, that such a publication is an offence against the laws of this country?"

The case of lord George Gordon, for a libel on the queen of France, and that of John Vint, for a libel against the emperor of Russia, are exactly in point: the defendants were both found guilty.

Gentlemen, I shall now call your attention a little more particularly to the libel itself, which is the sub-

ject of prosecution. And I do not think it material to go over all the circumstances stated in the libel. My learned friend, by his opening of the pleadings, has rendered that unnecessary. Attending to the nature of it, and of its object and general tendency, it is proper I should tell you that there are two of these compositions, which I charge as being direct exhortations to the assassination of Napoleon Bonaparte himself. They are contained in the first number of the *Ambigu*. The publication is called *The Ambigu, or atrocious and amusing Varieties*. It has on its frontispiece a sphynx, with a great variety of Egyptian emblematical figures, the meaning of which may not be very easy to discover, or material to enquire after. But there is a circumstance, that marks this publication, namely, the head of the sphynx, with a crown on it. It is a head, which I cannot pretend to say, never having seen Bonaparte himself, but only from the different pictures of him, one cannot fail, at the first blush, to suppose it was intended as the portrait of the first consul. Whether it is like him or not, I do not know, nor is it material. It is sufficient it was intended to be so. It is like the pictures, and the representations which the English have sold as being likenesses of Bonaparte, and therefore the head of the sphynx, in the frontispiece, points pretty clearly to the first consul. It begins, like most other publications, with a prospectus, and the close of it I shall just bring to your knowledge. He says, he will add but one word more, and that he will so manage all the materials which he may employ in the edifice he is about to erect, to the



the glory of Bonaparte; that he will take care they shall be worthy of the temple.

Now I think, looking at the picture at the head of the prospectus, and also taking the close of the prospectus, there can be no doubt that the object of this publication was Bonaparte, and the whole object and tendency of it to villify him in the eyes of Europe and of the world. Gentlemen, there are two of these numbers that have been made the subject of prosecution; these are the first and the third. I shall direct your attention first to that, which is to be found in the third number of the *Ambigu*. That, gentlemen has for its title, in the *Ambigu* itself, the harangue of Lepidus against Sylla parodied, and is addressed to the people of France. It begins with stating the mildness of character and probity of the people, and expresses an apprehension that they, from their habits, would rather wish to live quietly under despotism than to vindicate their just rights and liberties, and avenge themselves on their oppressor. The sentiments contained in this part of the publication, lead them directly to revenge themselves. They are sentiments that would naturally lead them to act in their defence. I shall not read the whole of this speech, but leave it to my learned friend to detail. I shall only point out particular passages, which seem to me clearly to indicate the intention of the writer. After having stated the names of a great number of old families in France, and expressed his astonishment that such persons should have made a sacrifice of their own liberty, he goes on to say—"They chuse rather to hurt their fellow-citizens than

to reclaim their most sacred rights"—he asks them, "Wherefore have we fought against Prussia, Austria, Italy, England, and the whole of Germany and Russia, if it be not to preserve our liberty, and our properties, and to the end that we might obey no one; but the laws alone? And now this tiger, who dares to call himself the founder, or the regenerator of France, enjoys the fruit of your labours as spoil taken from the enemy. This man, sole master in the midst of those who surround him, has ordained lists of proscription, and put in execution banishment without sentence, by means of which there are punishments for the French who have not yet seen the light. Proscribed families give birth out of France to children oppressed before they are born; their misery has commenced before their life. His wickedness increases every day: in spite of the security he enjoys, he enters into new passions; and, as to you, far from daring to reclaim your liberty, the fear of aggravating your slavery freezes you, and you are subjected to the deepest terror."

Having roused their passions by this address, he says on: "You must act, citizens, you must march, you must oppose what is passing, if you wish that he should not seize upon all that you have. Above all, no delays, no useless wishes; reckon only upon yourselves, unless, indeed, you have the stupidity to suppose, that he will wantonly expose himself to danger by abdicating, through weariness, or shame of tyranny, that which he holds by force of crimes."

Gentlemen, we are not considering what it is he holds. He is *de facto*

*faclo* the chief magistrate, or first consul of France. He has been recognized by us in that character, and in that character we made peace with him. Is it possible then that such a publication can be innocent or inoffensive?

He then goes on to state—"But he is advanced to such a point, that he looks no more towards glory, but to his own security; and that he esteems nothing honourable, but what conduces to the preservation of his power. It is thus that he has organized a company of Mamelukes, as they are called, composed of Greeks, Maltese, Arabians, and Copts; a collection of foreign banditti, whose name and dress recalling the mad and disastrous Egyptian expedition, serve to cover him with shame; but who, not speaking our language, nor having any point of contact with the army, will always be the satellites of the tyrant, his mutes, his cut throats, and his hangmen. That tranquillity then, and that leisure adorned with liberty, which many good men prefer to an honourable resistance, exist not. Frenchmen, it is at this moment that you must resolve to serve or to command, to receive terror or to inspire it. Are we not reduced to extremity? What human institution can stop the tyrant?"

He states, that the "laws, justice, the finances, the administration, the sovereigns of Europe; in fine, the liberty and the life of the citizens, are all in the power of one man. You see, at every moment, arbitrary arrests, judges punished for having acquitted citizens, individuals put to death after having been already acquitted by a lawful sentence, and sentences of death ex-

torted from judges by threats. Remains there for men, who would deserve that name, any thing else to do, but to avenge their wrongs, or to perish with glory?"—And then, detailing a great number of other circumstances, which reflect on the character and credit of the first consul; he concludes with this indignant piece of irony.—"If you would enjoy peace and concord, approve of all the revolutions, and all the murders that have taken place in the republic; sanction the laws that have been imposed on you; receive tranquillity with slavery, and shew to posterity, by your example, that a man may make himself master of the Roman people, by causing them to spill their own blood. As for me, if I have ever sought to be any thing, it is in order to defend the liberty, and the dignity of the people, and the sacred rights that our fathers have left us. I have never sought to make a disgraceful fortune, and I have preferred the storms of a liberty, difficult of attainment, to the deadly tranquillity of slavery. If you are of my opinion, Frenchmen, present yourselves; and after having invoked the assistance of the gods, name Camille your consul, and your chief in the bold enterprise of the recovery of your liberty."

Gentlemen, having read these passages to you, let me ask you, whether I characterize this publication too strongly, when I describe it to be not only a gross libel against the chief magistrate of France, but a direct exhortation to that country to rebel against him? That is the character I ascribe to this publication.

With regard to the other two publica-



publications, which are contained in the first number of the *Ambigu*; they describe the character of Bonaparte himself, and convey a direct exhortation to assassinate that general. The first is an ode, and there are passages extracted from it. It begins with a description as if all nature were in a storm; or as if the elements of nature were breaking loose; and there is excited in the author an expectation and hope that the heavens mean to revenge the cause of liberty. And there is an address to the gods of an oppressed people, and a prayer that they would "avenge this august victim of the audacious attempt, which on the unhappy days of Brumaire, the laws in their sanctuary, saw completed by a soldier," namely, the attempt which put him at the head of the French republic. He falls back again into despair.— "Too vain hope of vengeance! Nations given up to oppression, have you in your sufferings only your arms for deliverers? Heaven is blind or cruel; and when its thunder flies, carried by chance upon the winds, whether it lays waste the plains, or strikes the arid mountains, it respects tyrants."

This reflection is illustrated by the circumstance of storms and tempests dashing to pieces the vessels of merchants and navigators, and sparing what it describes as the guilty ship of that rebel Corsican, sailing tranquilly through the ocean, and announcing to the world the fortune and designs of Cæsar.

The defendant, in this publication, points to that to which I wish to direct your attention, namely, a comparison between the state of Rome and the state of France, when Cæsar was dictator; and when Bo-

naparte was consul. It begins with these words:—"Oh eternal disgrace of France! Cæsar on the banks of the Rubicon has against him, in his quarrel, the senate, Pompey, and Cato, and in the plains of Pharsalia; if fortune is unequal, if you must yield to the destinies, Rome, in this sad reverse, at least, there remains to avenge you a poniard among the last Romans. But under what vile fetters is our valour fallen! What! The universe beholds us slaves, without our having combated; in the bosom of a parricide senate, black treason presides still fierce at our misfortunes; power, without support and without force, falls at its voice, and it is from a Corsican that the Frenchman receives his chains. Already, in his insolent rage, the despot dares to menace, but the foaming wave of the sea breaks itself against the rock. Is it to give you a master? Is it to crown a traitor, that France has punished her kings? No; guilty ambition shall know that there is nothing inviolable but the rights of the people, and their laws!"

Now, gentlemen, let me ask any man of common sense, who looks at what is represented in this poem; let me ask, whether any body can disguise from himself the object of the author, in writing this contrast of Rome and Bonaparte. I would ask any honest and unprejudiced mind, whether he could have done it with any other view, than to point out to the people of France the example of assassination and of murder?

The next publication, which is charged as being libellous, is entitled "The Wish of a good Patriot on the 14th Day of July." It concludes,



concludes, as if it were a prayer, with the emphatical word, "Amen." This wish concerns the fortunes of Bonaparte; takes him up from the first: from being a Corsican, he becomes a Frenchman, his new country adopts him, nourishes him in the rank of its children, and already promises him the greatest destinies. "A storm arises. By the force of the tempests the state is overturned, the most noble persons fall! every thing is broken. The unhappy Frenchman regrets, with sighs, his error and his wishes. Napoleon appears." The author describes him as flying from one victory to another in Italy, in Egypt, and traces him back again to France. Then he becomes consul, and forces from their hands the sceptre and the censer; and then he describes him as already seated on the throne, and wanting nothing to complete his wishes. He makes and unmakes kings, indifferent as to what he does, provided he is but feared, and provided he exercises despotic power over a people degraded even to the rank of slaves. "Kings are at his feet begging his favour. He is desired to secure the supreme authority in his hands. The French, nay, kings themselves, hasten to congratulate him, and would take the oath to him like subjects. He is proclaimed chief consul for life. As for me, far from envying his lot, let him name, I consent to it, his worthy successor. Carried on the shield, let him be elected emperor! Finally (and Romulus recalls the thing to mind) I wish that on the morrow he may have his apotheosis. Amen."

Now, gentlemen, he says, Romulus suggests that idea. The fate that is ascribed to him is well known to

all of us. According to ancient history, he was assassinated. This publication is entitled, "The Wish of a good Patriot on the 14th Day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and two," and holds out to the people of France, what it is a good patriot should do, and how he should act, by representing to their minds the fate of Romulus; and presents that as an example for their imitation; they are to act on that as an example. I think you will not be induced to believe I am describing it by an improper character, when I say it is the publication of a most infamous, gross libel, which is disgraceful to the English press, and contains, at the same time, an exhortation to the people of France to rebel against him, and to assassinate him.

Gentlemen, if my learned friend meets me on these points; and if he, by any ingenuity, can induce you to believe this is all historical narration, that it is only free, legal discussion, we meet fairly on that plain issue, which you are to decide between us. But let me not be told I am an enemy to the liberty of the English press, when I prosecute the abuse of it, to protect it from ignominy and disgrace, and to check its licentiousness, when applied to such base purposes as that of instigating to assassination.

Gentlemen, I shall not trouble you with many farther observations on the subject. I stated to you, at first, what I conceived to be the object and tendency of this work; and now let me put it to you, whether you do not think, with me, this is a crime in this country—whether the exhortation to assassination, in time of peace, is not a very high offence? If it were in time of war, I should have

have no difficulty in stating, that there is something so base, so disgraceful; there is something so contrary to every thing that belongs to the character of an Englishman; there is something so immoral in the idea of assassination, that the exhortation to assassinate this, or any other chief magistrate, would be a crime against the honourable feelings of the English law. What effect, then, must it have, when, instead of being at war, we are at peace with that sovereign.

Do not let any idle declamation on that denomination impose upon your minds. Whether the present libel was directed against a monarch sitting on his throne, from long hereditary descent, or whether he be a person raised to this power by the revolution, from the choice of that country, or from any other cause, it makes no difference. He is *de facto* the chief magistrate, and is to be respected by those who are the subjects of that country, who owe a temporary allegiance to him. He is to be respected as if his ancestors had enjoyed the same power for a number of generations. Perhaps I may hear of publications in the *Moniteur* reflecting on our government. What have we to do with that? I am standing here, for the honour of the English law, and of the English nation. I state this to be a crime, and as such have brought it before an English jury; and if any other country think that they can prosper by such publications as this, let them have the benefit of it, but do not let us have the disgrace.

John Gage was called to prove the publication of *L'Ambigu*, No. 1 and No. 3; he bought them at Mr. De Boffe's, severally, on the

16th and 26th August last. Mr. Garrow put in the London Gazette of April 26, proving the treaty of peace, and that Bonaparte is consul of France. Mr. Mackintosh admitted these.

Joseph De Boffe sworn. He was informed by Mr. Ferguson that he need not answer. He is a bookseller; deals much in French publications; is acquainted with Peltier; was employed to sell this work, as well as other booksellers, for M. Peltier.

Mr. Ferguson and Mr. Mackintosh told the witness he need not answer any question tending to criminate himself, upon which the court observed, the act of selling or publishing, was sufficient proof; and that the witness, having suffered judgment to go by default, was plainly apprised of his situation.

The witness always understood M. Peltier to be the author; he accounted to the defendant for all the copies sold.

Mr. Mackintosh interposed, upon Mr. Garrow putting his questions in a new shape, so as to draw a confession of the fact of publication. Lord Ellenborough said, as he hath been apprised, I understand him advisedly to answer. He is not under compulsion, but if he does reply, I must take it. The office of a judge is to suggest so much to a witness; and if a judge were not to remind a witness of that circumstance, he would neglect his duty: he has been told before.

Charles Broughton proved the translation into English. He read the words charged as a libel, in French; the title in English, was "The Ambigu, or amusing and atrocious varieties; a journal of the Egyptian kind." The last paragraph



graph of the prospectus he rendered thus ;—" We shall not extend this prospectus any farther ; we would rather promise little, and perform much, than the contrary. We shall add only one word, to say, that the materials which we shall employ for the construction of the edifice we are raising to the glory of Bonaparte, *shall be worthy of the temple.*"

Lord Ellenborough doubted the application of the innuendoes ; but which might be inferred from the context.

*Defence.*—Mr. Mackintosh addressed the jury.—I beg leave, on the part of the unfortunate gentleman who is the defendant, to begin by making a few remarks on the speech of my friend the attorney general. Whatever my talents may be, in his opinion, I am incapable of lending them to the passions of any client, nor will I make this court subservient to political purposes. Although feeling strongly the momentous occurrences that deeply interest the quiet, the liberty, nay, the safety of mankind, I shall restrain those feelings with an equal regard for sincerity and for prudence. But whatever risk there may be in discussing a subject so surrounded with invidious topics, I hold myself exonerated from their consequences, because unsought for by me, they being dragged into this court, and forced upon us by the prosecutor. Here I find them, and here it is my duty to deal with them as the interests of M. Peltier seem to require. I will not betray his confidence, nor that zealousness in his cause which he has a right to expect.

Gentlemen of the jury, the real prosecutor in this cause rules the greatest empire the civilized world

ever saw, while my client is a poor proscribed emigrant : for when the revolution, which had driven from France the magistrates, the priests, and proprietors of land, relaxed in its severities ; many among these suffering royalists deemed the compliances required of them incompatible with their consciences, with their dearest attachments, and their most sacred duties. Among these is M. Peltier. Consider, gentlemen, that if we ourselves were, by any unforeseen revolution (I trust and hope such an event will never happen) but if such an event were to place us in a state of dependence and destitution, in a foreign land, we should not wish to be judged too unfavourably. This man, having from his youth devoted himself to literary employments, exerted his talents in the same line here, and produced a variety of works. After the peace, he abstained from all serious politics, and contented himself with the publication of this obscure journal before you, which, if the jealousy of power could ever be at rest, appeared under circumstances the least calculated to give disquiet. It could not be read here, for it was not in the language of the country. It could not be read in France, for we do not understand that the police is supine or negligent in the execution of the prohibition against the admission of periodical papers from England. Under these circumstances, this work was issued, for the purpose of amusing and consoling the fellow-sufferers of M. Peltier, by occasional reflections on the factions which divide, and the disturbances which agitate, the land from which they are exiled. It was intended as a consolation and amusement to them to whom no consolation



tion now remains, but in contemplating the instability of human affairs, and seeing that those by whom they were expelled were often the victims of fortune as well as they. This was the only journal that dared still to speak of a family once the most august in Europe. This court affords an instance of the instability of human grandeur in that family; and it is not a little remarkable, that the last instance of a prosecution by the French government, as cited by my learned friend, was for a libel on that princess who has been since butchered and massacred by her own subjects. I say this not for the purpose of disputing the principle laid down by my learned friend, that no government recognized by our sovereign is to be libelled with impunity. I agree with him, that, in this respect, all governments are on the same footing, whether they are governments of yesterday or governments confirmed by a succession of ages. I admit, that if lord Clarendon had published some parts of his history at Paris, in the year 1656; if the marquis of Montrose had published his sonnets there; if Butler had published his *Hudibras*; Cowley, those works in which he so ably maintained the cause of his king against usurpers—the president Du Morlaix would have been bound, on the complaint of the English ambassador, to prosecute them for libels against a government recognized by France. I mention this, that my client may feel the less repugnance at coming into this his last asylum upon earth; and it is, perhaps, owing to his majesty's ministers, that he enjoys even this. If it be so, I owe them my thanks for their honourable and dignified conduct, in refusing to violate the hos-

pitality due to an unfortunate stranger, who now appears in your presence, as the only place in which his prosecutor and he can be upon equal terms. Certainly, circumstanced as he is, the most refreshing prospect which his eye can rest upon is an English jury; and he feels, with me, gratitude to the Ruler of empires, that, after the wreck of every thing else ancient and venerable in Europe—of all established forms and acknowledged principles—of all long subsisting laws and sacred institutions—we are met here, administering justice after the manner of our forefathers, in this her ancient sanctuary. Here then parties come to judgment; one, the master of the greatest empire on the earth: and the other, a weak, defenceless fugitive, who waves his privilege of having half his jury composed of foreigners, and puts himself with confidence upon a jury entirely English.—Gentlemen, there is another view in which this case is highly interesting, important, and momentous; and, I confess, I am animated to every exertion that I can make, not more by a sense of my duty to my client, than by a persuasion that this cause is the first of a series of contests with the freedom of the press. My learned friend, I am sure, will never disgrace his magistracy, by being instrumental to a measure so calamitous. But viewing this as I do, as the first of a series of contests between the greatest power upon earth, and the only press that is now free, I cannot help calling upon him and you, to pause before the great earthquake swallow up all the freedom that remains among men; for though no indication has yet been made of a disposition to attack the freedom of the press,

press in this country, yet the many other countries that have been deprived of this benefit, must forcibly impress us with the propriety of looking vigilantly to ourselves,—Holland, Switzerland, and the imperial towns, participated with us the benefit of a free press. Holland and Switzerland are now no more, and near fifty of the free imperial towns of Germany have vanished since the commencement of this prosecution. Now that all this is gone, there is no longer any control but what this country affords. Every press on the continent, from Palermo to Hamburgh, is enslaved; one place only remains where the press is free, protected by our government and our patriotism. It is an awfully proud consideration, that venerable fabric, raised by our ancestors, still stands unshaken amidst the ruins that surround us. You are the advanced guard of liberty: permit me, therefore, to remind you of some of the principles on which our ancestors acted, with respect to foreign powers, in cases like the present. Mr. Mackintosh here stated that the law was not exactly defined, so as to ascertain the limits that distinguished history and fair observation from libel. It was left to juries to determine, in every single instance, by the malicious intention that may appear in the publication; and this confidence, so reposed by the legislature, had never once been abused since the revolution. It was the happiness of this country, that the lowest individual had a right to discuss the public measures of his time; and though it may, in some instances, be conceived that this was injurious in times of domestic dissension, it could not be denied that it was always beneficial when applied

to foreign affairs. Here Mr. Mackintosh went into the particulars of M. Peltier's publication, extending the liberty of historical discussion to the detail not only of events, but of the probable causes and consequences of these events. M. Peltier was at liberty to detail the views of the factions into which the French republic was divided, and for this purpose to republish the writings of these factions. It was even justifiable in him to expose the principles of these factions, by writing in their spirit, and imputing to them expressions deducible from their principles. It was very likely that Chenier did, in fact, write the ode given under his name, and in that case, even though it should be severe and libellous on Bonaparte, could it be called a libel in M. Peltier to republish it here? If it was, why were the English newspapers suffered every day, for ten years back, to republish volumes of abuse and calumny against this nation and its government in the French journals, and lately in a style particularly malignant and atrocious in the official journal the *Moniteur*. No criminality was by any person supposed to attach to the newspapers, because there was no criminal intention in the republication, which was made only to excite the detestation and horror necessarily consequent to such flagitious abuse of our national character and our government. Why pass over the republication of an article in which a most gallant officer was charged with exciting to assassination; and why suffer English newspapers to republish, without the imputation of a crime, the most infamous libels on a prince who had passed through a reign of forty-three years,



years, beloved and respected by his people, and without a single stain on his character? On the same principle that the English newspapers were in all these cases innocent and unaccused, Peltier was equally innocent in this publication. If it was, in fact, only the republication of the work of another writer, the republication was certainly blameless; and if it was even written by M. Peltier, with a view to give a dramatic character of the faction, by putting its principles in their natural language in the mouths of its leaders, he was equally innocent; or if there was any crime, it was a libel against Chenier or Ginguenet, to whom the article was imputed, and not against the first consul. It was natural to think that a remnant of the jacobin faction still existed in France; it was known that it did exist, and it was the nature of that faction to seek a refuge from the maledictions of those whom it had formerly oppressed and tortured, in the resumption of his former power. The faction was active, and such a piece as this might well be among the means it employed.—Mr. Mackintosh having, in the course of this last argument, used the word republican in a sense which appeared to convey some censure, explained: he did not use the term as meaning citizens of republican governments, many of which he respected, and particularly a new republic of British growth. Neither did he mean it as any imputation on those whose political opinions favoured a republican form of government; but as a just sarcasm on those pretended republicans of France, who used the name to cover the worst and most fatal hostilities to freedom.—It was evident, from the context, that the

ode in question was not the work of M. Peltier. It appeared, from the passage already cited, and of which a poetical translation had been read, that it was written by a fanatical republican, once hostile to England, now a little corrected in his judgment, but not yet perfectly reconciled. It speaks of the people resting on the law, resisting and setting at defiance the exertion of regal power. This certainly could not be mentioned with praise by the royalist Peltier. My learned friend, said Mr. Mackintosh, cannot forget that Swift did not mean, by his arguments in defence of atheism, really to support that doctrine; but, on the contrary, by that unrivalled specimen of irony, to ridicule and shame all such unprincipled tenets. Such were the motives of Butler for putting such odious sentiments in the mouths of Hudibras and his Squire: and such were Peltier's for putting such sentiments, as in some places he did, into the mouths of the jacobins. Not that even they, bad as they are, can be suspected by me of any design so shocking to human nature as assassination: and I own I am surprised to hear my learned friend say so seriously, that any allusion to the apotheosis of Romulus, or to the affair of Brutus and Cæsar, must necessarily have such a shocking and abominable object; as if these events, so much the themes of school-boy declamation, were not too familiar to excite any extraordinary propensity to imitation. With respect to that part of the paper which alluded to the assassination of Cæsar, Mr. Mackintosh denied that when that event was spoken of, every man who used it intended to recommend or justify assassination. He stated a variety of cases, in which



which that event had been alluded to in many authors, who were never suspected of a wish to excite the commission of assassination. Nor could it be more safely inferred from the allusion to the apotheosis in use among the Romans. It might be that a man, disgusted with the numerous addresses which had been poured from all quarters, might fairly say, I even wish him the apotheosis as soon as he can have it. Many of the Roman emperors received the honours of a divinity, and yet lived; their apotheosis did not always imply their death. He next adverted to the imputation of free discussion, and elucidated this part of his argument, by precedents drawn from our own history. At the time when queen Elizabeth, that wise and patriotic princess, was beset with formidable enemies, a powerful faction in the heart of her kingdom, and no resources but in her own mind, she, and it was a curious piece of history, published the first newspaper. Her gazettes were still preserved, and, by means of that dissemination of public opinion, she roused the feelings of her subjects to a pitch equal to withstand any attempts that could be made upon them. Since that period, newspapers had multiplied, and discussion had become more extended. During the reign of Louis XIV. who had formed the most gigantic plans of guilty ambition, he who attacked a free nation merely for his *glory*; he who had made subservient to his interests, the guilty and infamous prince who then governed England; even his conduct was most freely canvassed. Nor did a venal court dare to stop the inquiry and investigation of free minds, even when Jelleries disgraced the bench which

his lordship adorned: not even then did a venal judge and corrupt court dare to attack the freedom of the press. In latter times, to come to the partition of Poland; did that infamous transaction and public robbery pass without examination and censure? We loudly spoke our indignation, though the robbers were our great allies; but our free presses spoke of them, not as according to their greatness, but as to their crimes. I will put it to the attorney general to say, what would have been his conduct, if we had been at peace with France, during part of the awful crisis which had convulsed her. When Robespierre presided over the committee of public safety, was not an Englishman to canvass his measures? Supposing we had then been at peace with France, would the attorney general have filed an information against any one who had expressed due abhorrence of the furies of that sanguinary monster? When Marat demanded 250,000 heads in the Convention, must we have contemplated that request without speaking of it in the terms it provoked? When Carriere placed five hundred children in a square at Lyons, to fall by the musquetry of the soldiery, and from their size the balls passed over them, the little innocents flew to the knees of the soldiery for protection, when they were butchered by the bayonet! In relating this event, must man restrain his just indignation, and stifle the expression of indignant horror such a dreadful massacre must excite? Would the attorney general in his information state, that when Maximilian Robespierre was first magistrate of France, as president of the committee of safety, that those who spoke of him as his crimes deserved, did it with a wicked

wicked and malignant intention to defame and vilify him? The only restraint upon great criminals was, in a great degree, to let loose the passions of the great, to prey on the weak and defenceless. I will again put the case of that Swiss patriot, descended from the hero of Switzerland; he, whose ancestor supported the liberties of his country; who conquered that pile five hundred years ago, he of late had endeavoured ineffectually to defend. If he were to come to this country, the only asylum now left upon earth; if he were here, to weep over the ruins of his country, must he be told that he must deplore his fate in silence; that he might groan deep, but not be loud? Better by far would it be, that we should revert to a state of absolute barbarism, than thus have our feelings paralysed to all moral distinctions. I hope and trust that a British jury will never be a party to such purposes. They never had done it, and, in former times, when all other parts of the state had been corrupted, juries yet maintained their virtue and their independence. In the days of Cromwell, he twice sent a satirist upon his government to be tried by a jury, who sat where this jury now sit. The scaffold on which the blood of the monarch was shed, was still in their view. The clashing of the bayonets which turned out the parliament, was within their hearing; yet they maintained their integrity, and twice did they send his attorney general out of court with disgrace and defeat.

What could be such a tyrant's means of overawing a jury? As long as their country exists they are girt round with impenetrable armour; till the destruction of their country,

no danger can fall upon them for the performance of their duty; and I do trust that there is no Englishman so unworthy of life as to desire to outlive England. But if any of us are condemned to the cruel punishment of surviving our country—if, in the inscrutable counsels of Providence, this favoured seat of justice and liberty, this noblest work of human wisdom and virtue, be destined to destruction, (which I shall not be charged with national prejudice for saying, would be the most dangerous wound ever inflicted on civilization) at least let us carry with us, into our sad exile, the consolation that we, ourselves, have not violated the rights of hospitality to exiles—that we have not torn from the altar the suppliant who claimed protection as the voluntary victim of loyalty and conscience!

Gentlemen, I now leave this unfortunate gentleman in your hands. His character and his situation might interest your humanity; but, on his behalf, I only ask justice from you. I only ask a favourable construction of what cannot be said to be more than ambiguous language, and this you will soon be told, from the highest authority, is a part of justice.

Mr. attorney general, in reply, said, notwithstanding the most brilliant speech he had ever occasion to hear, had occupied his attention, and dazzled the understandings of the jury, for three hours, he did not find much to answer. Many topics were irrelevant: he said it without derogation: to the remainder he would reply.

As to the prosecutor, my honourable friend is wrong in attributing that to the first magistrate of France; the prosecutor of this information



is the chief magistrate of this country, who is unworthily represented in this court by me: it is the prosecution of the king of Great Britain. —The defendant has received every protection he could hope for, not as an emigrant merely, but as an English subject. My learned friend has enquired respecting the policy of permitting other publications to pass unnoticed: he will reflect that a considerable difference exists: it will be for you to say, whether the paper under consideration excites to assassination? Now, gentlemen, put yourselves for a moment as the subjects of another country, and then ask, whether such a publication as that, coming from this country, would have no influence on your minds; whether it would appear indifferent, or whether it would not excite indignation against England itself?

With respect to the object of the publication under our consideration, you must collect it from the publication itself; and that, if you have not evidence from which a contrary inference is to be collected, you must find them in the temper, mind, and intention of the person who publishes it. My friend has told you, the republication of a writing, originally a libel, is necessarily libellous: but I think it behoves the republisher of that, which is deemed to be originally libellous, to put himself in a condition of shewing, that he republished it with some other view; and to rescue himself, he must shew that he did it with another intention; and that he did not intend the effect to be produced, which was natural from the libel he republished. And if you had your attention directed to the introduction of this work, and saw what it

is, I think you will find no reason to lead you to believe, that it was republished with a different intention on his part, than to vilify and defame the character of the person against whom it is directed.

From the passages you have heard read, gentlemen, you are to collect the purpose and intention of the writer. The passage I originally introduced, shews there is no one part of any description he is to bring forward, which is not to refer to the object I alluded to. I shall repeat his words:—"We shall add but one word more. We shall so manage matters, that all the materials which we shall employ in the edifice that we are about to erect to the glory of Bonaparte"—What is this, gentlemen? What are we to understand by the edifice he is about to erect to the glory of Bonaparte? Does not this clearly shew Bonaparte is to be the object of it? "shall he worthy of the temple?"

Having, by all these introductory passages, shewn the intention of the author, it is hardly necessary to comment on the passages themselves, which have been selected, and which are to be found in the information. My friend seems to admit, that there is much libellous matter in these publications; but, he says, they are not libels against Bonaparte, and that they were only meant to reflect disgrace on certain factions that existed in France.—Now it is rather extraordinary, that my friend should have observed, in the course of his speech, that Bonaparte was the author of this prosecution, if it was not a libel against him, but a libel on certain parties at Paris, who were his enemies. That is a part, which, I think, is not very easily to be reconciled.

Can



Can you conceive a more noxious and a more offensive publication? It is written in a language calculated for its circulation through every corner of France, and its object is manifestly to vilify and defame the first magistrate of that country, not only in France, but throughout all Europe. This seems to be the end and necessary consequence of this publication in this place: and if you view it in that light, and if you are satisfied that is the fair interpretation of it, there is no question of difficulty between us. We are both agreed as to the illegality of printing, and the illegality of publishing, libels against those with whom we are at peace: the only question, then, for you to decide, is this, whether or not these publications, such as they are; whether these papers were or were not published, with an intention of vilifying the French consul! My friend tells you, if that is your judgment—he tells you, that if that was really the intention of the publication, that then the defendant is to be delivered up to your verdict, and that you cannot rescue him from the consequences; but should you be satisfied that it was not published with any intention of vilifying and defaming the first consul of France, but that it was written in the spirit of history, and that it comes under the description of free discussion; if you can, in your consciences, really believe that this comes fairly within the range of free discussion, or that it comes within the scope of historical privilege, then I do not ask your verdict: but if you are satisfied, in point of fact, that it was published with the libellous intention I impute to it, do not be driven from your pur-

pose by any theoretical or declamatory address, or be led to apprehend you are doing wrong, by acting on the clear principles of public law, on a case fairly brought before you. It is your province, and your duty, to act on the question before you, on true and clear principles, and not to look to those cases which are to follow. It will be time enough to stir up an English jury, when some unprecedented proceedings take place, and it will be time enough then that the address of my friend should be repeated to them. And if that period is about to approach, I have only to lament, in common with you all, in common with every man who has heard that speech, that most eloquent, most able, most irresistible address, which has been applied to such a case as this, was not reserved for that occasion, to which it might, with more propriety, have been applied.

Lord Ellenborough, in his address to the jury, said, the matter in issue, included three things, 1st, the fact of the publication; 2dly, the truth of the allegations on the record; and, 3dly, the nature and quality of the papers themselves. As to the first thing, the act of publication, that seemed to be proved by the evidence of Mr. De Boffe, who published the work, and acted under the orders of M. Peltier, the defendant. That Napoleon Bonaparte was the first consul and chief magistrate of France, both at the time the definitive treaty of peace was signed, and also at the time when these papers were published, was admitted; and, indeed, if it had not, it was capable of easy proof from the notoriety of it. The next and only remaining material point

for the consideration of the jury, was, as to the nature and quality of the papers themselves. The defendant, by his very learned counsel, endeavoured to shew that these papers were written against some particular factions in France, and not against the character and person of the first magistrate in that country. It would be for the jury to say, on the fullest consideration of the circumstances, whether they were not satisfied these papers contained matter highly reflecting on that magistrate, and were a direct incitement and encouragement to assassinate his person. Every publication that had a tendency to promote public mischief, by reflecting on the characters of magistrates and others in high and eminent situations of power and dignity, and in such terms, and in such a manner, as had a direct tendency to interrupt the amity and friendship that subsisted between the two countries, was what the law called a libel. If there were contained in any publication, a plain and manifest incitement and persuasion to assassinate or destroy the persons of such magistrates, and if the tendency of such publication was to interrupt the harmony that subsisted between different nations, the libel was still more criminal.—If they looked at the ode attributed to Chenier, it would be for the gentlemen of the jury to say, whether this did not import a direct incitement to the assassination of the first magistrate of France—"Oh! eternal disgrace of France! Cæsar, on the Bank of the Rubicon, has against him, in his quarrel, the senate, Pompey, and Cato; and the plains of Pharsalia. If fortune is unequal—if you must yield to the destinies, Rome, in this sad reverse, at

least, there remains to avenge you a poignard among the last Romans!"

Now, said his lordship, did not that express a wish, on the part of this person, that it was necessary they should use a poignard against the supposed oppressor and usurper of their government, which had been used with effect against Cæsar, the usurper of the Roman government?—And, in another part of this publication, he says, "as for me, far from envying his lot, let him name, I consent to it, his worthy successor. Carried on the shield, let him be elected emperor. Finally (and Romulus recalls the thing to mind,) I wish he may have *this* apotheosis." This, his lordship thought, imported a wish, on the part of the publisher, that, if he should be elected emperor of that country, of which he was then, and still is, the chief magistrate, that his death should immediately follow on the next day. Every body knew the supposed story of Romulus; he disappeared, and his death was supposed to be the effect of assassination.

His lordship said, he could not, therefore, in the correct discharge of his duty, do otherwise than state, that these publications having such a tendency, with respect to the character and person of a foreign magistrate, and being published within this country, and the consequence of such publications being a direct tendency to interrupt and destroy the peace and amity now happily subsisting between the two countries, that they were, in point of law, a libel: and he was certain, no recollection of the past, nor expectation of the future, would warp the minds of the jury from the straight and even course of justice. Their verdict

dict would be founded on the real facts of the case, without looking to any other circumstance: they would consider the necessary effect of plans of assassination and murder, and how dangerous projects of that sort were; and if they were

not discountenanced and discouraged in this country, they might be retaliated on the safety of all that was most dear to us.

The jury immediately found the defendant guilty.

A GENERAL



## A GENERAL BILL

OF

## CHRISTENINGS AND BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 14, 1802, to DECEMBER 13, 1803.

Christened { Males.....11014 } 20983. Buried { Males.....9799 } 19502.  
 { Females .. 9929 } { Females ..9783 }

Increased in Burials this Year, 203.

|                          |      |                 |      |          |   |
|--------------------------|------|-----------------|------|----------|---|
| Died under 2 years ..... | 5355 | 40 and 50.....  | 2265 | 100..... | 1 |
| Between.... 2 and 5..... | 2077 | 50 and 60.....  | 2044 | 101..... | 0 |
| 5 and 10.....            | 790  | 60 and 70.....  | 1580 | 102..... | 0 |
| 10 and 20.....           | 531  | 70 and 80.....  | 1036 | 107..... | 1 |
| 20 and 30.....           | 1329 | 80 and 90.....  | 482  | 118..... | 0 |
| 30 and 40.....           | 2025 | 90 and 100..... | 64   | 120..... | 0 |

| DISEASES.                    |      |                                                         |      | CASUALTIES.               |     |
|------------------------------|------|---------------------------------------------------------|------|---------------------------|-----|
| ABORTIVE and still born..... | 568  | Cow Pox.....                                            | 1    | BROKEN Limbs. 3           |     |
| Abscess.....                 | 47   | Cramp.....                                              | 3    | Broken Neck.... 1         |     |
| Aged.....                    | 1714 | Croup.....                                              | 25   | Bruised..... 4            |     |
| Ague.....                    | 1    | Dropsy .....                                            | 379  | Burnt..... 33             |     |
| Apoplexy and sudden.....     | 401  | Epilepsy.....                                           | 1    | Choaked .....             | 1   |
| Asthma and Phthisic.....     | 745  | Evil .....                                              | 1    | Drowned .....             | 115 |
| Bedridden.....               | 4    | All Fevers.....                                         | 2326 | Excessive Drink- ing..... | 3   |
| Bile .....                   | 2    | Fistula .....                                           | 2    | Executed .....            | 13  |
| Bleeding.....                | 16   | Flux .....                                              | 9    | Found dead.....           | 21  |
| Bursten and rup- ture .....  | 24   | French Pox.....                                         | 53   | Fractured .....           | 4   |
| Cancer .....                 | 61   | Gaol Distemper 2                                        |      | Frighted.....             | 3   |
| Canker .....                 | 1    | Gout.....                                               | 103  | Killed by Falls, &c. .... | 65  |
| Carious Spine....            | 1    | Gravel, Stran- guary, and Stone.....                    | 18   | Killed by Fight- ing..... | 3   |
| Chicken Pox.....             | 2    | Grief.....                                              | 7    | Killed them- selves.....  | 40  |
| Childbed.....                | 250  | Head-ach.....                                           | 1    | Murdered.....             | 3   |
| Colds.....                   | 11   | Headmouldshot, Horschothead, and Water in the Head..... | 104  | Poisoned.....             | 2   |
| Colick, Gripes, &c. ....     | 19   | Im posthume....                                         | 2    | Scalded.....              | 2   |
| Consumption....              | 4076 | Jaundice.....                                           | 85   | Shot.....                 | 3   |
| Convulsions.....             | 3493 | Jaw Locked ....                                         | 7    | Starved .....             | 1   |
| Cough & Hoop- ing Cough..... | 586  | Inflammation ...                                        | 710  | Stifled.....              | 1   |
|                              |      | Influenza.....                                          | 52   | Strained .....            | 1   |
|                              |      | Itch.....                                               | 1    | Suffocated.....           | 1   |
|                              |      | Livergrown.....                                         | 9    |                           |     |
|                              |      | Lunatick .....                                          | 135  |                           |     |
|                              |      | Measles .....                                           | 438  |                           |     |
|                              |      | Miscarriage.....                                        | 3    |                           |     |
|                              |      | Mortification....                                       | 388  |                           |     |
|                              |      | Palpitation of Heart.....                               | 1    |                           |     |
|                              |      | Palsy .....                                             | 130  |                           |     |
|                              |      | Piles.....                                              | 1    |                           |     |
|                              |      | Pleurisy.....                                           | 23   |                           |     |
|                              |      | Quinsy.....                                             | 4    |                           |     |
|                              |      | Rheumatism....                                          | 5    |                           |     |
|                              |      | Scurvy .....                                            | 3    |                           |     |
|                              |      | Small Pox.....                                          | 1202 |                           |     |
|                              |      | Sore Throat.....                                        | 14   |                           |     |
|                              |      | Sores and Ul- cers.....                                 | 7    |                           |     |
|                              |      | St. Anthony's Fire.....                                 | 1    |                           |     |
|                              |      | Spasm .....                                             | 15   |                           |     |
|                              |      | Stoppage in Sto- mach.....                              | 12   |                           |     |
|                              |      | Teeth .....                                             | 363  |                           |     |
|                              |      | Thrush .....                                            | 78   |                           |     |
|                              |      | Vomiting and Looseness ...                              | 1    |                           |     |
|                              |      | Worms.....                                              | 4    |                           |     |

\* There have been executed in Middlesex and Surrey 30, of which number 13 only have been reported to be buried (as such) within the bills of mortality.

PRICE

## PRICE OF STOCKS.

| Date. | Rank<br>Stock.    | 3 per Ct.<br>Reduced. | 3 pr Ct.<br>Consol. | 4 pr Ct.<br>Consol. | 5 pr Ct.<br>Navy. | 5 pr Ct.<br>1797. | Long<br>Ann.      | Short<br>Ann.    | India<br>Stock.   | Exch.<br>Bills. | Omanum               | Irish<br>5 per Ct. | Imperial<br>3 per Ct. | Lottery<br>Tickets. |
|-------|-------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| Jan.  | 186               | 72 $\frac{1}{8}$      | 71 $\frac{1}{8}$    | 87 $\frac{1}{2}$    | 100 $\frac{7}{8}$ | 103 $\frac{1}{8}$ | 20 $\frac{1}{16}$ | 4 $\frac{9}{16}$ | 215 $\frac{1}{4}$ | —               | 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ dis. | 99 $\frac{1}{2}$   | 70 $\frac{1}{8}$      | 17 16 0             |
|       | 187 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 70 $\frac{1}{8}$      | 69 $\frac{1}{8}$    | 85 $\frac{1}{2}$    | 99 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 101 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 20 $\frac{1}{4}$  | 4 $\frac{7}{8}$  | 207               | —               | 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ do.  | 99                 | 69 $\frac{1}{8}$      | 17 15 0             |
| Feb.  | 190               | 72                    | 71 $\frac{1}{2}$    | 88                  | 101 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 105               | 20 $\frac{1}{8}$  | 4 $\frac{9}{16}$ | 217               | par.            | 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ do.  | 101 $\frac{1}{8}$  | 70 $\frac{1}{8}$      | 17 17 0             |
|       | 186               | 70 $\frac{3}{8}$      | 69 $\frac{3}{8}$    | 86 $\frac{1}{2}$    | 100               | 103               | 20 $\frac{3}{8}$  | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 208 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 2s. dis.        | 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ do.  | —                  | 69 $\frac{1}{4}$      | 17 16 0             |
| March | 193               | 72                    | 71 $\frac{1}{2}$    | 88 $\frac{1}{2}$    | 102               | 104 $\frac{1}{2}$ | Shut.             | 4 $\frac{1}{8}$  | 222 $\frac{1}{2}$ | par.            | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ do.  | —                  | 70 $\frac{1}{4}$      | 18 1 0              |
|       | 182               | 71 $\frac{1}{2}$      | 61 $\frac{1}{4}$    | 88 $\frac{1}{2}$    | 94                | 101 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 19 $\frac{1}{8}$  | 4 $\frac{1}{16}$ | 202               | 5s. dis.        | 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ do. | —                  | 61 $\frac{1}{8}$      | 17 17 0             |
| April | 173 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 66 $\frac{1}{4}$      | 67 $\frac{1}{4}$    | 84 $\frac{1}{2}$    | 102               | 101               | 19 $\frac{1}{16}$ | 3 $\frac{1}{16}$ | 211 $\frac{1}{2}$ | —               | 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ do.  | 97                 | 63                    | 26 0 0              |
|       | 166 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 61 $\frac{1}{4}$      | 61 $\frac{1}{4}$    | 77 $\frac{1}{4}$    | 96 $\frac{1}{4}$  | 94 $\frac{1}{4}$  | 18 $\frac{1}{8}$  | 3 $\frac{7}{8}$  | 204               | —               | 16 do.               | 92                 | 61 $\frac{1}{4}$      | 18 1 0              |
| May   | 169               | 65 $\frac{1}{4}$      | 65 $\frac{1}{4}$    | 82 $\frac{1}{4}$    | 100 $\frac{3}{8}$ | 99                | 19 $\frac{3}{8}$  | 4 $\frac{1}{16}$ | 206               | —               | —                    | 94 $\frac{1}{2}$   | 62 $\frac{1}{2}$      | —                   |
|       | 145               | 56 $\frac{1}{8}$      | 57 $\frac{1}{8}$    | 72 $\frac{3}{8}$    | 92 $\frac{1}{8}$  | 91 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 16 $\frac{1}{4}$  | 3 $\frac{5}{16}$ | 180               | —               | —                    | 84 $\frac{1}{2}$   | 55                    | —                   |
| June  | 151 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 58 $\frac{1}{4}$      | Shut.               | 71 $\frac{1}{4}$    | 94                | 93 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 17 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 178               | 1s.             | 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ pr.  | 82 $\frac{1}{2}$   | 56 $\frac{1}{8}$      | —                   |
|       | 145               | 55 $\frac{1}{4}$      | 55 $\frac{1}{4}$    | 70 $\frac{1}{2}$    | 93 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 90 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 16 $\frac{1}{16}$ | 3 $\frac{1}{16}$ | 177 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 4 dis.          | 4 dis.               | —                  | 54 $\frac{1}{4}$      | —                   |
| July  | 143               | 55 $\frac{3}{8}$      | 55 $\frac{3}{8}$    | 71 $\frac{1}{4}$    | 87                | 90 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 16 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 160               | 1 prem.         | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ do.  | 81                 | 54                    | 17 0 0              |
|       | 136 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 51 $\frac{1}{8}$      | 50 $\frac{1}{4}$    | 64 $\frac{1}{2}$    | 82                | 84 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 15 $\frac{3}{8}$  | 3 $\frac{7}{8}$  | 156               | 10 dis.         | 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ do. | —                  | 50 $\frac{1}{2}$      | 16 16 0             |
| Aug.  | 143               | 55                    | 54 $\frac{1}{4}$    | 70 $\frac{1}{2}$    | 86 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 90                | 16 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 164 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 2 do.           | 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ do.  | 81 $\frac{1}{2}$   | 54 $\frac{1}{5}$      | 17 5 0              |
|       | 138               | 52 $\frac{1}{4}$      | 52 $\frac{1}{4}$    | 67 $\frac{1}{2}$    | 83 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 87 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 15 $\frac{1}{16}$ | 3 $\frac{7}{16}$ | 160 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 3 do.           | 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ do.  | —                  | 51 $\frac{1}{8}$      | 17 2 0              |
| Sept. | 143 $\frac{1}{2}$ | Shut.                 | 54 $\frac{1}{8}$    | 70 $\frac{1}{2}$    | 87 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 90 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 16 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 166               | 2 do.           | 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ do.  | —                  | 51                    | 25 10 0             |
|       | 142 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 53                    | 52 $\frac{1}{8}$    | 70 $\frac{1}{4}$    | 85 $\frac{1}{8}$  | 90 $\frac{1}{4}$  | 16 $\frac{1}{8}$  | 3 $\frac{7}{16}$ | 162               | 4 do.           | 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ do. | —                  | 51 $\frac{1}{2}$      | 17 5 0              |
| Oct.  | 142 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 53                    | 54                  | 68 $\frac{1}{2}$    | 87 $\frac{3}{8}$  | 89 $\frac{3}{8}$  | 15 $\frac{1}{16}$ | 3 $\frac{1}{16}$ | 163 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 1 prem.         | 8 do.                | 77 $\frac{1}{4}$   | 52                    | 17 2 0              |
|       | 138               | 51 $\frac{3}{8}$      | 52 $\frac{3}{8}$    | 66                  | 85 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 87 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 15 $\frac{1}{16}$ | 2 $\frac{1}{16}$ | 160               | 4 dis.          | 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ do. | 77 $\frac{1}{4}$   | 51 $\frac{1}{2}$      | 17 0 0              |
| Nov.  | 141               | 54 $\frac{1}{8}$      | 55                  | 69 $\frac{1}{4}$    | 89                | 90                | 15 $\frac{1}{4}$  | 3 $\frac{1}{16}$ | 168 $\frac{1}{2}$ | —               | 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ do.  | 78                 | 51 $\frac{3}{8}$      | 17 5 0              |
|       | 141               | 52 $\frac{1}{8}$      | 53 $\frac{1}{8}$    | 67 $\frac{1}{8}$    | 86 $\frac{1}{8}$  | 87                | 15 $\frac{1}{4}$  | 3                | 162               | —               | 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ do.  | —                  | 50 $\frac{3}{8}$      | 17 2 0              |
| Dec.  | 147               | 55                    | Shut.               | 71 $\frac{1}{4}$    | 90 $\frac{5}{8}$  | 92 $\frac{1}{4}$  | 16 $\frac{1}{4}$  | 3 $\frac{1}{4}$  | 172               | —               | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ do.  | 81 $\frac{1}{2}$   | 53 $\frac{1}{4}$      | 17 9 0              |
|       | 143 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 53 $\frac{1}{4}$      | 53 $\frac{1}{4}$    | 69                  | 88 $\frac{3}{8}$  | 90                | 15 $\frac{1}{16}$ | 3 $\frac{1}{16}$ | 168               | —               | 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ do.  | 80                 | 52 $\frac{1}{4}$      | 17 5 0              |

The above is the highest and lowest Prices of the Stocks for the Year 1803.

*Amount of the Annual Charge of the Public Debt created in the Year's undermentioned, and the Produce of the several Duties granted for defraying the same, in the Year ended 5th January, 1804.*

| YEARS.                                         | CHARGE.    |                    | PRODUCE.   |                     | SURPLUS.  |                     | DEFICIENCY. |                    |
|------------------------------------------------|------------|--------------------|------------|---------------------|-----------|---------------------|-------------|--------------------|
|                                                | £.         | s. d.              | £.         | s. d.               | £.        | s. d.               | £.          | s. d.              |
| 1794                                           | 773,324    | — 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 1,207,349  | 5 5                 | 434,025   | 4 7 $\frac{1}{2}$   | —           | —                  |
| 1795                                           | 1,227,415  | 3 11               | 1,536,147  | 14 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 308,732   | 10 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ | —           | —                  |
| 1796                                           | 1,850,373  | 3 3                | 1,456,254  | 9 6                 | —         | —                   | 394,118     | 13 9               |
| 1797                                           | 3,241,348  | 1 1                | 2,967,692  | 15 — $\frac{1}{2}$  | —         | —                   | 273,655     | 6 — $\frac{1}{2}$  |
| 1798                                           | 585,941    | 18 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 677,945    | 3 3 $\frac{1}{2}$   | 92,003    | 4 9                 | —           | —                  |
| 1799                                           | 333,682    | 3 3                | 103,128    | 14 —                | —         | —                   | 230,553     | 9 3                |
| 1800                                           | 317,532    | 10 —               | 805,062    | 16 6 $\frac{1}{4}$  | 487,530   | 6 6 $\frac{1}{4}$   | —           | —                  |
| 1801                                           | 1,812,817  | 6 3                | 1,883,627  | 7 3                 | 70,810    | 1 —                 | —           | —                  |
| 1802                                           | 3,163,161  | 15 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 4,677,237  | 7 8 $\frac{1}{2}$   | 1,514,075 | 12 4 $\frac{1}{4}$  | —           | —                  |
| 1803                                           | 682,782    | — 1                | 139,436    | 17 8                | —         | —                   | 543,345     | 2 5                |
| £.                                             | 13,988,378 | 2 5 $\frac{1}{4}$  | 15,453,882 | 11 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 2,907,177 | — 3 $\frac{1}{4}$   | 1,441,672   | 11 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| SURPLUS on the whole of the duties in the year |            |                    |            | 1,441,672           |           | 11 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  |             |                    |
| ended 5th January, 1804                        |            |                    |            | 1,465,504           |           | 8 9 $\frac{1}{4}$   |             |                    |

W. Huskisson.



# SUPPLIES granted by Parliament, for the Year 1803.

## NAVY, &c.

December 2, 1802.

|                                                                                               |       | £.        | s. | d. |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|-----------|----|----|
| That 50,000 men be employed for the sea service, for the year 1803; including 12,000 marines. |       |           |    |    |
| For wages for ditto                                                                           | - - - | 1,202,500 | 0  | 0  |
| For victuals for ditto                                                                        | - - - | 1,235,000 | 0  | 0  |
| For wear and tear of ships in which they are to serve                                         | - - - | 1,950,000 | 0  | 0  |
| For ordnance sea service on board such ships                                                  | - - - | 162,500   | 0  | 0  |

December 14.

|                                                                                      |       |           |    |   |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|-----------|----|---|
| For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to sea and marine officers for 1803 | - - - | 1,228,238 | 13 | 1 |
| For the extraordinary establishment of ditto                                         | - - - | 901,140   | 0  | 0 |
| For the hire of transports                                                           | - - - | 590,000   | 0  | 0 |
| For defraying the charge of prisoners of war in health                               | - - - | 22,000    | 0  | 0 |
| Ditto - - - of sick prisoners of war                                                 | - - - | 5,000     | 0  | 0 |

March 14, 1803.

That an additional number of 10,000 men be employed for the sea service, for eleven lunar months, commencing 26th February, 1803, including 2,400 marines.

|                                                       |       |         |   |   |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-------|---------|---|---|
| For wages for ditto                                   | - - - | 203,500 | 0 | 0 |
| For victuals for ditto                                | - - - | 209,000 | 0 | 0 |
| For wear and tear of ships in which they are to serve | - - - | 330,000 | 0 | 0 |
| For ordnance sea service on board such ships          | - - - | 27,500  | 0 | 0 |

June 11.

That a further additional number of 40,000 men be employed for the sea service, for seven Lunar months, commencing 12th June, 1803, including 8000 Royal marines.

|                        |       |         |   |   |
|------------------------|-------|---------|---|---|
| For wages for ditto    | - - - | 518,000 | 0 | 0 |
| For victuals for ditto | - - - | 532,000 | 0 | 0 |

For

|                                                       | £.           | s. | d. |
|-------------------------------------------------------|--------------|----|----|
| For wear and tear of ships in which they are to serve | 810,000      | 0  | 0  |
| For ordnance sea service on board such ships          | 70,000       | 0  | 0  |
| For the further hire of transports for the year 1803  | 100,000      | 0  | 0  |
| For the further charge of prisoners of war in health  | 65,000       | 0  | 0  |
| Ditto.....of sick prisoners of war                    | 20,000       | 0  | 0  |
|                                                       | <hr/>        |    |    |
|                                                       | £.10,211,378 | 13 | 1  |

## ARMY.

December 9, 1802.

That a number of land forces, not exceeding 66,574 effective men, be employed in the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland from 25th December, 1802, to 24th December, 1803.

|                                                                                                                                                             |           |    |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|----|----|
| For guards, garrisons, and other land forces, in Great Britain and Ireland                                                                                  | 2,322,700 | 0  | 3  |
| For forces in the plantations; including Gibraltar, in the Mediterranean, at Ceylon, and New South Wales                                                    | 1,129,976 | 19 | 4  |
| For five troops of dragoons, and seventeen companies of foot, stationed in Great Britain for recruiting regiments serving in East India                     | 28,632    | 17 | 8  |
| For contingencies and allowances for the land forces in Great Britain and Ireland                                                                           | 173,341   | 7  | 0  |
| For general and staff officers, and officers of hospitals in Great Britain and Ireland                                                                      | 58,468    | 0  | 10 |
| For allowance to the principal officers of several public departments in Great Britain and Ireland                                                          | 127,512   | 19 | 9  |
| For the increased rates of subsistence to be paid to inn-keepers and others on quartering soldiers, and allowances to land forces for small beer in Ireland | 200,645   | 1  | 3  |
| Upon account of reduced officers of land forces and marines                                                                                                 | 358,152   | 10 | 11 |
| For half pay and allowances to the reduced officers of his majesty's British American forces                                                                | 52,000    | 0  | 0  |
| On account of officers late in the service of the states-general                                                                                            | 1,000     | 0  | 0  |
| For pensions to widows of officers of the land forces in Great Britain and Ireland                                                                          | 26,883    | 16 | 0  |
| For the barrack department in Great Britain and Ireland                                                                                                     | 513,440   | 7  | 10 |
| For foreign corps                                                                                                                                           | 159,672   | 1  | 11 |
| For medicines, bedding, and hospital contingencies, for the forces in Ireland, and for the royal military infirmary in Dublin                               | 18,461    | 10 | 10 |

March

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

623

March 3, 1803.

£. s. d.

|                                                                                                             |   |   |   |   |           |   |   |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|---|---|
| For defraying the extraordinary expences of the army<br>from 25th December, 1801, to 24th December,<br>1802 | - | - | - | - | 1,032,151 | 4 | 8 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|---|---|

June 7.

|                                                                                                                                                                                         |   |   |   |   |         |    |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---------|----|----|
| For defraying the charge of full pay to supernumerary<br>officers, from 25th December, 1802, to 24th De-<br>cember, 1803                                                                | - | - | - | - | 29,337  | 0  | 0  |
| For defraying the charge of the in and out pensioners<br>of Chelsea and Kilmainham hospitals                                                                                            | - | - | - | - | 266,004 | 14 | 1  |
| Ditto....of the royal military college, for 1803                                                                                                                                        | - | - | - | - | 8,110   | 2  | 11 |
| For defraying the expences expected to be incurred on<br>account of the royal military asylum                                                                                           | - | - | - | - | 31,000  | 0  | 0  |
| For defraying the charge of one regiment of light dra-<br>goons, and one West India regiment, and of an<br>augmentation to the dragoon, and foot guards in<br>Great Britain and Ireland | - | - | - | - | 218,270 | 11 | 1  |
| For defraying the charge of additional general and ge-<br>neral staff officers in Great Britain and Ireland for<br>1803                                                                 | - | - | - | - | 31,000  | 0  | 0  |
| Ditto....of effective captains, from 25th May to 24th<br>December, 1803                                                                                                                 | - | - | - | - | 35,751  | 17 | 10 |
| For defraying the further charge of the barrack de-<br>partment for 1803                                                                                                                | - | - | - | - | 58,333  | 0  | 0  |

June.11.

|                                                                |   |   |   |   |        |   |   |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|--------|---|---|
| For the further charge of the barrack department in<br>Ireland | - | - | - | - | 54,907 | 7 | 9 |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|--------|---|---|

June 18.

|                                                                                      |   |   |   |   |           |   |   |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|---|---|
| Towards defraying the extraordinary service of the<br>army in Great Britain for 1803 | - | - | - | - | 1,400,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Ditto in Ireland                                                                     | - | - | - | - | 600,000   | 0 | 0 |

£.8,935,753 12 3.

## MILITIA AND FENCIBLE CORPS.

December 9, 1802. .

|                                                                                                                                      |   |   |   |   |        |   |   |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|--------|---|---|
| For the volunteer corps of cavalry and infantry in<br>Great Britain and Ireland, from 25th December,<br>1802, to 24th December, 1803 | - | - | - | - | 92,169 | 4 | 3 |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|--------|---|---|

April 7, 1803.

|                                                                                             |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|--|--|--|
| Making provision for defraying the charge of the pay<br>of the militia of Ireland for 1803. | - | - | - | - |  |  |  |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|--|--|--|

Ditto



£. s. d.

Ditto....of allowances to certain subaltern officers of the militia of Ireland during peace.

Ditto....for the pay and clothing of the militia of Great Britain.

## June 2.

For making allowances to adjutants and serjeants of the militia disembodied, for 1803.

Ditto....of allowances to subaltern officers of the militia in time of peace.

## June 7.

For defraying the charge of the embodied militia of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the royal corps of miners for several periods in 1803

1,747,570 0 8

For defraying the charge of contingencies for the embodied militia of Great Britain and Ireland for 1803

38,345 12 7

Ditto....of cloathing for the embodied militia of Great Britain, and royal corps of miners

143,891 5 0

Ditto....of subsistence and allowance for small beer for the embodied militia of Great Britain

145,000 0 0

Ditto....of the supplementary militia of ditto

416,000 0 0

For defraying the further charge of volunteer corps

300,000 0 0

## June 11.

Making provision for defraying the charge of the cloathing of the militia of Ireland for 1803.

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 £. 2,889,976 2 11
 

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## ORDNANCE.

## December 9, 1802.

For ordnance land service in Great Britain, for 1803

637,947 12 7

Ditto....in Ireland

150,000 0 0

## June 7, 1803.

For defraying the further charge of ordnance land service in Great Britain

282,065 10 11

For the payment of outstanding claims on the late board of ordnance in Ireland

38,900 11 0

For defraying the further charge of ordnance in Ireland

20,000 0 0

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 £. 1,128,913 14 6
 

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## MISCELLANEOUS

## MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

December 14, 1802.

|                                                                                                                         |   |   |   |         |    |   |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---------|----|---|
| To make good the like sum paid for bounties on corn, &c. to 10th October 1802                                           | - | - | - | 524,573 | 19 | 7 |
| For defraying the probable amount of bills drawn, or to be drawn, from New South Wales, in 1803                         | - | - | - | 25,000  | 0  | 0 |
| Ditto....the expence of confining and maintaining convicts at home                                                      | - | - | - | 40,847  | 9  | 0 |
| For relief of the suffering clergy and laity of France, Toulonese, and Corsican emigrants, &c.                          | - | - | - | 191,584 | 17 | 6 |
| To make good money issued for making enquiries respecting the state of the collieries                                   | - | - | - | 219     | 7  | 0 |
| To make good money issued to the secretary to the commissioners for ascertaining boundaries of New Forest               | - | - | - | 300     | 0  | 0 |
| Ditto....to Mr. Baldwyn for his services in Egypt                                                                       | - | - | - | 1,086   | 1  | 6 |
| Ditto....to Mr. Palmer, commissary at New South Wales, for half freight of a vessel                                     | - | - | - | 324     | 10 | 0 |
| Ditto....for making indexes to the journals of the house of lords                                                       | - | - | - | 1,659   | 18 | 0 |
| Ditto....to the chairman of the committees of the house of peers                                                        | - | - | - | 2,701   | 9  | 0 |
| Ditto....for expences at the parliament office                                                                          | - | - | - | 360     | 18 | 2 |
| Ditto....for preparing a model of a bridge, &c. by direction of the committee for the improvement of the port of London | - | - | - | 169     | 7  | 6 |
| Ditto....to pay persons employed in preparing abstracts of population                                                   | - | - | - | 500     | 0  | 0 |
| Ditto....to discharge expences in making abstracts of the cultivation of England and Wales                              | - | - | - | 146     | 1  | 0 |
| Ditto....in surveying the straits of Menai                                                                              | - | - | - | 814     | 8  | 6 |
| Ditto....for additional allowance to the clerks in the office for auditing the public accounts                          | - | - | - | 7,134   | 17 | 4 |
| Ditto....to discharge fees on passing accounts through the offices of the Treasury and Exchequer                        | - | - | - | 3,000   | 0  | 0 |
| Ditto....to the secretary to the American commissioners, for expences of the commission                                 | - | - | - | 1,060   | 8  | 6 |

December 16.

|                                |   |   |   |        |   |   |
|--------------------------------|---|---|---|--------|---|---|
| Ditto....pursuant to addresses | - | - | - | 15,160 | 0 | 6 |
|--------------------------------|---|---|---|--------|---|---|

February 8, 1803,

|                                                                                                                                      |   |   |   |       |   |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|-------|---|----|
| To be paid to the board of first fruits in Ireland, for building and re-building churches, from 5th January 1803 to 5th January 1804 | - | - | - | 4,615 | 7 | 8½ |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|-------|---|----|

|                                                                                                                                       | £.     | s. | d.               |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|----|------------------|
| For defraying the probable expence of civil buildings in Ireland                                                                      | 23,076 | 18 | 6                |
| Ditto....the expence of printing and binding 250 copies of acts of the third session of the united parliament                         | 830    | 15 | 5                |
| Ditto....of proclamations and advertisements in the Dublin gazette, &c.                                                               | 6,485  | 19 | 11               |
| Ditto....of printing, stationary, and other disbursements for the public offices in Ireland                                           | 18,840 | 0  | 0                |
| For defraying the probable charges of Treasury incidents                                                                              | 1,846  | 3  | 1                |
| Ditto....of apprehending public offenders in Ireland                                                                                  | 2,307  | 13 | 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Ditto....of criminal prosecutions in Ireland                                                                                          | 18,461 | 10 | 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  |
| To be paid to the trustees of the linen and hempen manufacturers in Ireland                                                           | 19,938 | 9  | 3                |
| For defraying the expence of pratique in the port of Dublin                                                                           | 966    | 18 | 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  |
| To be paid to the accountant general for preparing and stating the public accounts of Ireland                                         | 313    | 16 | 11               |
| Ditto....to the deputy accountant general                                                                                             | 221    | 10 | 9                |
| Ditto....to the paymaster of corn bounties in Ireland                                                                                 | 738    | 9  | 3                |
| Ditto....to the examiner....Ditto                                                                                                     | 184    | 12 | 4                |
| Ditto....to the inspector general of imports and exports of Ireland                                                                   | 230    | 15 | 5                |
| Ditto....to the first clerk in the office of ditto                                                                                    | 184    | 12 | 4                |
| Ditto....to the examiner of excise in Ireland                                                                                         | 184    | 12 | 4                |
| Ditto....to the assistant ditto                                                                                                       | 138    | 9  | 3                |
| Ditto....to the clerk in the office of auditor of the exchequer                                                                       | 184    | 12 | 4                |
| To be applied in working a gold mine in the county of Wicklow                                                                         | 1,647  | 1  | 4                |
| For defraying the expence of printing an index to the acts of the two last sessions of the parliament of Ireland                      | 288    | 9  | 3                |
| Ditto....of building law offices in Ireland                                                                                           | 3,692  | 6  | 2                |
| For defraying the charge of the incorporated society in Dublin for promoting English protestant schools in Ireland                    | 19,442 | 11 | 11               |
| Ditto....of the office of secretary to the commissioners of charitable donations                                                      | 369    | 4  | 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  |
| For defraying the charge of the society for discountenancing vice, and promoting the knowledge and practice of the christian religion | 623    | 1  | 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  |
| Ditto....of the female orphan house near Dublin, for deserted female children                                                         | 445    | 5  | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  |



|                                                                                                                    | £.     | s. | d.              |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|----|-----------------|
| For defraying the charge of fitting up and supporting a penitentiary in Dublin for young criminals                 | 2,030  | 15 | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Ditto....of the foundling hospital in Dublin                                                                       | 16,153 | 16 | 11              |
| Ditto....of the Hibernian marine society                                                                           | 1,886  | 10 | 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Ditto....of the Hibernian school for soldiers children                                                             | 4,153  | 16 | 11              |
| Ditto of supporting the Westmorland lock hospital in Dublin                                                        | 5,903  | 1  | 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Ditto....of the fever hospital in Dublin                                                                           | 475    | 16 | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Ditto of the house of industry in Dublin                                                                           | 17,321 | 15 | 6               |
| Ditto....of the Roman catholic seminary at Maynooth                                                                | 7,384  | 12 | 4               |
| To be paid to the commissioners for making wide and convenient streets in Dublin                                   | 4,153  | 16 | 11              |
| Ditto....to the corporation for paving, &c. Dublin                                                                 | 9,230  | 15 | 5               |
| Ditto....to the Dublin society for promoting husbandry and other useful arts                                       | 5,076  | 18 | 6               |
| To be applied towards completing additional buildings at the repository of the Dublin society, and botanic gardens | 4,153  | 16 | 11              |
| For defraying the expences of the farming society of Ireland                                                       | 1,846  | 3  | 1               |

## March 7.

|                                                                    |         |   |   |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|---|---|
| For paying off treasury bills that will become due 25th March 1803 | 356,538 | 9 | 3 |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|---|---|

## March 24.

|                                                                       |        |    |   |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|----|---|
| For expences of the commission for the reduction of the national debt | 1,910  | 10 | 0 |
| To officers of the exchequer for extra trouble                        | 500    | 0  | 0 |
| For discount on loan for 1802                                         | 22,564 | 13 | 6 |
| To the Bank for receiving contributions to ditto                      | 22,538 | 2  | 3 |
| For business relative to American claims                              | 371    | 17 | 0 |
| For incidental expences attending the lotteries for 1802              | 3,600  | 0  | 0 |

## April 7.

|                                                                                                                       |        |    |                 |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|----|-----------------|
| For compensation to Mr. Martin, junior, for his losses as an American loyalist                                        | 12,626 | 14 | 0               |
| For defraying the charge of the society for promoting the knowledge and practice of the Christian religion in Ireland | 923    | 1  | 6               |
| Ditto....of the female orphan house, near Dublin                                                                      | 903    | 6  | 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Ditto....of the Dublin lying-in hospital                                                                              | 2,492  | 6  | 2               |

|                                                                                                                                    | June 16.  | £.      | s. | d.  |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|---------|----|-----|
| For defraying the expence of roads and bridges in the Highlands of Scotland                                                        | - - - - - | 20,000  | 0  | 0   |
|                                                                                                                                    | June 18.  |         |    |     |
| For defraying expences incurred in repairs of the Fleet prison                                                                     | - - - - - | 1,760   | 19 | 11½ |
| Ditto....in printing the 56th volume of the journals of the house of commons and indexes                                           | - - - - - | 4,500   | 13 | 2½  |
| Ditto....in fitting up a house in Abingdon street for depositing the journals, and for the residence of the clerk of the journals  | - - - - - | 1,281   | 4  | 0½  |
| To complete the purchase of certain buildings for the accommodation of the two houses of parliament.                               | - - - - - | 14,369  | 4  | 0   |
| For defraying the expence of works done at the auditor's office, &c. Somerset-place                                                | - - - - - | 8,771   | 7  | 8½  |
| Ditto....of works done at the two houses of parliament, and at the house of the speaker of the house of commons, to 31st May, 1803 | - - - - - | 21,434  | 0  | 0   |
| For foreign and other secret services for 1803                                                                                     | - - - - - | 150,000 | 0  | 0   |
| For defraying expences under the commission pursuant to the sixth and seventh articles of the American treaty                      | - - - - - | 340,000 | 0  | 0   |
| Ditto....the charge of the works and repairs of the military roads in North-Britain                                                | - - - - - | 5,000   | 0  | 0   |
| Ditto....the extraordinary expences incurred for prosecutions, &c. relating to the coin in 1802                                    | - - - - - | 2,661   | 17 | 8   |
| Ditto....of the superintendence of aliens                                                                                          | - - - - - | 7,620   | 0  | 0   |
| To make good money issued for additional allowances to clerks in the office for auditing the public accounts                       | - - - - - | 5,100   | 18 | 3   |
| Ditto....to pay a bill of exchange for the repairs of Port Patrick                                                                 | - - - - - | 558     | 17 | 5   |
| Ditto....to Mr. Clementson for expences incurred by him in removing from his official house                                        | - - - - - | 177     | 6  | 0   |
| To make good money issued to lieutenant Grant for certain losses sustained by him                                                  | - - - - - | 98      | 13 | 3   |
| Ditto....for sundry articles provided for the use of the convicts embarked on board the Glatton for New South Wales                | - - - - - | 291     | 8  | 3   |
| Ditto....to defray the passage to New South Wales of the lieutenant governor and others                                            | - - - - - | 634     | 13 | 0   |
| Ditto....to repay the expences incurred by sir George Yonge in consequence of orders directing his immediate return to England     | - - - - - | 1,060   | 7  | 6   |
| Ditto....for defraying the expences of surveys, reports, and designs for bridges over the Straits of Menai                         | - - - - - | 657     | 11 | 4   |

Ditto

|                                                                                                                             |           |    |                  |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|----|------------------|
| Ditto....for expences incurred in a journey to Ban-                                                                         | £.        | s. | d.               |
| gor, &c. respecting the Straits of Menai -                                                                                  | 113       | 13 | 9                |
| Ditto....for publishing the average price of sugar -                                                                        | 429       | 14 | 0                |
| Ditto....to discharge fees on passing public accounts                                                                       | 3,000     | 0  | 0                |
| Ditto....for expences attending the surveys of<br>the intended military roads in Sutherland and<br>Caithness - - - - -      | 229       | 18 | 6                |
| Plantations. { For civil establishment of Upper Canada in 1803                                                              | 8,900     | 0  | 0                |
| Ditto....of Nova Scotia - - - - -                                                                                           | 7,665     | 0  | 0.               |
| Ditto....of New Brunswick - - - - -                                                                                         | 4,650     | 0  | 0                |
| Ditto....of Prince Edward's island - - - - -                                                                                | 2,214     | 4  | 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Ditto....of Cape Breton - - - - -                                                                                           | 1,840     | 0  | 0                |
| Ditto....of Newfoundland - - - - -                                                                                          | 1,515     | 0  | 0                |
| Ditto....of the Bahama islands - - - - -                                                                                    | 4,100     | 0  | 0                |
| Ditto....of the Bermudas, or Somers islands                                                                                 | 580       | 0  | 0                |
| Ditto....of the island of Dominica - - - - -                                                                                | 600       | 0  | 0                |
| Ditto....of New South Wales - - - - -                                                                                       | 9,124     | 17 | 6                |
| To the East India Company on account of expences<br>incurred by them in the public service during the<br>late war - - - - - | 1,000,000 | 0  | 0                |
| Towards defraying the civil contingent expences for<br>the service of Ireland in 1803 - - - - -                             | 50,000    | 0  | 0                |

## June 30.

|                                                                                       |        |   |   |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|---|---|
| Towards defraying the expence of making an inland<br>navigation in Scotland - - - - - | 20,000 | 0 | 0 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|---|---|

## July 2.

|                                                                                                                  |         |    |                 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|----|-----------------|
| For repairing, maintaining, and supporting the British<br>forts and settlements on the coast of Africa - - - - - | 16,000  | 0  | 0               |
| To make good the like sum issued pursuant to ad-<br>dresses - - - - -                                            | 12,314  | 16 | 0               |
| To make good the deficiency of last year's grants                                                                | 171,431 | 11 | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ |

## July 26.

|                                                                                                                                        |           |   |   |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|---|---|
| To enable his majesty to take such measures as the<br>exigency of affairs may require - - - - -                                        | 2,000,000 | 0 | 0 |
| To be applied for the benefit of the house of Orange                                                                                   | 60,000    | 0 | 0 |
| For granting a Yearly sum of £16,000 out of the<br>consolidated fund of Great-Britain towards the sup-<br>port of the house of Orange. |           |   |   |

## July 30.

|                                                                                                                                         |       |    |       |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|----|-------|
| To make good the like sum issued to Mr. Martin for<br>expences incurred in an enquiry into the mendicity<br>of the metropolis - - - - - | 639   | 17 | 6     |
| Ditto....to Mr. Cracklow, for loss sustained by<br>erecting temporary buildings at the Marshalsea -                                     | 534   | 15 | 0     |
|                                                                                                                                         | S s 3 |    | Ditto |



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|                                                      |        |    |    |
|------------------------------------------------------|--------|----|----|
| Ditto....to Mr. Chinnery, for articles supplied con- | £.     | s. | d. |
| victs at Portsmouth and New South Wales -            | 822    | 9  | 1  |
| Ditto....to pay a bill drawn by Mr. Broughton at     |        |    |    |
| Norfolk island - - - - -                             | 471    | 5  | 0  |
| For defraying the expence of printing journals, &c.  |        |    |    |
| of the house of commons - - - - -                    | 15,000 | 0  | 0  |
| For discharging arrears of expences of the seven     |        |    |    |
| police offices for the year ending 5th January,      |        |    |    |
| 1802 - - - - -                                       | 960    | 8  | 6  |
| For defraying expences incurred by Mr. Soane, in     |        |    |    |
| making designs, &c. for alterations proposed in the  |        |    |    |
| house of lords in 1794 and 1795 - - - - -            | 1,000  | 0  | 0  |
| For repaying the deposit money made on forty tickets |        |    |    |
| of the lottery of 1801, which were forfeited -       | 204    | 0  | 0  |
| To reimburse Dr. Jenner the amount of fees paid      |        |    |    |
| by him on the receipt of the sum granted by act of   |        |    |    |
| last session - - - - -                               | 725    | 10 | 6  |
| For the board of agriculture - - - - -               | 3,000  | 0  | 0  |
| For the British museum - - - - -                     | 3,000  | 0  | 0  |
| For the veterinary college - - - - -                 | 1,500  | 0  | 0  |

August 2.

|                                                      |       |   |   |
|------------------------------------------------------|-------|---|---|
| To make compensation to Mr. Dubois for his losses as |       |   |   |
| an American loyalist - - - - -                       | 5,320 | 0 | 0 |

£ 5,440,441 13 9½

## EXCHEQUER BILLS.

December 2, 1802.

|                                                    |           |    |    |
|----------------------------------------------------|-----------|----|----|
| For paying off exchequer bills made out per act 41 |           |    |    |
| Geo. III. - - - - -                                | 2,781,532 | 15 | 2½ |

December 14.

|                                                         |           |   |   |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-----------|---|---|
| For paying off exchequer bills made out per act of last |           |   |   |
| session for raising the sum of £1,500,000 -             | 1,500,000 | 0 | 0 |

March 24, 1803.

|                                                     |         |   |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------|---------|---|----|
| For paying interest on exchequer bills made out per |         |   |    |
| acts 39 and 40, and 41 and 42 Geo. III. -           | 368,923 | 8 | 0½ |

July 2.

|                                                        |           |   |   |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-----------|---|---|
| For paying off exchequer bills made out by act of last |           |   |   |
| session - - - - -                                      | 5,000,000 | 0 | 0 |

£ 10,150,456 3 3

RECAPITU-

## RECAPITULATION.

|                                       | £.           | s. | d. |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|----|----|
| Navy                                  | 10,211,378   | 13 | 1  |
| Army                                  | 8,935,753    | 12 | 3  |
| Militia, &c.                          | 2,889,976    | 2  | 11 |
| Ordnance                              | 1,128,913    | 14 | 6  |
| Miscellaneous services                | 5,440,441    | 13 | 9½ |
| National debt                         | 200,000      | 0  | 0  |
| Exchequer bills                       | 10,150,456   | 3  | 3  |
| <hr/>                                 |              |    |    |
| Total of supply                       | 38,956,919   | 19 | 9½ |
| Excess of ways and means for the year | 2,406,272    | 16 | 3½ |
| <hr/>                                 |              |    |    |
|                                       | £ 41,363,192 | 16 | 1  |
| <hr/>                                 |              |    |    |

S s 4

WAYS

## WAYS and MEANS for raising the SUPPLY.

## GRANTS.

December 6, 1802.

|                                                                                      |           |    |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|----|----|
| For continuing the duties on malt, mum, cyder, and perry                             | £         | s. | d. |
| -                                                                                    | 750,000   | 0  | 0  |
| For raising four shillings in the pound upon pensions, offices, and personal estates | 2,000,000 | 0  | 0  |
| For continuing certain duties on sugar, malt, tobacco, and snuff                     |           |    |    |
| For raising £.5,000,000 by loans or exchequer bills                                  | 5,000,000 | 0  | 0  |

December 13.

|                                                                                                     |           |   |   |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|---|---|
| For applying £.4,000,000 out of the monies that shall arise of the surplus of the consolidated fund | 4,000,000 | 0 | 0 |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|---|---|

March 28, 1803

|                                                     |           |   |   |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-----------|---|---|
| For raising £.4,000,000 by loans or exchequer bills | 4,000,000 | 0 | 0 |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-----------|---|---|

June 2.

That the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia of Great Britain be defrayed out of the land tax.

June 14.

|                                                                                                                                                                                  |            |   |   |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|---|---|
| For raising the sum of £.12,000,000 by annuities, whereof the charges of £.10,000,000 are to be defrayed on the part of Great Britain, and of £.2,000,000 on the part of Ireland | 12,000,000 | 0 | 0 |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|---|---|

June 16.

That the allowances to adjutants, &c. of the militia, disembodied in pursuance of act 39 and 40 Geo. III. be defrayed out of the land tax.

That the allowances to certain subaltern officers of the militia in time of peace be defrayed out of the land tax.

That the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia of Ireland be defrayed out of the consolidated fund of Ireland.

That the allowances to certain subaltern officers of the militia of Ireland be defrayed out of the consolidated fund of Ireland.

June 27.

|                                                                                                                                                                               |           |   |      |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|---|------|
| For raising £.1,052,333 6s. 8d. by three lotteries, whereof £.701,555. 11s. 1d. shall be for the service of Great Britain, and £.350,777. 15s. 7d. for the service of Ireland | 1,052,333 | 6 | 8    |
|                                                                                                                                                                               |           |   | July |



July 2.

|                                                                                                   |           |    |   |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|----|---|
| For raising £.5,000,000 by loans or exchequer bills -                                             | 5,000,000 | 0  | 0 |
| For applying £.612. 16s. 3d. of the monies reserved for payment of the judges' salaries -         | 612       | 16 | 3 |
| For applying £.37,169. 14s. 8d. of the monies reserved for payment of bounties on hemp and flax - | 37,169    | 14 | 8 |

July 5.

|                                                                                 |         |    |   |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|----|---|
| For raising £.923,076. 18s. 6d. by treasury bills, for the service of Ireland - | 923,076 | 18 | 6 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|----|---|

July 26.

|                                                                                                                                        |           |   |   |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|---|---|
| For raising £.1,500,000 by loans or exchequer bills -                                                                                  | 1,500,000 | 0 | 0 |
| For raising £.2,000,000 by loans or exchequer bills, to be charged on the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament - | 2,000,000 | 0 | 0 |
| For applying £.2,500,000 out of the surplus of the consolidated fund -                                                                 | 2,500,000 | 0 | 0 |

July 30.

|                                                                                                                     |         |   |   |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|---|---|
| For applying £.600,000. (Irish currency) of the monies arising of the surplus of the consolidated fund of Ireland - | 600,000 | 0 | 0 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|---|---|

Total ways and means - £.41,363,192 16 1

### *Taxes imposed in the Year 1803.*

March 7, 1803.

For continuing the duty of six shillings and sixpence per barrel (Irish currency) on malt made in Ireland.

June 14.

For granting certain duties upon the annual value of property in land, &c. and on the annual amount of the profits and gains in public offices, or by persons exercising professions, trades, &c.

June 14.

For granting additional duties of customs on goods, wares, and merchandize, imported into Great Britain, not being imported by the East-India company.

For allowing an additional drawback on the exportation of sugar.

For allowing an additional bounty on the exportation of refined sugar.

For granting additional duties of customs on certain goods, wares, and merchandize imported by the East-India company.

— Ditto on the exportation of certain goods, wares, and merchandize, ditto.

For

For granting additional duties of customs on certain goods, wares, and merchandize, carried coastwise.

— Ditto - - - on the tonnage of ships and vessels entering inwards or outwards (except in ballast)

June 14.

For granting additional duties and drawbacks of excise on certain goods, wares, and merchandize.

For repealing the duties on stamps, and granting other duties in lieu thereof.

June 21.

For granting additional duties of customs on certain goods, wares, and merchandize, and additional duties upon wine, spirits, and malt, in Ireland.

June 23.

For granting certain other duties on wine and countervailing duties upon spirits and beer in Ireland.

July 2.

For granting a countervailing duty on malt made in Great Britain, and imported from thence into Ireland.

For repealing certain duties on silk and refined sugar, being the manufacture of Great Britain, and imported from thence into Ireland.

For granting countervailing duties on certain articles of the manufacture of Great Britain imported into Ireland.

*The following Bills received the Royal Assent in the Course of the Second Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, commencing on the 16th Day of November, 1802, and ending on the 12th Day of August, 1803.*

Dec. 17, 1802.

An act for continuing and granting to his majesty certain duties upon malt, mum, cyder and perry, for the service of the year 1803.

For continuing and granting to his majesty a duty on pensions, offices, and personal estates, in En-

gland, Wales, and Berwick upon Tweed; and certain duties on sugar, malt, tobacco, and snuff, for the service of the year 1803.

For raising the sum of 5,000,000*l.* by loans or exchequer bills, on the credit of such aids or supplies as have been, or shall be granted by parliament, for the service of Great Britain for the year 1803.

For further suspending, until the expiration of six weeks after the commencement of the next session of parliament, the operation of two acts, made in the 15th and 17th years of the reign of his present majesty, for restraining the negotia-  
tion

tiation of promissory notes and bills of exchange, under a limited sum, within that part of Great Britain called England.

To indemnify such persons as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments; and to indemnify justices of the peace and others, who have omitted to register or deliver in the qualifications within the time directed by law; and for extending the time limited for those purposes until the 25th Dec. 1803; to indemnify members and officers in cities, corporations, and borough towns, whose admissions have been omitted to be stamped according to law, or, having been stamped, have been lost or mislaid, and for allowing them until the 25th December, 1803, to provide admissions duly stamped; and to permit such persons as have omitted to make and file affidavits of the execution of indentures of clerks to attornies and solicitors to make and file the same on or before the first day of Michaelmas, 1803.

For the more speedy and effectual enrolment of the militia of Ireland, and for filling up vacancies therein.

#### *Dec. 29.*

For discontinuing certain drawbacks and bounties on the exportation of sugar from Great Britain, and for allowing other drawbacks and bounties in lieu thereof, until the 15th Jan. 1804.

For discontinuing certain drawbacks and bounties on the exportation of sugar from Ireland, and for allowing, until the 15th Jan. 1804, other drawbacks and bounties in lieu thereof.

To amend an act made in the 37th year of the reign of his pre-

sent majesty, intituled, "An act to provide for the more speedy payment of all navy, victualling, and transport bills, that shall be issued in future."

For appointing commissioners to inquire into any irregularities, frauds or abuses, which are, or have been, practised by persons employed in the several naval departments therein mentioned, and in the business of prize agency, and to report such observations as shall occur to them; for preventing such irregularities, frauds, and abuses; and for the better conducting and managing the business of the said departments, and of prize agency in future.

To amend so much of an act, made in the 42d year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act for amending the laws relating to the militia in England, and for augmenting the militia," as relates to the exemption of licensed teachers of any separate congregation from serving in the militia.

To rectify a mistake made in an act the 42d year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act for defraying the charge of the pay of the militia of Ireland, until the 25th March, 1803; and for holding courts martial on serjeant-majors, serjeants, corporals, and drummers, for offences committed during the time such militia shall not be embodied;" relative to the pay of serjeants, corporals and drummers.

For continuing until the 1st July, 1803, an act made in the 42d year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act for regulating, until the 15th Feb. 1803, the prices at which grain, meal, and flour, may be exported from Great Britain to Ireland, and from Ire-

land



land to Great Britain;" and for permitting, from and after the passing thereof, until the 1st of July, 1803, the exportation of seed-corn from Great Britain to Ireland, and the importation of malt into Great Britain from Ireland.

To continue until the 1st Jan. 1804, so much of an act made in the 41st year of the reign of his present majesty, as relates to the prohibiting the exportation from Ireland of corn or potatoes, or other provisions, and for permitting the importation into Ireland, of corn, fish, and provisions, without payment of duty.

To continue until the 1st Jan. 1804, several laws relating to the prohibiting the exportation, and permitting the importation of corn; and for allowing the importation of other articles of provision, without payment of duty; to the relief of captors of prizes, with respect to the bringing and landing certain prize goods in this kingdom; and to the regulating the trade and commerce to and from the isle of Malta.

To facilitate and render more easy the transportation of offenders.

For reviving and continuing for five years from the passing thereof, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament, certain acts passed in the parliament of Ireland, for regulating the baking trade in the city and county of Dublin; and for indemnifying all persons who have acted in pursuance of any of the provisions of the said acts, or any of them.

*Feb. 28, 1803.*

To amend and continue until the expiration of six weeks after the commencement of the next session

of parliament, the restrictions contained in several acts of the 37th and 38th years of the reign of his present majesty, on payments of cash by the Bank.

*March 24.*

For enabling his majesty to settle an annuity on his royal highness the prince of Wales, to continue until the 5th July, 1806, and for repealing so much of an act, made in the 35th year of the reign of his present majesty, as directs the annual payment of 13,000*l.* out of the revenue of the duchy of Cornwall, to the commissioners appointed by the said act.

For granting to his majesty several duties therein mentioned, to be levied by the commissioners for managing the stamp duty in Ireland.

For granting to his majesty certain duties upon certificates with respect to killing of game in Ireland.

For granting to his majesty certain duties on licences to persons selling hats, and on hats sold by retail in Ireland.

For continuing until the 25th March, 1804, several acts for granting and continuing duties to his majesty in Ireland.

For punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

For the regulation of his majesty's royal marine forces while on shore.

To authorize the training and exercising the militia of Great Britain, for 28 days.

For better securing the freedom of elections of members to serve in parliament for any place in Ireland, by disabling certain officers employed in the collection or management of his majesty's revenues

in

in Ireland from giving their votes at such elections.

*April 7.*

To repeal certain parts of an act, passed in the present session of parliament, intituled, "An act for the more speedy and effectual enrolment of the militia of Ireland, and for filling vacancies therein," and for making other provisions in lieu thereof.

For allowing vessels employed in the Greenland whale fishery to complete their full number of men at certain ports, for the present season.

To intitle Roman catholics taking and subscribing the declaration and oath contained in the act of the 31st year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act to relieve, upon condition, and under restrictions, the persons therein described from certain penalties and disabilities to which papists, or persons professing the popish religion, are by law subject," to the benefits given by an act of the 18th year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act for relieving his majesty's subjects professing the popish religion from certain penalties and disabilities imposed on them by an act, made the 11th and 12th years of the reign of king William the Third, intituled, an act for the further preventing of the growth of popery."

To continue until the 8th July, 1803, an act made in the 42d year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act to continue until the 8th April, 1803, an act passed in the last session of parliament for staying proceedings in actions, under the statute of king Henry VIII. for abridging spiritual persons from

having pluralities of livings, and of taking of farms; and also to stay proceedings in actions, under an act of the 13th year of queen Elizabeth, touching leases of benefices, and other ecclesiastical livings with cure."

For establishing certain regulations in the office of surveyor-general of his majesty's woods, forests, parks, and chases.

For vesting certain lands and hereditaments in trustees, for further promoting the service of his majesty's ordnance at Woolwich.

For raising the sum of four millions by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of the year 1803.

To enable his majesty to grant a certain annuity to rear-admiral sir James Saumarez, bart. and knight of the most hon. order of the Bath, in consideration of the eminent services which he has performed on various occasions.

To provide, until the 25th March, 1804, for the more speedy and effectual completion of the establishment of officers in the militia of Great Britain, and for facilitating the filling up vacancies therein.

For appointing commissioners for distributing the money stipulated to be paid by the United States of America, under the convention made between his majesty and the said United States, among the persons having claims to compensation out of such money.

*May 17.*

To continue, until the 29th Sept. 1804, several acts of parliament, for the better collection and security of his majesty's revenues in Ireland, and for preventing frauds therein.

To amend and continue, until three months after any restriction imposed



by an act of the present session of parliament on the Bank of England from issuing cash in payments shall cease, an act made in the parliament of Ireland, in the 37th year of the reign of his present majesty, for confirming and continuing the restrictions on payments in cash by the Bank of Ireland.

To continue, until the 25th March, 1804, so much of an act, made in the 41st year of the reign of his present majesty, relating to certain duties on sugar and coffee exported, for permitting British plantation sugar to be warehoused, and for regulating and allowing drawbacks on sugar exported, as relates to repealing the duties on sugar and coffee exported, and allowing British plantation sugar to be warehoused.

For enlarging the period for the payment of part of certain sums of money, advanced by way of loan, to several persons connected with, and trading to, the islands of Grenada, and St. Vincent.

For the more effectually preserving the peace, and securing the freedom of election in the town of Nottingham, and county of the said town.

For increasing the rates of subsistence to be paid to innkeepers and others, on quartering soldiers.

May 27.

For consolidating and amending the several laws for providing relief for the families of the militia men of England, when called out into actual service.

To enable the East India company to defray the expenses of certain volunteer corps raised by the said company.

To amend so much of several

acts passed in the 6th and 7th years, and in the 7th and 8th years of the reign of king William III. as relates to the exportation of silver bullion.

For the more effectual prevention of frivolous and vexatious arrests and suits, and to authorize the levying of poundage upon executions in certain cases.

June 11.

To enable his majesty more effectually to provide for the defence and security of the realm during the present war, and for indemnifying persons who may suffer in their property by such measures as may be necessary for that purpose.

To render more effectual an act passed in the 42d year of his present majesty's reign, for consolidating the provisions of several acts passed for the redemption and sale of the land-tax.

For more speedily completing the militia of Great Britain, raised under two acts, passed in the 42d year of the reign of his present majesty, and for amending the said acts.

To render the process of his majesty's courts of king's bench, common pleas, and exchequer, in personal actions, in Ireland, more beneficial; and also to prevent frivolous and vexatious arrests, and to repeal so much of an act, passed in the parliament of Ireland, in the 21st and 22d years of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act for enlarging the time for trials by *nisi prius* in the city and county of Dublin, and for making the process of the court of exchequer more effectual," as relates to compelling the appearance of defendants in personal actions.

For indemnifying all persons who  
have



have been concerned in issuing; or carrying into execution certain orders of council for the prevention of the exportation of gunpowder, naval stores, and saltpetre, and the permission of the exportation of seed corn to Norway.

For making better provision for the parochial schoolmasters, and for making further regulations for the better government of the parish schools in Scotland.

*June 24,*

For raising the sum of twelve millions by way of annuities.

To repeal the duties of customs payable in Gt. Britain, and to grant other duties in lieu thereof.

For remedying certain defects that have occurred in issuing certain exchequer bills.

For transferring to the royal navy such seamen as are now serving in the militia of Gt. Britain.

For the better protection of the trade of the United Kingdom, during the present hostilities with France.

To explain and amend an act, passed in the 39th year of his present majesty's reign, intituled, "An act for regulating the manner in which the united company of merchants of England, trading to the East-Indies, shall hire and take up ships for their regular service;" to continue until the 25th March, 1806.

For regulating the vessels carrying passengers from the United Kingdom to his majesty's plantations and settlements abroad, or to foreign parts, with respect to the number of such passengers.

For further prevention of malicious shooting, and attempting to discharge loaded fire-arms, stabbing,

cutting, wounding, poisoning, and the malicious using of means to procure the miscarriage of women; and also the malicious setting fire to buildings; and also for repealing a certain act made in England, in the 21st year of K. James I. intituled, "An act to prevent the destroying and murdering of bastard children;" and also an act made in Ireland, in the 6th year of the reign of Q. Anne, also intituled, "An act to prevent the destroying and murdering of bastard children," and for making other provisions in lieu thereof.

For the better supply of mariners and seamen to serve in his majesty's ships of war, and on board merchant ships, and other trading ships and vessels, during the present hostilities.

For the relief of soldiers, sailors, and mariners, and of the wives of soldiers, in the cases therein mentioned, so far as relates to England.

For vesting in trustees certain lands and hereditaments at Charlton, in the county of Kent, for further promoting the service of his majesty's ordnance.

For vesting in trustees certain lands and hereditaments at Weedon Beck, in the county of Northampton, for erecting buildings thereon, for the service of his majesty's ordnance.

For remedying certain defects in the laws relative to the building and repairing of county bridges, and other works maintained at the expence of the inhabitants of the counties of England.

*July 4.*

For granting to his majesty, during the present war, and until the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace,

peace, additional duties on the importation and exportation of certain goods, wares, and merchandize, and on the tonnage of ships and vessels in Gt. Britain.

For granting to his majesty the sum of 20,000*l.* to be issued and applied towards making roads and building bridges in the Highlands of Scotland, and for enabling the proprietors of land in Scotland to charge their estates with a proportion of the expences of making, and keeping in repair, roads and bridges in the Highlands of Scotland.

To repeal the duties of excise payable in Gt. Britain, and to grant other duties in lieu thereof.

To amend an act, passed in the 42d year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act to repeal an act, passed in the 25th year of the reign of his present majesty, for granting stamp duties on certain medicines, and for charging other duties in lieu thereof, and for making effectual provision for the better collection of the said duties."

For making allowances, in certain cases, to subaltern officers of the militia of Gt. Britain, while disembodied.

For augmenting the number of field-officers, and other officers of militia, within Gt. Britain.

For further regulating the administration of the oath or affirmation required to be taken by electors of members to serve in parliament, by an act passed in the second year of K. George II. intituled, "An act for the more effectually preventing bribery and corruption in the election of members to serve in parliament."

For making more effectual provision within Ireland for the punish-

ment of offences in wilfully casting away, sinking, burning, or destroying ships and vessels, and for the more convenient trial of accessories in felonies.

For continuing until the 1st July, 1804, an act passed in the 42d year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act for regulating, until the 15th Feb. 1800, the prices at which grain, meal, and flour may be exported from Gt. Britain to Ireland, and from Ireland to Gt. Britain;" and also, an act made in the present session of parliament, for continuing the said act, and for permitting the exportation of seed corn from Gt. Britain to Ireland, and the importation of malt into Gt. Britain from Ireland.

For transferring to the royal navy such seamen as are now serving in the militia of Ireland.

To indemnify persons who have omitted to qualify themselves for offices or employments in Ireland, according to law.

To authorise the sale or mortgage of the estates of persons found lunatic by inquisition, in England or Ireland, respectively, and the granting of leases of the same.

To extend the provisions of two acts, passed in the 39th, and 40th, and in the 41st years of the reign of his present majesty, relating to the use of horse hides in making boots and shoes, and preventing the damages of raw hides and skins, in the flaying thereof, and to alter and amend the same as to the cities of London and Westminster, and borough of Southwark, and liberties thereof, and all places within fifteen miles of the Royal Exchange of the said city of London.

For raising and securing a fund for



for making provision for the widows of the writers to his majesty's signet in Scotland.

*July 6.*

To enable his majesty more effectually to raise and assemble in England, an additional military force, for the better defence and security of the United Kingdom, and for the more vigorous prosecution of the war.

To enable his majesty more effectually to raise and assemble, in Scotland, an additional military force, for the better defence and security of the United Kingdom, and for the more vigorous prosecution of the war.

*July 7.*

To amend the laws relating to spiritual persons holding of farms, and for enforcing the residence of spiritual persons on their benefices in England.

*July 11.*

For granting to his majesty a certain sum of money to be raised by lotteries.

To enable his majesty more effectually to raise and assemble, in Ireland, an additional military force, for the better defence and security of the United Kingdom, and for the more vigorous prosecution of the war.

For defraying, until the 25th March, 1804, the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia of Ireland; for holding courts martial on serjeant majors, serjeants, corporals, and drummers, for offences committed during the time such militia shall not be embodied; and for making allowances, in certain cases, to subaltern officers of the said militia, during peace.

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To continue, during the restriction on payments in cash by the bank of Ireland, and to amend an act, made in the parliament of Ireland, in the 39th year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act to restrain the negotiation of promissory notes and inland bills of exchange, under a limited sum;" and also an act, made in the parliament of Ireland, in the 40th year of his present majesty's reign, to continue and amend the said act.

For providing relief for the families of militia-men in Scotland, when called out into actual service.

For enlarging the limits of the southern whale fishery.

To prevent unlawful combinations of workmen, artificers, journeymen, and labourers, in Ireland, and for other purposes relating thereto.

*July 13.*

For raising the sum of five millions by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of *Gt. Britain*, for the year 1803.

For granting to his majesty certain duties on the importation of goods, wares, and merchandize, into, and on goods, wares, and merchandize, exported from Ireland; and also certain duties of excise on spirits and malt distilled and made in Ireland.

For defraying the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia in *Gt. Britain*, for the year 1803.

To revive, and further continue, until the 25th March, 1804, and amend so much of an act, made in the 39th and 40th years of the reign of his present majesty, as grants certain allowances to adjutants and serjeant-majors of the militia of England, disembodied under an act of the same session of parliament.

T t



..To authorise the advancement of further sums of money out of the consolidated fund, to be applied in the improvement of the port of London by the mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled; and to empower the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury to purchase the legal quays between London Bridge and the Tower of London.

*July 27.*

For raising the sum of one million, Irish currency, by treasury bills, for the service of Ireland, for the year 1803.

To amend and render more effectual an act, passed in the present session of parliament, intituled, "An act to enable his majesty more effectually to provide for the defence and security of the realm during the present war, and for indemnifying persons who may suffer in their property by such measures as may be necessary for that purpose;" and to enable his majesty more effectually and speedily to exercise his ancient and undoubted prerogative in requiring the military service of his liege subjects in case of invasion of the realm.

For consolidating certain of the provisions contained in any act or acts relating to the duties under the management of the commissioners for the affairs of taxes, and for amending the same.

To amend several acts of parliament for the better collection and security of his majesty's revenue of customs and of excise in Ireland, and for preventing frauds therein; and to make further regulations relating thereto.

To amend the acts now in force

for securing the collection of the revenue upon malt, and for regulating the trade of a distiller in Ireland.

To rectify a mistake in an act, made in this present session of parliament, intituled, "An act for enlarging the period for the payment of part of certain sums of money advanced by way of loan to several persons connected with and trading to the islands of Grenada and St. Vincent."

To permit Portugal wines to be landed and warehoused in the United Kingdom, without payment of duties, under certain restrictions, for a limited time.

To permit the exportation, for two years, of a certain quantity of corn, grain, meal, flour, bread, biscuit, or pulse, to the islands of Guernsey, Jersey, and Alderney, from other ports of England, as well as the port of Southampton, under certain restrictions.

To render more effectual two acts, made in this present session of parliament, for the more speedily completing the militia of Great Britain, and for raising an additional military force for the better defence of the United Kingdom.

For raising, in the city of London, a certain number of men, as an addition to the military force of Great Britain, for the better defence and security of the United Kingdom, and for the more vigorous prosecution of the war.

For the more effectually providing for the punishment of offences in wilfully casting away, burning, or destroying ships and vessels, and for the more convenient trial of accessories in felonies, and for extending the power of an act, made in the 33d year of the reign of king Henry

Henry VIII. as far as relates to murders, to accessories to murders, and to manslaughters.

For effectuating certain parts of an act, passed in the 2d and 3d years of the reign of her late majesty queen Ann, intituled, "An act for the making more effectual her majesty's gracious intentions for the augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy, by enabling her majesty to grant, in perpetuity, the revenues of the first fruits and tenths, and also for enabling any other person to make grants for the same purpose, so far as the same relate to deeds and wills, made for granting and bequeathing lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods, and chattels, to the governors of the bounty of queen Ann, for the purposes in the said act mentioned, and for enlarging the powers of the said governors.

To rectify a mistake in an act, made in this present session of Parliament, intituled, "An act to amend the laws relating to spiritual persons holding of farms, and for enforcing the residence of spiritual persons on their benefices in England," and to remove a doubt respecting the title of the statute of the 21st year of king Henry VIII. therein mentioned.

To promote the building, repairing, or otherwise providing of churches and chapels, and of houses for the residence of ministers, and the providing of church-yards and glebes.

To enable the commissioners of first-fruits in Ireland to lend certain sums of money, interest free, to incumbents of benefices there, for the purpose of enabling them to erect or purchase glebe houses and offices convenient for their residence, glebe lands fit and convenient for the erec-

tion of such houses and offices, and to make provision for the repayment of all loans so to be made by the said commissioners.

To explain and amend an act, made in the last session of parliament, intituled, "An act, made in the 22d year of the reign of his present majesty, for the better relief and employment of the poor," so far as relates to the payment of the debts incurred for building any poor-house.

For enabling friendly societies, intended to be established under an act, passed in the 33d year of the reign of his present majesty, to rectify mistakes made in the registry of their rules.

For the better preservation of heath fowl, commonly called Black Game, in the New Forest, in the county of Southampton.

To explain and amend two acts, made in the 2d and 39th and 40th years of the reign of his present majesty, for preventing the commission of thefts and frauds, by persons navigating bum-boats and other boats upon the river Thames, and for the more effectual prevention of depredations thereon, so far as relates to the seizure of exciseable commodities.

For the further improvement of the port of London, by making docks and other works at Blackwall, for the accommodation of the East-India shipping at the said port.

For establishing a free market in the city of London for the sale of coals, and for preventing frauds and impositions in the vend and delivery of all coals brought into the port of London, within certain places there-in mentioned.



*July 29.*

For the suppression of rebellion in Ireland, and for the protection of the persons and property of his majesty's faithful subjects there, to continue in force until six weeks after the commencement of the next session of parliament.

To empower the lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of Ireland, to apprehend and detain such persons as he or they shall suspect of conspiring against his majesty's person and government, until six weeks after the commencement of the next session of parliament.

To render more effectual an act passed in the fifth year of the reign of his present majesty, relating to the discovery of the longitude at sea, and for continuing the encouragement of persons making certain discoveries for finding the longitude at sea, or other useful discoveries and improvements in navigation, and for making experiments relating thereto, and for discharging certain debts incurred by the commissioners of the longitude, in carrying the acts relating thereto into execution.

For improving the funds of the chest at Chatham, and for transferring the administration of the same to Greenwich hospital, and for ameliorating the condition of the pensioners on the said funds.

*August 12.*

For granting to his majesty, until the 6th May next, after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, a contribution on the profits arising from property, professions, trades, and offices.

For enabling his majesty to raise the sum of two millions, for the use and purposes therein mentioned.

For raising the sum of 1,500,000*l.* by loans or exchequer bills for the service of Great-Britain, for the year 1803.

For granting to his majesty certain duties on receipts.

For enabling his majesty to settle an annuity of 16,000*l.* on the house of Orange, during his majesty's pleasure.

For charging an additional duty on lignum quassia imported into Great-Britain.

To enable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury of Great-Britain, to issue exchequer bills on the credit of such aids or supplies as have been, or shall be granted by parliament for the service of Great-Britain for the year 1803.

For consolidating the duties on stamps, vellum, parchment, and paper, in Great-Britain.

For consolidating certain of the provisions contained in any act or acts relating to the duties under the management of the commissioners for the affairs of taxes, and for amending the said acts so far as the same relate to Scotland.

For rectifying a mistake in an act of the last session of parliament, for better collecting the duties on auctioneers.

For the further regulation on the collection of the duties of customs in Great-Britain in certain cases.

To amend so much of an act made in this session of parliament, for granting additional duties on excise, as relates to the exportation of tea to Ireland; for regulating the granting of permits for the removal of coffee, tea, and cocoa-nuts, out of warehouses; and for the more effectually securing the duties on coffee.

For the more effectually securing certain duties on malt, and for preventing



venting frauds by makers of malt from bear or bigg in Scotland.

To amend an act made in this present session of parliament, intituled, "An act to amend an act, and render more effectual an act, passed in the present session of parliament, intituled, an act to enable his majesty more effectually to provide for the defence and security of the realm during the present war, and for indemnifying persons who may suffer in their property by such measures as may be necessary for

that purpose ; and to enable his majesty more effectually and speedily to exercise his ancient and undoubted prerogative, in requiring the military service of his liege subjects, in case of invasion of the realm."

For extending the jurisdiction of the courts of justice in the provinces of Lower and Upper Canada to the trial and punishment of persons guilty of crimes and offences within certain parts of North America, adjoining to the said province.

T t 3

STATE

## STATE PAPERS.

*His Majesty's Message to the House of Commons, recommending the Situation of the Prince of Wales, to the Consideration of Parliament, Feb. 16, 1803.*

GEORGE R.

**H**IS majesty having taken into consideration the period which has elapsed since the adoption of those arrangements which were deemed, by the wisdom of parliament, to be necessary for the discharge of the incumbrances of the prince of Wales, and having adverted to the progress which has been made in carrying them into effect, recommends the present situation of the prince to the attention of this house.

Notwithstanding the reluctance and regret which his majesty must feel in suggesting any addition to the burthens of his people, he is induced to resort, in this instance, to the experienced liberality and attachment of his faithful commons, in the persuasion that they will be disposed to take such measures as may be calculated to promote the comfort, and support the dignity of so distinguished a branch of his royal family.

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*His Majesty's Message respecting the Armaments in France and Holland, March 8, 1803.*

GEORGE R.

His majesty thinks it necessary to acquaint the house of commons, that,

as very considerable military preparations are carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, he has judged it expedient to adopt additional measures of precaution for the security of his dominions; though the preparations to which his majesty refers are avowedly directed to colonial service, yet, as discussions of great importance are now subsisting between his majesty and the French government, the result of which must, at present, be uncertain, his majesty is induced to make this communication to his faithful commons, in the full persuasion that, whilst they partake of his majesty's earnest and unvarying solicitude for the continuance of peace, he may rely, with perfect confidence, on their public spirit and liberality, to enable his majesty to adopt such measures as circumstances may appear to require, for supporting the honour of his crown, and the essential interests of his people.

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*His Majesty's Message for calling out the Militia, March 10, 1803.*

In consequence of the preparations carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, whilst important discussions are subsisting between his majesty and the French government, his majesty thinks it due to the care and concern which he feels for his faithful people, to omit no means in his power which may

may contribute to their security.— In pursuance, therefore, of the acts of parliament, enabling his majesty to call out and assemble the militia of the united kingdom, his majesty has thought it right to make this communication to the house of commons, to the end that his majesty may cause the said militia, or such part thereof as his majesty shall think necessary, to be forthwith drawn out and embodied, and to march as occasion shall require.

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*His Majesty's Message, announcing War with France, May 16, 1803.*

GEORGE R.

His majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the house of commons, that the discussions which he announced to them in his message of the 8th of March last, as then subsisting between his majesty and the French government, have been terminated; that the conduct of the French government has obliged his majesty to recal his ambassador from Paris, and that the ambassador from the French republic has left London.

His majesty has given directions for laying before the house of commons, with as little delay as possible, copies of such papers as will afford the fullest information to his parliament at this important conjuncture.

It is a consolation to his majesty to reflect that no endeavours have been wanting, on his part, to preserve to his subjects the blessings of peace; but, under the circumstances which have occurred to disappoint his just expectations, his majesty relies, with confidence, on the zeal and public spirit of his faithful commons, and on the exertions of his brave

and loyal subjects, to support him in his determination to employ the power and resources of the nation in opposing the spirit of ambition and encroachment which, at present, actuates the councils of France; in upholding the dignity of his crown; and in asserting and maintaining the rights and interests of his people.

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*His Majesty's Message, announcing War with Holland, June 17, 1803.*

GEORGE R.

His majesty thinks it right to inform the house of commons, that, from an anxious desire to prevent the calamities being extended to the Batavian republic, he communicated to that government his disposition to respect their neutrality, provided that a similar disposition was manifested on the part of the French government, and that the French forces were forthwith withdrawn from the territories of the republic: this proposition not having been admitted by the government of France, and measures having been recently taken by them in direct violation of the independence of the Batavian republic, his majesty judged it expedient to direct his minister to leave the Hague, and he has since given orders that letters of marque and general reprisals should be issued against the Batavian republic and its subjects.

His majesty has, at all times, manifested the deepest and most lively interest for the prosperity and independence of the United Provinces; he has recourse, therefore, to these proceedings with the most sincere regret, but the conduct of the French government has left him no alternative; and, in adopting these measures,



measures, he is actuated by a sense of what is due to his own dignity, and to the security and essential interests of his dominions.

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*His Majesty's Message for arming the Country, June 18, 1803.*

GEORGE R.

His majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the house of commons, that, for the more effectual defence and security of the United Kingdom, against the avowed designs of the enemy, and for the purpose of providing such means as may be best calculated for a vigorous prosecution of the war, his majesty deems it important that a large additional force should be forthwith raised and assembled.

His majesty recommends this subject to the consideration of his faithful commons; and relies, with confidence, on their zeal and public spirit, that they will adopt such measures as, upon this occasion, shall appear to them to be most effectual, and for carrying the same into execution with the least possible delay.

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*His Majesty's Message, requiring a Supply, July 20, 1803.*

GEORGE R.

His majesty, relying on the zealous support of his faithful commons in the vigorous prosecution of the war in which his majesty is engaged, recommends it to this house to consider of making provision towards enabling his majesty to defray any extraordinary expences which may be incurred for the service of the present year, and to take such measures as the urgency of affairs may require.

*His Majesty's Message respecting the House of Orange, July 21, 1803.*

GEORGE R.

His majesty, having taken into consideration the situation of the illustrious house of Orange, the bonds of alliance and affinity which subsist between his majesty and that house, the important services which have been rendered by them to this country, on so many occasions, and the losses which they sustained in the course of the last war, recommends these circumstances to the serious attention of the house of commons; and his majesty relies on the justice and liberality of this house, to enable him to make such pecuniary allowances to this illustrious family, as may appear to be warranted by a consideration of their present situation, and of their claims on the generosity of this country.

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*His Majesty's Message on the Irish Insurrection, July 28, 1803.*

GEORGE R.

His majesty feels the deepest regret in acquainting the house of commons, that a treasonable and rebellious spirit of insurrection has manifested itself in Ireland, which has been marked by circumstances of peculiar atrocity in the city of Dublin.

His majesty relies, with perfect confidence, on the wisdom of his parliament, that such measures will be forthwith adopted as are best calculated to afford protection and security to his majesty's loyal subjects in that part of the United Kingdom, and to restore and preserve general tranquillity.

*His*

*His Majesty's Speech on the Pro-  
rogation of Parliament, August 12,  
1803.*

My lords and gentlemen,

I am at length enabled, by the state of public business, to release you from your long and laborious attendance in parliament. In closing the session, I have the utmost satisfaction in expressing the strong sense which I entertain of that zealous and unwearied regard for the welfare and honour of your country which has distinguished all your proceedings. During the continuance of peace, your conduct manifested the just view which you had taken of our actual situation, and of the dangers against which you were peculiarly called upon to provide; and, since the recurrence of hostilities, you have displayed an energy and promptitude which have never been surpassed, in the means which you have supplied for the defence of the country, and for the vigorous prosecution of the war. Your proceedings, in consequence of the late treasonable and atrocious occurrences in Ireland, will, I trust, have the effect of preventing any further interruption of its internal tranquillity; and of convincing my loyal subjects, in that part of the United Kingdom, that they may confidently rely on that protection to which they are so justly entitled. In the midst of the deliberations, which were occasioned by the immediate exigency of the times, you have not been unmindful of other objects to which I had directed your attention; and I have great satisfaction in observing that you have completed a system for consolidating the duties, and regulating the collection and management of the several branches of the revenue; and that you have

adopted measures which are calculated to afford material accommodation to the mercantile part of the community, and to encourage and extend the navigation and commerce of my dominions."

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I return you my particular thanks for the liberality and readiness with which you have granted the supplies for the public service. It is painful to me to reflect, that the means of necessary exertion cannot be provided without a heavy pressure upon my faithful people. But I cannot sufficiently applaud that wisdom and fortitude which have led you to overlook considerations of temporary convenience, for the purpose of preventing a large accumulation of debt, during the continuance of the war. You may be assured, that there shall be as strict an attention to œconomy on my part as may be consistent with those preparations and exertions which will be best calculated to frustrate the designs, and to weaken the power of the enemy, by whose arrogant pretensions and restless ambition alone these sacrifices have been rendered unavoidable.

My lords and gentlemen,

I am fully persuaded, that, during the cessation of your parliamentary duties, you will continue to be actuated by the same spirit which has been uniformly displayed in your councils. It will be your duty to assist in carrying into effect those important measures which your wisdom has matured for the defence and security of the realm; and particularly to give the most beneficial direction to that ardour and enthusiasm, in the cause of their country, which animate all classes of my people.



ple. Justly sensible of the state of pre-eminence, in which it has pleased the Almighty to support us, for so many ages, amongst the nations of Europe, I rely with confidence, that, under the continuance of his divine protection, the exertions of my brave and loyal subjects will prove to the enemy and to the world, that an attempt to subvert the independence, or impair the power of this United Kingdom, will terminate in the disgrace and ruin of those by whom it may be made; and that my people will find an ample reward for all their sacrifices, in an undisturbed enjoyment of that freedom and security, which, by their patriotism and valour, they will have preserved and ensured to themselves and their posterity.

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*Resolutions moved by Earl Fitzwilliam, in the House of Peers, on the 2d of June, 1803, on the conduct of Ministers\*.*

1st. Resolved—That it appears to this house, from the declaration issued by his majesty, on the 18th instant, and laid before this house by his majesty's command, That the conduct of the French republic towards this country, during the whole period which has elapsed since the conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace, is considered by his majesty's ministers as having exhibited "*one continued series of aggression, violence, and insult,*" and as necessarily creating a "*thorough conviction*" of a system deliberately "*adopted by France, for the purpose of degrading, vilifying, and insulting his majesty and his government.*"

2d. Resolved—That his majesty's ministers having, throughout the whole period, from the definitive

treaty of peace to the breaking out of the present war, neither communicated to parliament any knowledge of the sense which they now appear to have entertained respecting the conduct and system of France, nor any regular information of the particulars on which the same was founded, or of the steps taken by his majesty's government thereupon, have thereby withheld from this house the necessary materials for the due and full discharge of its constitutional functions; and that, by encouraging throughout the country an unfounded security and confidence in the permanence of peace, they have embarrassed and perplexed our commerce; have deceived the expectations, and unnecessarily harassed the spirit of the people; and have materially increased and aggravated the difficulties of our actual situation.

3d. Resolved—That it was the duty of his majesty's ministers to make timely and adequate representations against all such acts as have, in their judgment, constituted a series of systematic "*aggression, violence, and insult,*" on the part of France.

That, by dignified and temperate remonstrances, followed up with consistency, and sustained with firmness, either the course and progress of such acts would have been arrested without the necessity of recurring to arms, or the determination of the French government to persist therein would have been distinctly ascertained, before his majesty had proceeded so far, both in the reduction of his forces, and the surrender of his conquests.

That this essential duty appears to have been, in a very great degree, neglected by his majesty's ministers, and



and that such their omission and neglect have been highly injurious to the public interests.

4th. Resolved—That the principal circumstances which have, in the judgment of his majesty's ministers, rendered it impossible to execute the tenth article of the treaty of Amiens, must have been known to his majesty's ministers, either before, or very soon after, the exchange of its ratifications; which exchange took place on the 21st of May.

That, nevertheless, no steps appear to have been taken, until the 17th of February last, towards obtaining, by discussion or explanation with the French government, the removal of this most important difficulty.

That, so far from taking any such steps, his majesty's ministers made repeated applications to that government during the whole of the last summer, to accelerate the execution of the article, in its present shape, by co-operating with his majesty in inviting other powers to guarantee it. That, in consequence of those applications, the guarantee of Austria was actually obtained in the month of August; and that of Russia was jointly solicited by the British and French ministers at Petersburg, so late as the 25th of November last; many months after his majesty's ministers well knew that the execution of the said article was utterly impracticable.

That this conduct, alike inconsistent with wisdom, dignity, and good faith, was no less detrimental to the interests, than prejudicial to the character, of the British nation; inasmuch as the favourable opportunity for negotiating on this subject, while his majesty was still in possession of his other conquests,

was thereby lost, and the discussion reserved to a period when a recourse to arms constitutes the only means by which his majesty can resist the unreasonable demands of the enemy, and support the just cause of his people.

5th. Resolved—That it appears to this house, that, on the 10th of October last, counter orders were dispatched by his majesty's government, revoking the orders before given for the surrender of the Cape, and of the other conquests then held by his majesty; and that the final order, by virtue of which his majesty's forces actually evacuated the Cape, was not sent till the 17th of November last.

6th. Resolved—That, on the said 17th of November, the hostile spirit of France had (in the judgment of his majesty's ministers) already been manifested for more than six months, by "one continued series of aggression, violence, and insult," for which, "neither reparation nor redress" had, down to that moment, ever been obtained. That the offensive principle had already been distinctly advanced of excluding his majesty from all concern in the affairs of the continent. That the Spanish and other priories had already been withdrawn from the order of Malta; Piedmont, Parma, Placentia, and Elba, had been unjustly annexed to France; Switzerland had been attacked and subjugated; and the tardy and unsupported remonstrance of his majesty's government, on that subject, had been treated with indignity and contempt. The territory of Holland was at that very moment still occupied by the armies of the French, and its internal administration still controlled by their interference: and

and the French government itself was then actually engaged in the pursuit of those plans and measures for the subversion of the Turkish empire, to which his majesty's declaration has referred, as constituting, on their part, an unquestionable violation of the treaty of peace.

That the conduct of his majesty's ministers, in directing, under such circumstances, the final surrender of the Cape, without making any attempt previously to explain or arrange the numerous points of difference and complaint which then actually subsisted between the two governments, was in the highest degree impolitic and dangerous; was in direct opposition to the sense they had themselves manifested of their own duty, by their former orders on the same subject; and has, in the event, proved essentially detrimental to some of the most important interests of his majesty's dominions.

7th. Resolved—That by these instances of misconduct, in the most important concerns of the country, his majesty's ministers have proved themselves unworthy of the confidence of this house, and incapable of administering with advantage the public affairs, in a crisis of such unexampled difficulty and danger.

*The official Correspondence between Great-Britain and France, on the Subject of the Negotiations subsequent to the Treaty of Amiens.*

#### No. 1.

*Letter from M. Otto to Lord Hawkesbury, dated London, May 23, 1802.*

My lord,

The 10th article of the treaty of Amiens, which fixes the new orga-

nization of the order of Malta, having prescribed various measures, to the execution of which it is necessary that the two principal contracting powers should concur, the first consul has named general Vial as minister plenipotentiary to the order and island of Malta, for the purpose of concerting with the person whom his Britannic majesty shall appoint for that purpose, respecting the execution of the arrangements agreed upon in the late treaty. General Vial will set out on his destination as soon as your excellency shall have informed me of his majesty's intentions, and of the choice he may make.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Otto:

#### No. 2.

*Letter from Lord Hawkesbury to M. Otto, dated May 24, 1802:*

Sir,

In answer to your letter of yesterday, in which you communicated to me the nomination, by the first consul, of general Vial to be minister plenipotentiary of the French republic, to the order of Saint John of Jerusalem; I have the honour to inform you, that the king has been pleased to appoint sir Alexander Ball, to be his majesty's minister to the order. Sir Alexander Ball will shortly proceed to Malta; and will be instructed to concert with general Vial the necessary measures for carrying into effect the arrangements relative to that island, which are stipulated in the 10th article of the definitive treaty of peace.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Hawkesbury.

M. Otto, &c. &c. &c.

#### No. 3.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Lord St. Helen, to Lord Hawkesbury, dated*



*dated St. Petersburg, April 23, 1802.*

I hope very soon to be enabled to re-dispatch your lordship's last messenger with the answer of this government to the communications which I have made to them, in obedience to his majesty's commands, respecting the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens. In the mean time, I must not conceal from your lordship that there is great reason to fear that his imperial majesty will decline taking part in the proposed joint guarantee of the possessions and new constitution of the order of Malta.

No. 4.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Lord St. Helens to Lord Hawkesbury, dated St. Petersburg, May 7, 1802.*

I have reason to hope that the first impressions that had been produced here by certain parts of the arrangement relative to Malta have been removed, and that his imperial majesty may even be ultimately induced to guarantee the whole of that arrangement, provided that the steps which have been taken towards the election of a new grand master, according to the mode suggested by this court, be considered as fulfilling what is required on that head by the latter part of the paragraph of the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens, and consequently that no new election for that office is to take place in the manner pointed out by the former part of the same stipulation.

No. 5.

*Dispatch from Lord Hawkesbury to Mr. Merry, dated June 5, 1802.*

Sir,

I informed you, in my dispatch

No. 10, that M. Otto had made an official communication to me that general Vial was appointed by the first consul, minister plenipotentiary to the order of St. John of Jerusalem. Sir Alexander Ball has been in consequence invested with the same character by his majesty. He will proceed immediately to Malta, and he will receive instructions to concert with general Vial the best means of carrying into complete effect the stipulations contained in the 10th article of the definitive treaty. By the paragraph marked No. 1 in that article, it is stipulated,

“The knights of the order, whose langues shall continue to subsist after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, are invited to return to Malta as soon as that exchange shall have taken place: they shall there form a general chapter, and shall proceed to the election of a grand master, to be chosen from amongst the natives of those nations which preserve langues, if no such election shall have been already made since the exchange of the ratifications of the preliminary articles of peace.”

The object of this paragraph was, that, in the event of an election having taken place subsequent to the exchange of the ratifications of the preliminary articles of peace, and antecedent to the conclusion of the definitive treaty, that election should be considered as valid; and though no mention is made in the article of the proclamation of the emperor of Russia, soon after his accession to the throne, by which the knights of the order were invited to assemble, and to proceed to the election of a grand master, the stipulation in question evidently referred to the contingency of an election



tion taking place on the continent in consequence of that proclamation.

You will inform the French government, that his majesty is ready to consider the election which has lately taken place at St. Petersburg, under the auspices of the emperor of Russia, to be valid, according to the stipulation of the 10th article.

His majesty has no other object in the whole of this transaction, than that the 10th article of the treaty may be fairly executed, and that the arrangement may be carried into complete execution with as little difficulty as possible.

As the 13th paragraph in the 10th article stipulates that the governments of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, should be invited to accede to the arrangements respecting Malta, it is desirable that the French government should instruct, without delay, their ambassadors or ministers at Vienna, Petersburg, and Berlin, to make, conjointly with his majesty's ministers at those courts, an official communication, desiring the accession of those powers to the arrangements relative to Malta in the definitive treaty, by which it is provided, that the independence of the island and the other stipulations shall be under the guarantee of those powers, in conjunction with his majesty, the French government, and the king of Spain.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Hawkesbury.

*Anthony Merry, Esq. &c. &c. &c.*

#### No. 6.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Merry to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, June 17, 1802.*

I have now the honour to trans-

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mit to your lordship, inclosed, copy of an answer which reached me last night, (though dated eight days back) from the French minister, to the note verbale which I delivered to him, containing his majesty's propositions respecting the execution of some points of the arrangements relative to Malta, contained in the 10th article of the definitive treaty of peace. You will find the entire acquiescence of this government to those propositions expressed in a very satisfactory manner.

*Note Verbale from Mr. Merry to M. Talleyrand, referred to in No. 6.*

His Britannic majesty's minister plenipotentiary has the honour to transmit herewith to citizen Talleyrand, minister for the foreign affairs of the French republic, the note verbale of the communication he has been ordered to make to him by his government, who are desirous that the proposals it contains may be acceptable to the French government; and they may be assured that the British government, in making these proposals, have no other object in view than to facilitate, in the easiest manner, the execution of the treaty of Amiens, and to act in this respect in perfect harmony with the French government.

Mr. Merry has the honour to renew, on this occasion, the assurances of his high consideration for M. Talleyrand.

(Signed) Ant. Merry.

*Paris, 8th June, 1802.*

The citizen minister for foreign affairs will find inclosed a list of the suffrages obtained from several priories of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, for the election of a grand master, which has been received from St. Petersburg by the British government,

government, with the notice that these priories have agreed amongst themselves, that his holiness the pope shall select (*pro hac vice*), from amongst the candidates therein specified, the person who is to fill the post of grand master.

His Britannic majesty on his part is willing to consider an election so made as valid, according to the stipulations of the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens.

His majesty therefore is ready to acknowledge, in quality of grand master, the person whom the pope shall think proper to fix upon, from amongst the names contained in that list.

His majesty has no other end in view in this than to see the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens duly fulfilled, and the arrangement it contains executed with as little difficulty as possible.

It is stipulated by the 13th paragraph of the same article, that the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian governments, shall be solicited to accede to the said arrangement.

The British government is of opinion, that it might be proper for that of France to send without delay instructions to their ministers at Vienna, Petersburg, and Berlin, to make, conjointly with his Britannic majesty's ministers, a communication to those powers in which they should be invited to accede to the arrangement respecting Malta, by which the independence of the island, and the other stipulations relative thereto, are placed under the protection and guarantee of those powers conjointly with their Britannic and Catholic majesties and the French republic.

*Note from M. Talleyrand to Mr. Merry, referred to in No. 6.*

The undersigned, minister for foreign affairs, has the honour to transmit to M. Merry, his Britannic majesty's minister plenipotentiary, his answer to the note verbale which he addressed to him on the eighth Prairial. He doubts not that his majesty's ministers will see in this answer a new proof of the constant dispositions of the first consul to come to an agreement with the English government, for the securing and facilitating the execution of the respective clauses of the treaty which has re-established peace between the two states.

The undersigned has the honour to renew to M. Merry the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed) Cha. Mau. Talleyrand.  
*Paris, 20th Prairial, Year 10.*

[The minister for foreign affairs of the French republic, has received the communication which has been made to him by his Britannic majesty's minister plenipotentiary, of the list of the candidates nominated by the votes of the different priories to the grand mastership of the order of Malta; and he has submitted to the first consul the proposal concerted between the priories of the order, and approved by his Britannic majesty, of submitting (*pro hac vice*) to his holiness the choice among the proposed candidates.

The first consul had no other object, in whatever relates to the order of Malta, than to see the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens duly executed, and to remove all the obstacles which might render that execution tardy or difficult. He moreover desires equally with his Britannic majesty, that France and  
England



England should act in concert, in order the better to secure the independence and the organization of the order of Malta. He, therefore, consents that the choice of its grand master, from the candidates proposed by the votes of the priories, should for this time be submitted to his holiness.

As to the 13th paragraph of the same article, respecting the accession of the powers, the first consul thinks with his Britannic majesty, that the powers should be invited to give their consent to the arrangements agreed upon; and the French ministers at the courts of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, shall consequently, receive orders to take, conjointly with his Britannic majesty's ministers, the necessary steps for obtaining the accession provided by the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens.]

*Paris, 10th Prairial, Year 10.*

#### No. 7.

*Dispatch from Mr. Merry to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, June 4, 1802.*

My lord,

I had occasion to see Mr. Talleyrand yesterday afternoon, for the purpose of introducing to him, by appointment, some English gentlemen, previously to their presentation to-day to the first consul.

Having gone first alone into the minister's cabinet, he said, that he had been directed by general Bonaparte, to represent to me several circumstances which stood very much in the way of that perfect reconciliation and good understanding between the two countries and their governments, which it was the first consul's sincere wish to see re-established, in order that such obstacles might

be removed before the arrival in London of the French ambassador; because, although the circumstances in question had already produced a very disagreeable effect, whilst only M. Otto, as minister, had to witness them, they would acquire a great addition of force if they should still exist when the ambassador should be present; and since the first consul had given orders for general Andreossy to proceed to his destination with as little delay as possible, he wished that I should take an early opportunity to give an account to your lordship of the observations which he was charged to make to me.

After a preface to this effect, M. Talleyrand proceeded to state to me, that the accounts which M. Otto had transmitted of the disgust and inconvenience which he could not but feel and experience at meeting, frequently, at his majesty's court, and at other places, the French princes, and some French persons still decorated with the insignia of French orders which no longer existed; and, at seeing the countenance and support which continued to be given, in England, to what, he termed, the *ci-devant* French bishops, as well as to other persons (he here mentioned Georges) inimical to the present government of France, had affected, so strongly, the first consul, and were, in fact, so calculated to prevent that system of cordiality which he was anxious to see established, that it was incumbent upon him to express his wish, that his majesty's government might be disposed to remove out of the British dominions all the French princes and their adherents, together with the French bishops, and other French individuals, whose political principles



principles and conduct must necessarily occasion great jealousy to the French government. He continued to observe, that the protection and favour which all the persons in question continued to meet with in a country so close a neighbour to France, must alone be always considered as an encouragement to the disaffected here, even without those persons themselves being guilty of any acts tending to foment fresh disturbances in his country; but that the government here possessed proofs of the abuse which they were now making of the protection which they enjoyed in England, and of the advantage they were taking of the vicinity of their situation to France, by being really guilty of such acts, since several printed papers had lately been intercepted, which it was known they had sent, and caused to be circulated in France, and which had for their object, to create an opposition to the government. I cannot, my lord, do better than refer you to what you will have read in the French official paper of the day before yesterday (under the article of Paris), for the exact text of M. Talleyrand's discourse upon this subject; which he concluded by saying, that he thought the residence of Louis XVIII. was now the proper place for that of the rest of the family, and that I might add this suggestion in my report to your lordship.

I answered the French minister, that, without any reference to you, I could assure him, that the practices of the French residing in England, of which he complained, had not been encouraged, nor would be countenanced by his majesty's government; which was as sincerely disposed to cultivate harmony and

good understanding between the two countries, as he had represented the first consul to be; but that I could by no means say how far they would be disposed to adopt the measure which he had intimated it to be general Bonaparte's wish that they should pursue, in order to remove, so effectually, every thing which might not, perhaps, be considered equally by them as giving just cause of offence or jealousy to France.

M. Talleyrand did not rejoin upon the matter, but asked me when I proposed writing. Upon my replying I should lose no time, he said, that if I should write as to-day, he would avail himself of the opportunity to convey a letter to M. Otto.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) A. Merry.

*The Right Honourable Lord  
Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.*

No. 8.

*Dispatch from Lord Hawkesbury to  
Mr. Merry, dated June 10, 1802.*

Sir,

Your dispatches of the 4th instant were received on Monday night, and have been laid before the king.

The account given in that dispatch of the conversation which passed on the 3d instant, between you and M. Talleyrand, respecting the French princes and their adherents, would have afforded here considerable surprise, if his majesty's government had not in some degree been prepared for it by information which had been previously received; from the manner, however, in which this subject has been mentioned to you, it is important that you should take a proper opportunity to explain, candidly and fairly, to the French government, the line

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of conduct which his majesty feels it to be his duty to pursue in this very delicate business. His majesty would certainly consider it inconsistent with both the letter and spirit of the treaty of peace, between him and the French republic, to encourage or countenance any projects that might be hostile to the present government of France. He is sincerely desirous, that the peace which has been concluded, may be permanent, and may lead to the establishment of a system of good understanding and harmony between the two countries. With these sentiments, he is disposed to employ all the means in his power to guard against any circumstance which can have the effect of disturbing the tranquillity that has been so happily restored; and he certainly expects, that all foreigners who may reside within his dominions, should not only hold a conduct conformable to the laws of the country, but should abstain from all acts which may be hostile to the government of any country with which his majesty may be at peace. As long, however, as they conduct themselves according to these principles, his majesty would feel it inconsistent with his dignity, with his honour, and with the common laws of hospitality, to deprive them of that protection which individuals, resident in his dominions, can only forfeit by their own misconduct. The greater part of the persons to whom allusion has been made in M. Talleyrand's conversation with you, are living in retirement; and his majesty has no reason whatever to suppose, that since the conclusion of peace, they have availed themselves of their residence in this country, to pro-

mote any designs injurious to the government of France.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Hawkesbury.

*Anthony Merry, Esq.*

&c. &c. &c.

No. 9.

*Dispatch from Mr. Merry to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, June 17, 1802.*

My lord,

I have the honour to acquaint your lordship, that I have executed the instructions given me by your secret and confidential dispatch, (No. 14), in consequence of the communication from M. Talleyrand, which I transmitted in my number 23, respecting the residence of the French princes, and other French persons in his majesty's dominions.

In delivering my answer on this business to the French minister, I took care to express, in the strongest manner, the assurances which your lordship has authorised me to give of his majesty's sincere desire that the peace which has happily been concluded should be permanent, and that it should lead to the establishment of a system of harmony and good understanding between the two countries; and that, as his majesty's conduct would, in every respect, be guided by those sentiments, he of course would not tolerate, much less encourage, any proceedings on the part of persons within his dominions, which might be hostile to the present government of France; which assurances might, I trusted, be sufficient to tranquilize and satisfy the first consul, without recurring to the measures which had been intimated to me, and which could not but be considered as inconsistent



consistent with his majesty's dignity and honour, as well as with the common laws of hospitality, which he could not but observe towards foreigners within his dominions, until they should have forfeited that protection by their misconduct.

M. Talleyrand expressed to me, in reply, that the first consul had solicited no more than the British government itself had, at the time, demanded of France, when the pretender was in this country, and than had been practised between other governments, under similar circumstances : that he could not see any humiliation in the measure which he had intimated to me ; that he could assure me it had not been suggested with any such idea ; and that he could only repeat, that the adoption of it would be, in the highest degree, agreeable and satisfactory to the first consul, and be considered by him as the most convincing proof of his majesty's disposition to see a cordial good understanding established between the two countries ; concluding his answer with a request that I would report it to your lordship.

I rejoined upon the subject, by observing to the French minister, that even without adverting to the serious consideration of the king's dignity and honour, the feelings of the people of England were to be taken into account on the occasion ; that he must be sensible the relative situation, hitherto, of the two countries, especially in regard to trade, afforded his majesty's subjects no room to reap those advantages which were common to, and which were always expected from a state of peace ; and that it, therefore, appeared to me, that the first

consul would equally give a proof of his disposition to see harmony, and a friendly intercourse, re-established between the two nations, by not repeating his wish upon a matter which would operate in the strongest manner against such an approximation and reconciliation of sentiments, were it even only to come to the knowledge of his majesty's subjects.

I am happy, my lord, to say, that M. Talleyrand shewed no warmth, or any very marked eagerness, in his manner of replying to my communication ; and that our conversation on this head terminated with the last remarks I made to him, when he changed it to another subject.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Anth. Merry.

*Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury,*

*&c. &c. &c.*

No. 10.

*Letter from M. Otto to Lord Hawkesbury, dated July 25, 1802.*

My lord,

I transmitted, some time ago, to Mr. Hammond, a number of *Peltier*, containing the most gross calumnies against the French government, and against the whole nation ; and I observed that I should probably receive an order to demand the punishment of such an abuse of the press. That order is actually arrived, and I cannot conceal from you, my lord, that the reiterated insults of a small number of foreigners, assembled in London, to conspire against the French government, produce the most unfavourable effects on the good understanding between the two nations. Even though the first article of the treaty of Amiens had not provided for the

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maintenance of that respect which two independent nations owe to each other, the general maxims of the law of nations would formally condemn so revolting an abuse of the liberty of the press. It cannot be believed, that the law can give more latitude to a libellist than to any other individual, who, without declaration of war, should permit himself to violate the duties of good neighbourhood. The offence in question is so much the more serious, as its object is evidently to disturb the harmony which subsists between the two governments.

It is not to Peltier alone, but to the editor of the "*Courier Francois de Londres*," to Cobbet, and to other writers who resemble them, that I have to direct the attention of his majesty's government. The perfidious and malevolent publications of these men are in open contradiction to the principles of peace; and if it could ever enter into the mind of the French government to permit retaliation, writers would, doubtless, be found in France, willing to avenge their countrymen, by filling their pages with odious reflections on the most respectable persons, and on the dearest institutions of Great-Britain.

The want of positive laws against these sorts of offences cannot palliate the violation of the law of nations, according to which, peace should put a stop to all hostilities; and, doubtless, those which wound the honour and the reputation of a government, and which tend to cause a revolt of the people, whose interests are confided to that government, are the most apt to lessen the advantages of

peace, and to keep up national resentments.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Otto.

*To his Excellency Lord Hawkesbury, Minister and Secretary of State for the Foreign Department.*

No. 11.

*Letter from Lord Hawkesbury to M. Otto, dated July 28, 1802.*

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter on the subject of the last number of *Peltier*. It is impossible that his majesty's government could peruse the article in question, without the greatest displeasure, and without an anxious desire that the person who published it should suffer the punishment he so justly deserves. The calumnies, however, to which his majesty's government, and many of the best subjects in this country, are frequently exposed in the public prints, must necessarily convince all foreign governments of the difficulties which exist in a constitution like that of Great-Britain, in preventing the abuse which is often unavoidably attendant on the greatest of all political benefits; and though publications of this nature are, as they certainly ought to be, by the law of England, subject to punishment, it is often difficult to prove the guilt of an individual so satisfactorily as to obtain the judgment of a court of justice; and the inconvenience which arises from prosecution, unless there is a reasonable prospect of success, is frequently sufficient to deter both the government and individuals from undertaking it. In the present case, I have thought it my duty to refer the  
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article in question to his majesty's attorney-general, for his opinion, whether it is or is not a libel, according to the construction of the law of England, and whether it is such a libel as he would, under all the circumstances, recommend for prosecution. As soon as I receive his report, I shall have the honour of communicating it to you.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Hawkesbury.

No. 12.

*Note from M. Otto to Lord Hawkesbury, dated August 17, 1802.*

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary of the French republic, having submitted to his government the letter which his excellency lord Hawkesbury, minister and principal secretary of state of his Britannic majesty, did him the honour of writing, under date of 27th July, is directed to offer the following observations :

If the British government tolerates censures upon the acts of its administration, and the personal abuse of the most respectable men, it does not suffer even the slightest attempt against the public tranquillity, the fundamental laws of the empire, and supreme authority which arises from them. — Every nation is, moreover, at liberty to sacrifice any advantage whatever in its interior, in order to obtain another to which it attaches a higher value; but the government which does not repress the licentiousness of the press, when it may be injurious to the honour or the interests of foreign powers, would afford an opportunity to libellists to endanger the public tranquillity, or, at least, the good understanding that forms the basis of it; and whenever such

serious injuries are continued in a regular and systematic manner, doubts must arise as to its own dispositions.

The particular laws and constitution of Great Britain are subordinate to the general principles of the law of nations, which supersede the laws of each individual state. If it be a right in England to allow the most extensive liberty to the press, it is a public right of polished nations, and the bounden duty of governments, to prevent, repress, and punish, every attack which might, by those means, be made against the rights, the interests, and the honour of foreign powers.

This general maxim of the law of nations has never been mistaken without paying the way for the greatest divisions, and has even furnished, in England, a plausible pretext to those who have written volumes to prove the necessity of the last war against France. Are these men now desirous of presenting to the consular government, a weapon which they have wielded with so much address? and can they flatter themselves that the authority which has signed the peace has not power to maintain it?

By the first article of the treaty of Amiens, the two powers agree to afford no protection, either directly or indirectly, to those who should cause prejudice to any of them.

But the greatest of all injuries, doubtless, is that which tends to debase a foreign government, or to excite, within its territory, civil and religious commotions; and the most decided of all protections, is that, which places under the safeguard of the laws, men who seek not only to disturb the political tranquillity



of Europe, but even to dissolve the first bonds of society.

The undersigned minister must moreover observe, that this is not a question respecting some paragraphs, which, through the inadvertence of an editor, might have been accidentally inserted in a public print; but it is a question of a deep and continued system of defamation, directed not only against the chief of the French republic, but against all the constituted authorities of the republic; against the whole nation; represented by these libellers in the most odious and degrading terms. It has ever been remarked, that many of these prints contain an appeal to the French people, against the government and fundamental laws of their country.

If these observations apply to the English writers, who, for these three months past, have deluged the public with the most perfidious and unbecoming publications, they are still more applicable to a class of foreign calumniators, who appear to avail themselves of the asylum offered them in England, only for the purpose of the better gratifying their hatred against France, and undermining the foundations of peace.

It is not merely by insulting and seditious writings, evidently published with a view to circulation in France, but by other incendiary papers distributed through the maritime departments, in order to excite the evil-disposed or weak inhabitants to resist the execution of the *concordate*, that these implacable enemies of France continue to exercise hostilities, and to provoke the just indignation of the French government and people. Not a doubt exists of these writings having been composed and circulated by *Georges*,

and by the former bishops of France. These men can no longer be considered but as rebels against both political and religious authority; and, after their reiterated attempts to disturb the good understanding between the two governments, their residence in England militates openly against the spirit and letter of the treaty of peace.

The meetings, likewise, which have taken place in the island of Jersey, and the odious plots which are there framed, in spite of the representations which the undersigned minister has already taken care to make on this subject, also demand immediate measures to be taken by a government, the neighbour and friend of France.

Other persons (attached, by recollections never to be effaced, and by regrets too long fostered, to an order of things which no longer exists in France) find themselves daily implicated by the plots of those who pretend to serve them. A sense of their own reputation will, without doubt, lead them to avoid a focus of intrigues, with which they ought not to have the least connexion.

Peace happily re-established, the mutual desire of the two countries to render it solid and lasting, and the general interests of humanity, require that all these causes of dissatisfaction should be done away, and that his majesty's ministry should, by frank and energetic measures, manifest their disapprobation of all the attempts made to produce new divisions.

The undersigned has, in consequence, received especial order to solicit,

1st. That his majesty's government will adopt the most effectual measures to put a stop to the unbecoming



coming and seditious publications with which the newspapers and writings printed in England are filled.

2d. That the individuals mentioned in the undersigned minister's letter of the 23d July last, shall be sent out of the island of Jersey.

3d. That the former bishops of Arras and St. Pol de Leon, and all those who, like them, under the pretext of religion, seek to raise disturbances in the interior of France, shall likewise be sent away.

4th. That *Georges* and his adherents shall be transported to Canada, according to the intention which the undersigned has been directed to transmit to his government at the request of lord Hawkesbury.

5th. That, in order to deprive the evil-disposed of every pretext for disturbing the good understanding between the two governments, it shall be recommended to the princes of the house of Bourbon, at present in Great Britain, to repair to Warsaw, the residence of the head of their family.

6th. That such of the French emigrants as still think proper to wear the orders and decorations belonging to the ancient government of France, shall be required to quit the territory of the British empire.

These demands are founded upon the treaty of Amiens, and upon the verbal assurances that the undersigned minister has had the satisfaction to receive, in the course of the negociations, with regard to a mutual agreement for maintaining tranquillity and good order in the two countries. If any one in particular of these demands does not proceed so immediately from the

treaty concluded, it would be easy to justify it by striking examples, and to prove how very attentive the British government has been, in times of internal fermentation, to remove from the territory of a neighbouring power, those who might endanger the public tranquillity.

Whatever may be the protection which the English laws afford to native writers, and to other subjects of his majesty, the French government knows that foreigners do not here enjoy the same protection; and that the law, known by the title of the Alien Act, gives the ministry of his Britannic majesty an authority which it has often exercised against foreigners, whose residence was prejudicial to the interests of Great Britain. The first clause of this act states, expressly, that any order in council which requires a foreigner to quit the kingdom shall be executed, under pain of imprisonment and transportation. There exists, therefore, in the ministry, a legal and sufficient power to restrain foreigners, without having recourse to courts of law; and the French government, which offers, on this point, a perfect reciprocity, thinks it gives a new proof of its pacific intentions, by demanding that those persons may be sent away, whose machinations uniformly tend to sow discord between the two people. It owes to itself, and to the nation at large (which has made it the depository of its power and of its honour), not to appear insensible to insults and to plots during profound peace, which the irritation of open war could not justify, and it is too well acquainted with the conciliatory dispositions of the British ministry,

not to rely upon its efforts to disperse a faction, equally the enemy of France and England.

The undersigned minister seizes this opportunity to present to his excellency lord Hawkesbury, the homage of his respectful consideration.

Otto.

*London, August 17, 1802:*

No. 13.

*Dispatch from Lord Hawkesbury to Mr. Merry, dated August 28, 1802.*

Sir,

I send you the copy of a letter which I received some days ago from M. Otto, together with a copy of an official note enclosed in it. I have informed M. Otto, that you would receive instructions to enter into explanations with the French government on the several points to which it refers. It is impossible not to feel considerable surprise at the circumstances under which it has been thought proper to present such a note; at the style in which it is drawn up; and at the complaints contained in it. Whatever may be the general dispositions of the French government towards this country, supposing them to be as hostile as they have been at any former period, or even more so, it would appear so contrary to their interest to provoke a war with us at the present moment, that I am inclined to ascribe their conduct, in the whole of this business, more to temper, than to any other motive; but whether their conduct is to be referred to temper or to policy, the effects of it may still be the same; it is therefore become of the utmost importance that a frank explanation

should be made of the line of conduct which his majesty has determined to adopt on reasons of the nature of those to which this note refers, and of the motives on which it is founded; and it is to be hoped that such an explanation will have the effect of putting an end to a course of proceeding, which can lead only to perpetual irritation between the two governments, and which might ultimately tend to the most serious consequences.

The first consideration that naturally arises on this transaction, is that of the peculiar circumstances under which the note of M. Otto has been presented. It cannot be denied that some very improper paragraphs have lately appeared in some of the English newspapers against the government of France; it cannot be denied, likewise, that publications of a still more improper and indecent nature have made their appearance in this country, with the names of foreigners affixed to them. Under these circumstances, the French government would have been warranted in expecting every redress that the laws of this country could afford them; but as, instead of seeking it in the ordinary course, they have thought fit to resort to recrimination themselves, or, at least, to authorise it in others, they could have no right to complain, if their subsequent appeal to his majesty had failed to produce the effect that otherwise would have attended it.

Whatever may have been the nature of the prior injury, they have, in fact, taken the law into their own hands; and what is this recrimination and retort? The paragraphs in the English newspapers, the publication



cations to which I have above referred, have not appeared under any authority of the British government, and are disavowed and disapproved of by them; but the paragraph in the *Moniteur* has appeared in a paper avowedly official, for which the government are, therefore, considered as responsible, as his majesty's government is responsible for the contents of the *London Gazette*. And this retort is not confined to the unauthorized English newspapers, or to the other publications of which complaint is now made, but is converted into, and made a pretence for a direct attack upon the government of his majesty. His majesty feels it beneath his dignity to make any formal complaint on this occasion; but it has been impossible for me to proceed to the other parts of the subject, without pointing your attention to the conduct of the French government in this respect, that you may observe upon it in the manner it deserves.

The propositions in M. Otto's official note, are six in number; but may, in fact, be divided under two heads: the first, that which relates to the libels of all descriptions, which are alleged to be published against the French government; the last, comprehending the five complaints which relate to the emigrants resident in this country. On the first, I am sure you must be aware that his majesty cannot, and never will, in consequence of any representation or any menace from a foreign power, make any concession, which can be in the smallest degree dangerous to the liberty of the press, as secured by the constitution of this country. This liberty is justly dear to every British subject. The constitution admits of no previous restraints

upon publications of any description; but there exists judicatures, wholly independent of the executive government, capable of taking cognizance of such publications as the law deems to be criminal, and which are bound to inflict the punishment the delinquents may deserve; these judicatures may take cognizance, not only of libels against the government and the magistracy of this kingdom, but, as has been repeatedly experienced, of publications defamatory of those in whose hands the administration of foreign governments is placed. That our government neither has, nor wants any other protection than what the laws of the country afford; and though they are willing and ready to give to every foreign government all the protection against offences of this nature, which the principle of their laws and constitution will admit, they never can consent to new-model their laws, or to change their constitution, to gratify the wishes of any foreign power. If the present French government are dissatisfied with our laws on the subject of libels, or entertain the opinion that the administration of justice in our courts is too tardy and lenient, they have it in their power to redress themselves by punishing the venders and distributors of such publications within their own territories, in any manner that they may think proper, and thereby preventing the circulation of them. If they think their present laws are not sufficient for this purpose, they may enact new ones; or, if they think it expedient, they may exercise the right which they have of prohibiting the importation of any foreign newspapers, or periodical publications, into the territories of the



the French republic. His majesty will not complain of such a measure, as it is not his intention to interfere in the manner in which the people or territories of France should be governed; but he expects, on the other hand, that the French government will not interfere in the manner in which the government of his dominions is conducted, or call for a change in those laws with which his people are perfectly satisfied. With respect to the distinction which appeared to be drawn in M. Otto's note, between the publications of British subjects and those of foreigners, and the power which his majesty is supposed to have in consequence of the Alien Act, of sending foreigners out of his dominions, it is important to observe, that the provisions of that act were made for the purpose of preventing the residence of foreigners, whose numbers and principles had a tendency to disturb the internal peace of his own dominions, and whom the safety of those dominions might require in many instances to be removed, even if their actual conduct had not exposed them to punishment by law. It does not follow that it would be a warrantable application of such a law to exert its powers in the cases of individuals, such as those of whom complaint is now made, and particularly as they are liable to be prosecuted under the law of the land, in like manner as others have been in similar cases, at the instance and upon the complaint of foreign governments.

The second general head, which includes the five last complaints, relates to the removal of some of the French emigrants resident in this country. His majesty entertained hopes that the explanation furnished

on this head, in my dispatch No. 14, would have proved satisfactory, and would have precluded the necessity of any farther discussion on this subject. The French government have, upon several occasions, resorted on this part of the subject to precedent, and have particularly rested on the demand formerly made by this country, that the person then called the pretender should be sent from the French dominions.—It is important that the differences between these two cases should be stated. When James the Second abdicated the throne, and left this country, he retired with his adherents to France; and though, in the war which immediately succeeded that event, the French government adopted his cause as their own, no stipulation was made at the treaty of Ryswick, that he should be sent from that country, nor was any subsequent demand ever made to the French government to this effect; but he was suffered to remain at St. Germain, in the neighbourhood of Paris, surrounded by his family and friends, till the time of his death.—It was not till after his demise, when Lewis the Fourteenth, in direct violation of the treaty of Ryswick, had acknowledged his son as king of Great Britain, that a different course of proceeding was adopted by the British government: and in the treaty of peace, signed at Utrecht, which put an end to the war which had been carried on, on account of the Spanish succession, an article was inserted to prevent the pretender from residing in any part of the French dominions. The demand which was subsequently made for the removal of the pretender from a town which was situated in the centre of these dominions, was founded

on this article of the treaty, which was, in fact, one of the conditions of the peace; but both the article in the treaty and the demand were confined to the pretender personally, and were not extended to any of his family, or to any of his adherents. After his removal, many of his adherents continued to reside in France; many persons resident in this country, who were attached to the cause of the pretender, and had promoted the rebellion in his favour, and who were consequently attainted for high treason, sought refuge in France, and were permitted to remain there till their death, without any application ever having been made by the British government for their removal. The duke of Berwick, the natural son of James the Second, who, from his principles and talents, was the most dangerous man to the interests of this country and the protestant succession, continued to be a general in the French armies, and though descended from the king, an Englishman, and an emigrant, it was not required that he should be sent out of France. In the present case, there is no article in the treaty of peace, by which his majesty is bound to send from this country any Frenchman whatever, except on account of the crimes specified in the twentieth article of the definitive treaty, and in consequence of the proofs therein required having been adduced. In the present case, it cannot be pretended that his majesty has ever given the slightest countenance to the cause of the royalists in France against the present government, since the period when he acknowledged that government; and if there were not these important differences in the two cases, they

would be totally dissimilar in the only remaining point; for in the case of the house of Stuart, as has been already stated, notwithstanding the violence of the times, and the danger to which the protestant succession was really exposed, this strong act of authority was confined to the person of the pretender: and the individual who must be recognized in that character by the French government, and whose case can alone bear any similarity to the former, even in this respect, is not, and never has been, within his majesty's dominions: other precedents might be adduced on this subject; but it is not necessary to state them, as the foregoing are sufficient.

With respect to the complaints in detail, under the second head.— Upon the first, you may inform the French government, that the emigrants in Jersey, many of whom had remained there solely on account of the cheapness of subsistence, had actually removed, or were removing, previous to the representation concerning them, in M. Otto's note, and that, before your explanation with M. Talleyrand can take place, there will probably not be an emigrant in the island.

To the second complaint, which relates to the bishops of Arras and St. Pol de Leon, and others, his majesty can only reply, that if the fact alledged against them can be substantiated; if it can be proved that they have distributed papers on the coast of France, with a view of disturbing the government, and of inducing the people to resist the new church establishment, his majesty would think himself justified in taking all measures within his power for obliging them to leave the country; but some proof must be adduced



duced of those facts ; and such proof must not be that of their having, in a single instance, viz. in reply to the pope's mandate, published a vindication of their own conduct, in refusing to conform to the new establishment ; a proceeding in which they would be justifiable on every principle of toleration and justice ; but it should shew that they have since availed themselves of their situation in this country, to excite the people of France against the authority of that government, whether civil or ecclesiastical.

On the third complaint, which respects the removal of Georges, and those persons supposed to be described as his adherents, M. Otto must have mistaken me, in what he supposes me to have said on that subject. His majesty is, however, very desirous to obviate any cause of complaint or uneasiness with respect to these persons ; and measures are in contemplation, and will be taken, for the purpose of removing them out of his majesty's European dominions.

On the fourth complaint, respecting the princes of the house of Bourbon, I can only refer you to my former answer. His majesty has no desire that they should continue to reside in this country, if they are disposed, or can be induced, to quit it ; but he feels it to be inconsistent with his honour, and his sense of justice, to withdraw from them the rights of hospitality, as long as they conduct themselves peaceably and quietly ; and unless some charge can be substantiated of their attempting to disturb the peace which subsists between the two governments.

With respect to the fifth complaint, which relates to the French emigrants wearing, in this country,

the orders of their ancient government ; there are few, if any, persons of that description in this country who wear such orders. It might be more proper if they all abstained from it ; but the French government could not persist in expecting, that, even if it were consistent with law, his majesty could be induced to commit so harsh an act of authority as to send them out of the country on such an account.

I have thus stated to you his majesty's sentiments on the several points contained in M. Otto's note. You will take an early opportunity of communicating these sentiments to the French government, and of accompanying them with the arguments and explanations above stated. And if it should be desired, and you should be of an opinion that it was likely to produce any good effect, there is no objection to your putting the substance of what you shall have stated in writing, and of delivering it to the minister for foreign affairs, as a memorandum of your conversation.

Upon the general tone and style of M. Otto's note, it is important to observe, that it is far from conciliating ; and that the practice of presenting notes of this description, on any motive or suggestion of personal irritation, cannot fail to have the effect of indisposing the two governments towards each other, instead of consolidating and strengthening the peace which happily subsists between them. That, after a war, in which the passions of men have been roused beyond all former examples, it is natural to suppose that the distrust, jealousy, and other hostile feelings of individuals should not immediately subside ; and, under these circumstances, it appears to be

both



both the interest and the duty of the two governments, by a mild and a temperate conduct, gradually to allay these feelings, and not, on the contrary, to provoke and augment them, by untimely irritation on their part, and by ascribing proceedings like those above noticed, to causes to which they have no reference.—His majesty has thus fully and frankly explained his sentiments, and the ground of his conduct. He is sincerely disposed to adopt every measure for the preservation of peace, which is consistent with the honour and independence of the country, and with the security of its laws and constitution. But the French government must have formed a most erroneous judgment of the disposition of the British nation, and of the character of its government, if they have been taught to expect that any representation of a foreign power will ever induce them to consent to a violation of those rights on which the liberties of the people of this country are founded.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Hawkesbury.  
*Anthony Merry, Esq.*

No. 14.

*Note from M. Otto to Lord Hawkesbury, dated August 21, 1802.*

General Vial, minister plenipotentiary of the republic at Malta, having set out for his destination, about the 20th of July, it is to be presumed, that he will soon be in a condition to enter into a concert with his Britannic majesty's minister plenipotentiary, on the evacuation of Malta, and of its dependencies.

The three months, in which this evacuation should have taken place, are expired; and it being the inten-

tion of the two governments, that the execution of the treaty of Amiens should experience the least possible delay, the first consul would have been desirous that the two thousand Neapolitans, who are ready to depart, could have been transported, at an early period, to the island of Malta, to be in readiness whenever the evacuation shall be on the point of being effected.

It appears, nevertheless, that Mr. Drummond, the English minister at Naples, has not been authorized by his government to facilitate this transport; and that the motive alleged by that minister was, that the stipulations, which ought to precede the evacuation, not being fulfilled, that evacuation could not yet take place.

In communicating the above details to his excellency lord Hawkesbury, his Britannic majesty's principal secretary of state for the foreign department, the undersigned is directed to observe, that the sending the two thousand Neapolitans to the island of Malta cannot but be considered as a preliminary step, in order to accelerate the evacuation, as soon as the necessary measures shall have been taken by the respective plenipotentiaries; and that it does not in any manner prevent the subsequent concern on the details of the evacuation, conformably to the clauses of the treaty of Amiens.

The undersigned is moreover directed to request the British ministry to give general instructions to his majesty's plenipotentiaries at Naples, and at Malta, that the evacuation, and the other conditions of the 10th article, may be executed without obstacle, and without these plenipotentiaries conceiving themselves obliged to refer to their government,

vernment, on each of the successive operations which should take place.

The undersigned embraces this opportunity to present to his excellency lord Hawkesbury, the homage of his respectful consideration.

(Signed) Otto.

*His Excellency Lord Hawkesbury,*  
*&c. &c. &c.*

#### No. 15.

*Note from Lord Hawkesbury to M. Otto, dated August 23, 1802.*

The undersigned has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Otto's note of the 21st instant.

When the Neapolitan government notified to Mr. Drummond, the king's minister at Naples, that the two thousand troops which his Sicilian majesty had selected to serve in Malta, were ready to proceed to their destination, that gentleman declined taking any step to facilitate their embarkation, till he should receive intelligence of the arrival of sir Alexander Ball in that island, and till he should be informed that the commander in chief of the British forces had made suitable preparations for their reception. By the last advices from Malta it appears, that sir Alexander Ball had arrived there on the tenth of last month, and that, after having conferred with general Fox upon the subject, he had written to Mr. Drummond, that there was no impediment whatever to the immediate reception of the Neapolitan troops, and that their quarters would be prepared accordingly; the undersigned has the honour to state this to M. Otto as the most satisfactory answer which he can give to his note. It is probable, therefore, that the troops of his Sicilian majesty are already embarked and on their passage; but to pre-

vent the possibility of any unnecessary delay or misconception, the most explicit instructions will be immediately forwarded to Mr. Drummond on this subject.

With respect to the other points in M. Otto's note, the undersigned can only repeat what he has before stated to him, that his majesty is most sincerely desirous to see all the stipulations of the 10th article of the definitive treaty carried into effect with the utmost punctuality, and with the least possible delay. With this view he takes this opportunity of observing to M. Otto, that, by the very last dispatches from the English ambassador at St. Petersburg, the French minister at that court had not even then received any instructions from his government relative to the steps to be taken in concert with lord St. Helens, for inviting the emperor to become guarantee of the provisions and stipulations of the article in question. The French minister at Berlin was in the same predicament. The undersigned, therefore, requests that M. Otto would have the goodness to represent these circumstances to his government, and to urge them, if they have not already done it, to transmit, without delay, to their ministers at those courts, the necessary instructions for bringing this part of the business to a conclusion.

The undersigned requests M. Otto to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) Hawkesbury.

*Downing Street, August 23, 1802.*

#### No. 16.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Merry to Lord Hawkesbury, dated October 3, 1802.*

As soon as the Helvetic government



ment had retired from Berne to Lausanne, the partizans of the ancient federative system of the Swiss cantons, who established immediately in the former city a provisional government, deputed a confidential to Paris, for the purpose of counteracting the measures of M. Stapfer, and of engaging the first consul to suffer the inhabitants of Switzerland to settle their affairs amongst themselves. He was instructed in any emergency to address himself to the ministers here of the principal powers of Europe, and to solicit their interference and assistance in the objects of his mission. He reached Paris four days ago, and had reason to flatter himself, from the result of an interview which he had immediately with M. Talleyrand, that the first consul would put no obstacle in the way of any arrangement which the Swiss might agree upon among themselves for the final settlement of their government; he was therefore much surprised to learn, soon afterwards, that a change had taken place in the first consul's sentiments, and his astonishment was completed when he found that the latter had taken so decided and so unfavourable a part in the business as that which is announced by a resolution published in yesterday's *Moniteur*, (which I have the honour to transmit enclosed,) in the form of an address to the inhabitants of Switzerland. This person having, besides this public declaration, acquired some private information of its being the first consul's intention to give the most immediate and vigorous effect to it, lost no time in addressing a letter to the latter, in which he took the liberty of stating that he must have been deceived by false representations, that his interference in

the affairs of Switzerland was, as he was authorised to say, entirely unsolicited by the majority and the best thinking part of the inhabitants, and that he had therefore to entreat of him, in the most earnest manner, to suspend the execution of his resolution until those explanations could take place which he trusted might be the means of preventing the immense effusion of blood which would otherwise inevitably ensue. He at the same time addressed himself, in the course of yesterday, to me, as well as to the Austrian and Spanish ambassadors, and to the Russian and Prussian ministers, (not having gained admittance to M. de Cobenzel, nor to M. de Markoff or Lucchesini, he afterwards wrote to them,) soliciting, in the strongest terms, an interference (jointly, if possible) on their part, with the French government, to endeavour to avert the impending evil. I naturally observed to him, in answer, that the present state of political relations between the great powers of Europe afforded no prospect of his obtaining of their ministers at Paris to adopt a concerted measure in favour of the object which he had so much at heart, and that of course I could not take it individually upon myself, without any express instruction from my government. He returned to me, to-day, to acquaint me that he was not only as yet without a reply from any quarter, but had reason to fear that his prayers would not be listened to by the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian ministers; *he therefore conjured me to transmit them to his majesty's government, from whom only his countrymen could have a hope of deriving any assistance in the terrible conflict which he knew they were determined to stand, and which would only*



*only cease by the extermination of every virtuous and brave man in the country.* He then put into my hand a note, which he had drawn up in a hurry, and of which I enclose a copy. Whilst, my lord, it was out of my power to give him any encouragement to expect from his majesty's government the assistance which his petition expresses, I have thought it my duty to lose no time in making you acquainted with a state of things which may shortly be attended with very important consequences.

*Note referred to in No. 16.*

So long as Switzerland was occupied by the French armies, the wishes of the people could never be freely manifested. The petty revolutions which took place in the government were the mere tricks of certain factions, in which the nation at large took but a very trifling interest. Scarcely did Switzerland think herself independent when she was desirous of returning to her ancient institutions, rendered still dearer to her by her late misfortunes, and the arbitrary acts of the government furnished her with the means of doing so. Almost the whole of Switzerland, with unexampled unanimity and moderation, shook off the yoke. The cantons formed themselves into constituent bodies, and twelve of the thirteen cantons of Switzerland sent their representatives to the diet of Schwitz, in order there to organize a central power which might be acceptable to the neighbouring powers.

The aristocratical cantons renounced their exclusive rights; the Pays de Vaud was left at liberty to form its own constitution, as well as Thurgovia and the other new cantons.

The government having taken refuge at Lausanne, was by no means secure there, notwithstanding its regular troops; perhaps even at the present moment it no longer exists.

Who would not have thought that, according to the stipulation of the treaty of Luneville, which grants independence to Switzerland and the right of choosing its own government, every thing was settled, and that this nation might see its former happiness and tranquillity revive?

Who could have thought that the first consul would have issued such a decree as that of the 8th Vendemiaire?

Is an independent nation to be thus treated? Should Bonaparte persist in his determination, and the other powers should not interpose in our favour, it only remains for us either to bury ourselves in the ruins of our houses, although without hope of resistance, exhausted as we are by the Colossus who is about to overwhelm us, or to debase ourselves in the eyes of the whole universe!

Will the government of this generous nation, which has at all times afforded so many proofs of the interest it takes in the welfare of the Swiss, do nothing for us under circumstances which are to decide whether we are still to be ranked amongst *free people*?

We have only men left us:—the revolution, and spoliations without end, have exhausted our means; we are without arms, without ammunition, without stores, and without money to purchase them.

No. 17.

*Note from Lord Hawkesbury to M. Otto, dated October 10, 1802.*

Lord Hawkesbury has received his

his majesty's commands to communicate, through M. Otto, to the French government, the sentiments of deep regret which have been excited in his majesty's mind by the address of the first consul to the Helvetic people, which was published by authority, in the *Moniteur* of the 1st instant, and by the representations which have been made to his majesty on this subject, on behalf of the nation whose interests are so immediately affected by it. His majesty most sincerely laments the convulsions to which the Swiss cantons have for some time past been exposed; but he can consider their late exertions in no other light than as the lawful efforts of a brave and generous people to recover their ancient laws and government, and to procure the re-establishment of a system which experience has demonstrated not only to be favourable to the maintenance of their domestic happiness, but to be perfectly consistent with the tranquillity and security of other powers.

The cantons of Switzerland unquestionably possess, in the same degree as every other independent state, the right of regulating their own internal concerns; and this right has moreover, in the present instance, been formally and explicitly guaranteed to the Swiss nation by the French government, in the treaty of Luneville, conjointly with the other powers who were parties to that engagement. His majesty has no other desire than that the people of Switzerland, who now appear to be so generally united, should be left at liberty to settle their own internal government without the interposition of any foreign powers; and with whatever regret his majesty may have perused the late pro-

clamation of the French government, he is yet unwilling to believe that they will farther attempt to control that independent nation in the exercise of their undoubted rights. His majesty thinks himself called upon by his regard for the general interests of Europe, and by his peculiar solicitude for the happiness and welfare of the Swiss nation, to express these his sentiments with a frankness and sincerity which he feels to be due to his character, and to the good understanding which he is desirous of preserving with the government of France.

*Downing Street, Oct. 10, 1802.*  
M. Otto, &c. &c. &c.

No. 18.

*Dispatch from Lord Hawkesbury to Mr. Moore, dated October 10, 1802.*

Sir,

His majesty having deemed it expedient, that a confidential person should be sent, at the present moment, to Switzerland, in consequence of the communication which he has received from the Swiss confederacy, through their representative at Paris, I am commanded to inform you that he has made choice of you for that purpose.

It is of the utmost consequence, considering the nature of the business with which you are entrusted, that you should lose no time in taking your departure from hence, and that you should make every practicable exertion to arrive on the frontiers of Switzerland with as little delay as possible. You will inform yourself there what is the actual residence of the government of the Swiss confederation, to which you will immediately repair. Having taken the proper means to obtain a

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confidential



confidential interview with the persons who may be entrusted with the principal direction of affairs, you will communicate to them a copy of the note verbale which I delivered to M. Otto; and which is herewith inclosed; and you will take every opportunity of impressing upon their minds the deep interest which his majesty takes in the success of their exertions. You will state to them, that his majesty entertains hopes that his representation to the French government may have the effect of inducing the first consul to abandon his intention of compelling the Swiss nation by force to renounce that system of government under which they had so long prospered, and to which they appear to be almost unanimously anxious to return. In this event his majesty will feel himself bound to abstain from all interference on his part; it being his earnest desire that the Swiss nation should be left at liberty to regulate their own internal concerns, without the interposition of any foreign power. If, however, contrary to his majesty's expectations, the French government should persist in the system of coercion announced in the proclamation of the first consul, inserted in the *Moniteur* of the 1st instant, you will, in that case, inform yourself, by every means in your power, of the disposition of the people at large of the Swiss confederacy, and particularly of those who have the direction of their affairs, and of those who possess the greatest share of influence amongst them; to persevere in the defence of their rights, and in the maintenance of the system they have adopted. You will likewise enquire into the means of defence of which they may be possessed, and of the pro-

bability of their being exerted with success. You will on no account encourage them to persevere in active measures of resistance which they are not themselves desirous to adopt, or which they may believe are unlikely to be ultimately effectual. If, however, you should find that the people of the Swiss confederacy are generally determined to persevere in the maintenance of their independence, and of their right to return to their ancient system of government; and if you should be of opinion that, from the union that subsists amongst the people, and from their zeal and enthusiasm in the cause in which they are engaged, they are finally resolved, at all hazards, to resist the threatened attempt of the French government to interpose, by force of arms, in the settlement of their internal concerns; you will then immediately communicate, in confidence, to the Swiss government, that, either in the event of a French army having entered the country, or in the event of your having reason to be convinced that a French army is actually advancing for that purpose, his majesty has authorised you to accede to their application for pecuniary succours.

I have furnished you with a cypher and decypher, that you may have it in your power to correspond with his majesty's ministers at Vienna and Munich, if you should think it advisable; and as it is highly probable that the armies of the Swiss confederacy may be inadequately supplied with arms, ammunition, or provisions, and may be desirous of procuring supplies thereof from the neighbouring countries, you will use your utmost endeavours to give them every facility for this purpose. You will be very particular in in-

forming



forming me of the numbers and situation of any Austrian corps in the neighbourhood of Switzerland, and of the probability of their advancing in any event into the Swiss territory.

As it is of great importance that his majesty's government should be regularly informed of the events which may be passing in Switzerland, and of the dispositions that may prevail there, you will endeavour to ascertain the most safe and expeditious mode of conveying your letters which will avoid their passing through any part of the French republic.

As it is possible that, previous to your arrival in Switzerland, the present state of affairs may have undergone a decided alteration, either in consequence of the submission of the Swiss cantons, or of any compromise having taken place as to their internal concerns, it will be proper that, in that case, you should take up your residence in such a situation as you may think most convenient in the neighbourhood of Switzerland, of which you will give me the earliest intelligence, and there wait for his majesty's further orders.

I am, Sir, &c.

(Signed) Hawkesbury.

Francis Moore, Esq.

#### No. 19.

*Dispatch from Mr. Moore to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Constance, October 31, 1802.*

My lord,

I have the honour to inform your lordship that I arrived here on the 27th instant, and that, having received this evening authentic information of the submission of the diet of Switzerland, assembled at

Schwitz, to the French arms, I lose no time in dispatching the messenger Shaw with this intelligence; from which your lordship will perceive that it only remains for me to obey that part of my instructions by which I am directed, under such circumstances, to take up my residence in the neighbourhood of Switzerland, and there to await his majesty's further orders.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Fra. Moore.

*The Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury,*  
&c. &c.

#### No. 20.

*Dispatch from Lord Hawkesbury to Mr. Moore, dated November 25, 1802.*

Sir,

I have duly received your several letters by the messenger Shaw.

As from the present state of Switzerland, your continuance in the vicinity of that country appears to be no longer necessary, you are at liberty to return to England as soon as it may suit your convenience.

I am, &c.

(Signed) Hawkesbury.

Francis Moore, Esq.

#### No. 21.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Liston to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Hague, October 13, 1802.*

A few hours after I had sent off my last dispatch to your lordship (on Saturday the 9th of this month), the French ambassador, M. de Semonville, waited upon the president of the government of state, and informed him that he had just received, by a courier from Paris, orders to inform the government of this country,

“ Que le premier consul avoit appris, avec autant de surprise que d'indignation, que des personnes avides de révolutions vouloient de nouveau troubler le repos dans la Batavie, en abusant même pour cet effet de noms respectables : et que le premier consul, comme allié de la republique, invitoit le gouvernement à prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires pour maintenir l'ordre des choses établi par la constitution.”

These were nearly the words read to me by the secretary of state, from a note in his own hand-writing, dictated to him by M. de Semonville, with a view to its publication (and a translation was accordingly inserted in the Dutch official paper of the Hague on the 11th); but they fall very far short of the language employed by the French minister for foreign affairs in his dispatches to the ambassador, and in the communication made by him to the Dutch charge d'affaires at Paris (who also sent a messenger to the Hague upon this occasion). In these M. de Talleyrand entered into considerable detail on the subject of the plots supposed to be formed in this country against the administration, mentioned the names of the chiefs, and ended by making an offer, on the part of the first consul, to come to the assistance of the government (should circumstances render it necessary) with all his forces.

No. 22.

*Dispatch from Mr. Liston to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Hague, October 29, 1802.*

My lord,

The recent attack made by Bonaparte upon the liberties and inde-

pendence of the Swiss cantons, has naturally made a strong impression on the inhabitants of this country; and the public anxiety has been much augmented by certain symptoms in the conduct of the consular government, which seem to indicate an intention not to withdraw the French troops, which have been kept in the Batavian republic for some time past, under the title of *auxiliaries*, and paid and maintained at the expence of the Dutch nation.

These troops (amounting to between ten and eleven thousand men) were to remain here till the conclusion of the definitive treaty with Great Britain. It was afterwards formally promised, on the part of France, that they should evacuate the territories of the republic, at the latest, on the expiration of the last French year (the 23d of September).—They accordingly began their march to the southward a few days before that period; and the government and the people rejoiced at the prospect of being finally relieved from a load which has become extremely irksome to them. But, on pretence that a great portion of the corps were to be embarked at Flushing for Louisiana, and that there was a want of shipping for their accommodation, they took up their quarters at the frontiers of the country (at Bois-le-Duc, Breda, and Bergen-op-Zoom), where they still remain; and demands have continued to be made for their pay and maintenance.

Hopes were, however, entertained, from day to day, that their departure would take place; when, to the astonishment of the Batavian government, official notice was (last week) transmitted from France to the



the department of war at the Hague (which has been charged with the support of these corps), that the first consul has been pleased to appoint a new commander in chief (General Montrichard), and a new staff, for the auxiliary troops in this country; and the notice was given that government might provide for the pay of the officers in question.

The administration appear resolved to oppose all the resistance in their power to this unexpected and oppressive extortion. An express has been sent off to the Dutch ambassador at Paris, charging him to claim, in the most urgent terms, the accomplishment of the treaties subsisting between the two republics, and the fulfilment of the repeated and recent promises made by the French government upon this subject. And in case of the failure of this application, they talk of addressing themselves to the principal powers of Europe, who had any share or influence in the conclusion of the peace, to entreat their intervention and good offices, with a view to the maintenance of the independence of the republic.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Robert Liston.

*Right Honourable Lord Hawkesbury,*  
 &c. &c.

No. 23.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Hawkesbury to Lord Whitworth, dated November 30, 1802.*

His majesty's government have learnt, with some surprise, from the communications from general Stuart, that that officer had signified to colonel Sebastiani his inability to evacuate Egypt, until he should receive specific orders for that pur-

pose. It is certainly true that no warrant has been transmitted to general Stuart, or to his predecessor the earl of Cavan, for the evacuation of Egypt: neither was it considered to be necessary, inasmuch as his majesty's government had already expressed their intention to general Stuart, in his instructions, that, except in a case of absolute necessity, the king's troops should remain in Egypt no longer than the month of July last. In all the instances of places which had been conquered by the king's forces, and of which possession had been taken in his majesty's name, it has been usual, when they have been restored to the French republic, or its allies, that the commanding officer should be furnished with a regular warrant under the king's sign manual, authorising him to make such restoration. But the case of Egypt is different, as that country had never been taken possession of in his majesty's name, as it had actually been restored to the Ottoman Porte, and as certain stations in it were continued to be occupied merely as military posts, until the means of removing the troops should be provided.

It is probable that, in the present instance, general Stuart may have been misled by a doubt as to the extent of his own power, and by the opinion that he required a warrant to evacuate Egypt, similar to that which had been granted to officers who superintended the restitution of conquests of which possession had been taken in his majesty's name. In order, however, to obviate any farther difficulties, instructions have now been sent to general Stuart directing him to remove the king's troops from Egypt



with as little delay as possible, and information has been given to this effect to general Andreossy.

#### No. 24.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Lord St. Helens to Lord Hawkesbury, dated St. Petersburg, July 20, 1802.*

I have since renewed my applications to this government on the business of Malta, and have some reason to hope that some impression has been made on the mind of his imperial majesty. The French minister, however, has not yet received his instructions; and, till they arrive, it will, of course, be impossible for me to take the requisite steps for bringing this affair to any satisfactory, or even positive issue.

#### No. 25.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Lord St. Helens, to Lord Hawkesbury, dated St. Petersburg, August 3, 1802.*

I must not omit to acquaint your lordship, that although, in order to prevent any further waste of time, I have thought it right to endeavour to obtain a definitive explanation of the intentions of this court, with relation to the proposed guarantee, I have not yet been enabled to demand it officially, according to the terms of the treaty of Amiens, as the French minister here is still without instructions authorising him to join with me in that instance.

#### No. 26.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Paget to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Vienna, July 18, 1802.*

On the 15th instant, M. de Champagny and I met at a con-

ference at the vice-chancellor's, to whom we presented our respective notes, copies of which I have the honour to enclose, marked A. and B.

#### *Inclosure marked A. in No. 26.*

The undersigned, his Britannic majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, has the honour to transmit herewith to the vice-chancellor of court and state, a copy of the tenth article of the treaty of Amiens. He has, at the same time, the honour to acquaint his excellency that he has received orders from his court to invite his majesty the emperor and king, conformable to the 13th paragraph of that article, to give his guarantee to the arrangements stipulated therein.

He therefore requests the vice-chancellor of court and state to lay this communication before his imperial majesty.

The undersigned avails himself, with pleasure, of this opportunity to reiterate to his excellency the expression of his most distinguished consideration.

(Signed) Arthur Paget.  
Vienna, 15th July, 1802.

#### *Inclosure marked B. in No. 26.*

The ambassador of the French republic, on the invitation which has been given him by Mr. Paget, his Britannic majesty's minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary, hastens, in conjunction with that minister, to communicate to the vice-chancellor of court and state, the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens, concerning the order and island of Malta, the sixth paragraph of which article places the independency of the island of Malta under the guarantee of his imperial

imperial majesty, and several other powers of Europe.

In taking this step, the ambassador, who has not received any orders respecting it, acts from the knowledge he has of the intention of his government to execute all the stipulations of the treaties it has concluded.

The ambassador seizes, with eagerness, this opportunity to offer to his excellency the assurances of his high consideration.

*Vienna, 26 Messidor, Year 10.*

(Signed) *Champagny.*  
*Count Cobenzel.*

No. 27.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Paget to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Vienna, August 22, 1802.*

I have the honour herewith to transmit to your lordship the emperor's act of guarantee and accession to the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens.

*Inclosure referred to in No. 27.*

The emperor and king having been invited by his Britannic majesty and the first consul of the French republic to accede to the stipulations contained in the 10th article of the treaty concluded and signed at Amiens on the 29th of March, 1802, (4th Germinal, year 10,) respecting the order of St. John of Jerusalem; and also to take under his protection and guarantee, conjointly with the other powers cited in the sixth paragraph of the said article, whatever was therein especially stipulated on the subject of the island of Malta: and his imperial and royal apostolic majesty having been, at the same time, informed that the two above mentioned powers adopted on their part the

concert which had been entered into by the two imperial courts, previous to the exchange of the ratifications of the above-mentioned treaty of Amiens, to leave to the pope the selection of a grand master from amongst the candidates nominated for that purpose by the priories of the order: his majesty, the emperor and king, desirous, on the present occasion, of exhibiting a fresh proof of his sincere friendship for his majesty, the king of Great Britain, and for the first consul of the French republic, has empowered and instructed his grand chamberlain and cabinet minister, count Francis of Colloredo, and his vice-chancellor of court and state, count Lewis of Cobenzel, to proceed in his name to the accession and guarantee of the stipulations of the tenth article of the aforementioned treaty; who, in virtue thereof, declare that his majesty accedes, by the present act, to the stipulations contained in this article, with the clause herein-before referred to, respecting the mode of the next election of the grand master of the order; and his majesty specifically guarantees whatsoever is therein regulated, with regard to the independence of the islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino.

In witness whereof we, the plenipotentiaries of his imperial, royal, and apostolic majesty, have signed the present act of accession and of guarantee; have thereunto affixed the seal of our arms, and have exchanged it against the acts of acceptance, delivered in the name of his majesty the king of Great Britain, and of the first consul of the French republic. Which acts of accession, of guarantee, and of acceptance, shall be ratified in the space of four



weeks, or sooner, if it can be done.

*Done at Vienna, the 20th of August, 1802.*

(L. S.) Francis count of Colloredo.

(L. S.) Lewis count of Cobenzel.

No. 28.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Casamajor to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Berlin, August 21, 1802.*

Having opened the subject of your lordship's last dispatch, relative to the accession of this court to the arrangement stipulated in the tenth article of the treaty of Amiens, to Mr. Bignon, this gentleman undertook, very willingly, to mention the same to his government, and has, in fact, already performed his promise. In several conversations with Mr. Bignon, in which I have occasionally remarked, that nothing had hitherto been said to me here upon the subject of Malta, he has constantly affected the greatest indifference, and treated it as a business of too little importance to occupy the attention of the French government.

No. 29.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Casamajor to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Berlin, August 31, 1802.*

Mr. Bignon received, last night, instructions from the French government, to invite the king of Prussia, conjointly with me, to accede to the guarantee of the independence of the island of Malta, and of the other stipulations relating to that island, which are contained in the tenth article of the definitive treaty of Amiens. Mr. Bignon sent to me immediately, and we propose to meet to-morrow, for the purpose of preparing a note upon

this subject, of which we shall each present a copy to count Haugwitz.

No. 30.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Casamajor to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Berlin, Oct. 2, 1802.*

My note upon the subject of the guarantee of Malta remains unanswered.

No. 31.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Jackson to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Berlin, Nov. 25, 1802.*

At my first interview with count Haugwitz, I told him, that the only subject in suspense between our two courts, to which I need call his immediate attention, was that of the guarantee of Malta, on which an answer is still due from him. He adverted to what he had told Mr. Casamajor, of the king his master having ordered a report to be made to him on the state of the commanders in Silesia, hinting, that this country took a very slight interest in the fate of the island; and that he was countenanced in withholding its guarantee *by the example of Spain*. He, however, added, that the report in question had been made to the king, and that he only waited his majesty's commands to confer with me further upon the subject.

No. 32.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Gurlike to Lord Hawkesbury, dated St. Petersburg, Sept. 17, 1802.*

The French minister has, at length, been directed by his government to make, conjointly with his majesty's minister here, a formal invitation to the emperor of Russia for his imperial majesty's guarantee of the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens, which provide for the independence



dependence of the islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino, and of the other arrangements of that article.

### No. 33.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Sir John Borlase Warren to Lord Hawkesbury, dated St. Petersburg, Nov. 18, 1802.*

On the 3d instant, I waited upon the chancellor with general Hedouville, when the note of invitation for his imperial majesty's guarantee of the tenth article of the treaty of Amiens was presented by each of us.

General de Hedouville entered into various reasons to induce the Russian government to grant the guarantee; the principal of which was to prove, that, without the guarantee of Russia, either of the two powers, upon the first difference between them, would look upon themselves at liberty to seize upon the island, which was only important in a military point of view; and the only alteration he should make in his invitation was, that the island might be delivered up to the Neapolitan troops.—He added, that the act of guarantee would not be considered as affecting the arrangement of any particular power with the order, or of any alteration that power might wish to make in the baillages, or that part belonging to itself, *as Spain had already done.*

### No. 34.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Sir John Borlase Warren to Lord Hawkesbury, dated St. Petersburg, Nov. 25, 1802.*

The chancellor appointed yesterday evening for delivering to me, and to the French minister, the answer of the Russian government to

his majesty's invitation for his imperial majesty's accession to the tenth article of the treaty of Amiens.

### *Inclosure referred to in No. 34.*

Conditions upon which his imperial majesty of all the Russias is willing to accede to the stipulations of the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens.

I. The acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the order of St. John of Jerusalem over the island of Malta and its dependencies; the acknowledgment of the grand master, and of the civil government of the order, according to its ancient institutions, with the admission into it of native Maltese. Upon this point, as well as upon every other that may relate to its interior organization, the legal government of the order shall have the power to enact and prescribe such regulations as it may judge best calculated to promote the future welfare and prosperity of the order.

II. The rights of the king of the Two Sicilies, as suzerain of the island, shall remain upon the same footing as they were previous to the war which is now terminated by the treaty of Amiens.

III. The independence and neutrality of the island of Malta, its ports and dependencies, shall be secured and guaranteed by the respective contracting powers, who shall mutually engage to acknowledge and maintain that neutrality in all cases of war; whether between each other, or between any of them, and any other power, not excepting his Sicilian majesty, whose right of suzerainty shall not extend so as to enable him to cause a departure from the neutrality of the island,

island, as guaranteed by the present act.

IV. Until the order shall be in a situation to provide, by its own resources, for the maintenance of its independence and neutrality, as secured by the preceding article, as well as for the defence of their principal residence, the different forts shall be occupied by his Sicilian majesty's troops, who shall send a sufficient force for the defence of the island and its dependencies, the number of which shall be agreed upon by his said majesty and the two contracting powers, who shall take upon themselves, conjointly, the expence of maintaining the whole of the said troops, so long as the defence of the island shall continue to be entrusted to them, during which period, the said troops shall be under the authority of the grand master of his government.

V. The present additional act shall be considered as forming an integral part of the treaty of Amiens, the same as if it had been inserted therein, word for word, and shall be executed in like manner.

VI. Their majesties the emperor of all the Russias, the emperor of the Romans, the king of Spain, the king of the Two Sicilies, and the king of Prussia, shall be invited to accede to this act as guarantees.

(Signed) Comte Alexandre  
de Woronzow.

No. 35.

*Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to  
Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris,  
Jan. 27, 1803.*

My lord,

I have to report to your lordship the purport of a conversation I had on Tuesday last, by appointment, with M. Talleyrand. He had in-

vited me, some days ago, for this purpose. The communication he had to make to me related to two points, both equally important, as he said, to the maintenance of good harmony between the two countries; with this difference, however, that the one originated with himself, and was dictated by his anxiety to do away every thing which might feed the mutual irritation of the two countries; and the other, by the express order of the first consul. That which came from himself related to the English newspapers, against which he pronounced a most bitter philippic, assuring me, that the first consul was extremely hurt to find that his endeavours to conciliate, had hitherto produced no other effect, than to increase the abuse with which the papers in England continually loaded him. He expatiated much upon this topic, and endeavoured to establish a fact, which I assured him a reference to any one newspaper in Paris would instantly refute, that, during four months, not a word of provocation had appeared in any French journal, which could justify a retort from those published in England. For the rest, he advanced nothing but what has been said, on more than one occasion to Mr. Merry, and reported by him to your lordship. I was, however, given to understand, that the first consul was, in fact, highly incensed; and the more so, he was pleased to say, as it came from a country of whose good opinion he was so very ambitious.

In my reply, I could but go over the old ground, and endeavour to make M. Talleyrand understand—first, that whatever was said in the English papers, might be considered  
but



but as a national retaliation for what was published in the French papers—secondly, that what was *officially* published here, was by no means so in England—and, thirdly, that although the government possessed a control over the press in France, the English government neither had, nor could have, unless they purchased it at the same price, any whatever in England. Upon this, he endeavoured to prove to me, that there were papers in England attached to different parties, and went over their names and supposed connection with great precision; and that, consequently, his majesty's ministers might so far control those, at least, which depended upon them, as to prevent their inserting that abuse which must be considered as having their sanction. I endeavoured to explain to him what the influence was, which he supposed ministers to possess in England; that it amounted to nothing more than a preference which your lordship, for instance, might give to one paper rather than to another, by sending to it any articles of news which it might be wished to make public; but that your lordship's influence went no farther; and that, if the editor of such a paper conceived it more for his interest to continue to write after his own fancy, and uncontrolled, than to be the publisher of such occasional articles, in that case, all influence was at an end. I told him, that if he had remarked any abusive article in any paper of such a description, it was natural and fair to conclude, that it did not depend upon government to prevent it. He persisted in his opinion, that his majesty's ministers might keep certain papers in order, as I did, in assuring him,

that, until the first consul could so far master his feelings, as to be indifferent to the scurrility of the English prints, as the English government was to that which daily appeared in the French, this state of irritation was irremediable. I told him, however, that I would report the substance of this communication to your lordship, although I could assure him that your lordship could add nothing to the explanation which had been given, and in such detail, by Mr. Merry from your lordship.

M. Talleyrand, with great solemnity, required of me to inform him, and this by the express order of the first consul, what were his majesty's intentions with regard to the evacuation of Malta. He again, on this occasion, made great professions of his sincere desire to set aside every thing which could interrupt the good understanding between the two governments; adding, that it was absolutely necessary that the French government should know what it was meant to do, when that clause in the treaty of Amiens, which stipulates the cession of Malta, should be fully accomplished. He said that another grand master would now be very soon elected; that all the powers of Europe, invited so to do, with the exception of Russia, whose difficulties it was easy to remove, and without whom the guarantee would be equally complete, were ready to come forward; and that, consequently, the term would very soon arrive, when Great Britain could have no pretext for keeping longer possession. I informed him that I would report his conversation to your lordship, and would have the honour of communicating to him your lordship's

answer



answer as soon as I could receive it.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Whitworth.

*Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.*

No 36.

*Dispatch from Lord Hawkesbury to Lord Whitworth, dated February 9, 1803.*

My lord,

In answer to your excellency's dispatch of January 27, relative to the enquiry made of you, by the French government, on the subject of Malta, I can have no difficulty in assuring you, that his majesty has entertained a most sincere desire that the treaty of Amiens might be executed in a full and complete manner; but it has not been possible for him to consider this treaty as having been founded on principles different from those which have been invariably applied to every other antecedent treaty of convention, namely, that they were negotiated with reference to the actual state of possession of the different parties, and of the treaties of public engagements by which they were bound at the time of its conclusion; and that if that state of possession, and of engagements, was so materially altered by the act of either of the parties, as to affect the nature of the compact itself, the other party has a right, according to the law of nations, to interfere for the purpose of obtaining satisfaction or compensation for any essential difference which such acts may have subsequently made in their relative situation; that, if there ever was a case to which this principle might be applied with peculiar propriety, it was that of the late treaty of peace; for

the negociation was conducted on a basis not merely proposed by his majesty, but specially agreed to in an official note by the French government, viz. that his majesty should keep a compensation out of his conquests for the important acquisitions of territory made by France upon the continent. This is a sufficient proof that the compact was understood to have been concluded with reference to the then existing state of things; for the measure of his majesty's compensation was to be calculated with reference to the acquisitions of France at that time; and if the interference of the French government in the general affairs of Europe, since that period; if their interposition with respect to Switzerland and Holland, whose independence was guaranteed by them at the time of the conclusion of the treaty of peace; if the annexations which have been made to France in various quarters, but particularly those in Italy, have extended the territory, and increased the power of the French government; his majesty would be warranted, consistently with the spirit of the treaty of peace, in claiming equivalents for these acquisitions, as a counterpoise to the augmentation of the power of France. His majesty, however, anxious to prevent all ground of misunderstanding, and desirous of consolidating the general peace of Europe, as far as might be in his power, was willing to have waved the pretensions he might have a right to advance of this nature; and as the other articles of the definitive treaty have been in a course of execution on his part, so he would have been ready to have carried into effect the true intent and spirit of the 10th article, the execution

execution of which, according to its terms, had been rendered impracticable by circumstances which it was not in his majesty's power to control. A communication to your lordship would accordingly have been prepared, conformably to this disposition, if the attention of his majesty's government had not been attracted by the very extraordinary publication of the report of colonel Sebastiani to the first consul. It is impossible for his majesty to view this report in any other light than as an official publication; for, without referring particularly to explanations, which have been repeatedly given upon the subject of publications in the *Moniteur*, the article in question, as it purports to be the report to the first consul of an accredited agent, as it appears to have been signed by colonel Sebastiani himself, and as it is published in the official paper, with an official title affixed to it, must be considered as authorized by the French government. This report contains the most unjustifiable insinuations and charges against the officer who commanded his forces in Egypt, and against the British army in that quarter; insinuations and charges wholly destitute of foundation, and such as would warrant his majesty in demanding that satisfaction, which, on occasions of this nature, independent powers, in a state of amity, have a right to expect from each other. It discloses, moreover, views in the highest degree injurious to the interests of his majesty's dominions, and directly repugnant to, and utterly inconsistent with, the spirit and letter of the treaty of peace, concluded between his majesty and the French government; and his majesty would feel that he

was wanting in a proper regard to the honour of his crown, and to the interests of his dominions, if he could see, with indifference, such a system developed and avowed. His majesty cannot, therefore, regard the conduct of the French government, on various occasions, since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, the insinuations and charges contained in the report of colonel Sebastiani, and the views which that report discloses, without feeling it necessary for him, distinctly, to declare, that it will be impossible for him to enter into any further discussion relative to Malta, unless he receives satisfactory explanation on the subject of this communication.

Your excellency is desired to take an early opportunity of fully explaining his majesty's sentiments, as above stated, to the French government.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Hawkesbury.

*His Excellency Lord Whitworth,*

*K. B. &c. &c. &c.*

#### No. 37.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, February 17, 1803.*

I have the honour to acquaint your lordship, that I saw M. de Talleyrand on Tuesday last, for the purpose of carrying into effect your lordship's instructions of the 9th instant. I began by telling him that I had nothing new to communicate to him; but merely to confirm officially that which I had already from myself premised. I did not, however, pass over, with the same indifference, the arguments with which your lordship has furnished me. I recapitulated them all; the principle on which the treaty of Amiens was founded;



founded; and the right which naturally arose from that principle, of interference on our part for the purpose of obtaining satisfaction or compensation, for any essential differences which may have arisen in the relative situation of the two countries. I instanced the cases, beginning with Italy and concluding with Switzerland, in which the territory or influence of France had been extended subsequent to the treaty of Amiens.

I represented to him, that this principle of compensation had been fully and formally admitted by the French government, in the course of the negotiation at Amiens. I then told him, that notwithstanding the indisputable right which his majesty might have derived of claiming some counterpoise for such acquisitions, instructions would have been given me; by which I should have been empowered to declare his majesty's readiness to carry into effect the full intent of the 10th article of the treaty, if the attention of his majesty's government had not been roused by the official publication of colonel Sebastiani's report to the first consul. It was useless to recapitulate the particulars of this very extraordinary report; but I appealed to him whether it was not of a nature, exclusive of the personal allusions it contained, to excite the utmost jealousy in the minds of his majesty's ministers, and to demand on their part every measure of precaution. I concluded with the distinct declaration, that it was impossible for his majesty to enter into any further discussion relative to Malta, unless he receives satisfactory explanations on the subject of the first consul's views.

M. de Talleyrand, in his reply,

did not attempt to dispute the drift of my argument. He admitted, with an affected tone of candour, that the jealousy we felt on the score of Egypt, with a view to our possessions in India, was natural. But he could not admit that any thing had appeared, in the conduct of the French government, in justification of the alarm we expressed. After repeating what he had said to me in a former conversation, on the subject of Sebastiani's mission, which he asserted to be *strictly commercial*, he expatiated, at great length, on the sincere desire of the first consul to maintain inviolable the peace which had been so lately concluded; adding, that the situation of the French finances was such, that were not this desire of peace in the first consul an effect of system, it would be most imperiously dictated to him, by the total impossibility in which this country found itself of carrying on that extensive state of warfare, which even a partial rupture would naturally lead to. He expressed great surprise, therefore, that any suspicion should attach, when the means of disturbing the public tranquillity were, as must be well known in England, so completely wanting; and desired to know what was the nature and degree of satisfaction which his majesty would require. On this I told him, that I could not pretend to say by what means those apprehensions, which the conduct of this government had raised in England, were to be allayed; but I could assure him, that, in the discussion of them, we should be animated solely by a sincere desire to be convinced of the truth of his assertions, since on that depended the peace and happiness of Europe. I took



took this opportunity of assuring him, that although, according to his statement of the situation of France, we might possess, in a greater degree, the means of supporting the expence of a war, since those means arose from sources which even a state of warfare did not dry up, yet such was his majesty's sincere desire of maintaining peace, that nothing but absolute and unavoidable necessity would ever induce him to deprive his subjects of the blessings which they begin to enjoy.

No. 38.

*Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, Feb. 21, 1803.*

My lord,

My last dispatch, in which I gave your lordship an account of my conference with M. de Talleyrand, was scarcely gone, when I received a note from him, informing me that the first consul wished to converse with me, and desired I would come to him at the Thuilleries at 9 o'clock. He received me in his cabinet with tolerable cordiality, and, after talking on different subjects for a few minutes, he desired me to sit down, as he himself did on the other side of the table, and began. He told me that he felt it necessary, after what had passed between me and M. de Talleyrand, that he should, in the most clear and authentic manner, make known his sentiments to me, in order to their being communicated to his majesty; and he conceived this would be more effectually done by himself than through any medium whatever. He said that it was a matter of infinite disappointment to him, that the treaty of Amiens, instead of being followed by conciliation and friendship, the

natural effects of peace, had been productive only of continual and increasing jealousy and mistrust; and that this mistrust was now avowed in such a manner as must bring the point to an issue.

He now enumerated the several provocations which he pretended to have received from England. He placed in the first line our not evacuating Malta and Alexandria, as we were bound to do by the treaty. In this, he said, that no consideration on earth should make him acquiesce; and, of the two, he had rather see us in possession of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine than Malta. He then adverted to the abuse thrown out against him in the English public prints; but this, he said, he did not so much regard as that which appeared in the French papers published in London. This he considered as much more mischievous, since it was meant to excite this country against him and his government. He complained of the protection given to Georges and others of his description, who, instead of being sent to Canada, as had been repeatedly promised, were permitted to remain in England, handsomely pensioned, and constantly committing all sorts of crimes on the coasts of France, as well as in the interior. In confirmation of this, he told me that two men had, within these few days, been apprehended in Normandy, and were now on their way to Paris, who were hired assassins, and employed by the bishop of Arras, by the baron de Rolle, by Georges, and by Dutheil, as would be fully proved in a court of justice, and made known to the world.

He acknowledged that the irritation he felt against England increas-

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ed daily, because every wind (I make use as much as I can of his own ideas and expressions), which blew from England, brought nothing but enmity and hatred against him.

He now went back to Egypt, and told me that if he had felt the smallest inclination to take possession of it by force, he might have done it a month ago, by sending twenty-five thousand men to Aboukir, who would have possessed themselves of the whole country in defiance of the four thousand British in Alexandria. That instead of that garrison being a means of protecting Egypt, it was only furnishing him with a pretence for invading it. *This he should not do, whatever might be his desire to have it a colony, because he did not think it worth the risk of a war, in which he might, perhaps, be considered as the aggressor, and by which he should lose more than he could gain, since, sooner or later, Egypt would belong to France, either by the falling to pieces of the Turkish empire, or by some arrangement with the Porte.*

As a proof of his desire to maintain peace, he wished to know what he had to gain by going to war with England. A descent was the only means of offence he had, and that he was determined to attempt, by putting himself at the head of the expedition. But how could it be supposed, that, after having gained the height on which he stood, he would risk his life and reputation in such a hazardous attempt, unless forced to it by necessity, when the chances were that he and the greatest part of the expedition would go to the bottom of the sea. He talked much on this subject, but never affected to diminish the danger. He acknowledged that there were one

hundred chances to one against him, but still he was determined to attempt it, if war should be the consequence of the present discussion; and that such was the disposition of the troops, that army after army would be found for the enterprize.

He then expatiated much on the natural force of the two countries. France, with an army of four hundred and eighty thousand men; for to this amount it is, he said, *to be immediately completed*, all ready for the most desperate enterprizes; and England with a fleet that made her mistress of the seas, and which he did not think he should be able to equal in less than ten years. Two such countries, by a proper understanding, might govern the world, but by their strifes might overturn it. He said, that, if he had not felt the enmity of the British government, on every occasion, since the treaty of Amiens, there would have been nothing that he would not have done to prove his desire to conciliate; participation in indemnities, as well as in influence, on the continent; treaties of commerce; in short, any thing that could have given satisfaction, and have testified his friendship. Nothing, however, had been able to conquer the hatred of the British government, and, therefore, it was now come to the point whether we should have peace or war. To preserve peace, the treaty of Amiens must be fulfilled; the abuse in the public prints, if not totally suppressed, at least kept within bounds, and confined to the English papers; and the protection so openly given to his bitterest enemies, (alluding to Georges, and persons of that description,) must be withdrawn. If war, it was necessary only to say so, and to refuse



fuse to fulfil the treaty. He now made the tour of Europe, to prove to me that, in its present state, there was no power with which we could coalesce, for the purpose of making war against France; consequently it was our interest to gain time, and if we had any point to gain, renew the war when circumstances were more favourable. He said it was not doing him justice, to suppose that he conceived himself above the opinion of his country or of Europe. He would not risk uniting Europe against him, by any violent act of aggression, neither was he so powerful in France, as to persuade the nation to go to war, unless on good grounds. He said that he had not chastised the Algerines, from his unwillingness to excite the jealousy of other powers, but he hoped that England, Russia, and France would one day feel that it was their interest to destroy such a nest of thieves, and force them to live rather by cultivating their land, than by plunder.

In the little I said to him, (for he gave me, in the course of two hours, but very few opportunities of saying a word,) I confined myself strictly to the tenor of your lordship's instructions. I urged them in the same manner as I had done to M. de Talleyrand, and dwelt as strongly as I could on the sensation which the publication of Sebastiani's report had created in England, where the views of France towards Egypt must always command the utmost vigilance and jealousy. He maintained that what ought to convince us of his desire of peace was, on the one hand, the little he had to gain by renewing the war, and, on the other, the facility with which he might have taken possession of

Egypt, with the very ships and troops which were now going from the Mediterranean to St. Domingo, and that with the approbation of all Europe, and more particularly of the Turks, who had repeatedly invited him to join with them, for the purpose of forcing us to evacuate their territory.

I do not pretend to follow the arguments of the first consul in detail: this would be impossible, from the vast variety of matter which he took occasion to introduce. His purpose was evidently to convince me, that on Malta must depend peace or war, and, at the same time, to impress upon my mind a strong idea of the means he possessed of annoying us at home and abroad.

With regard to the mistrust and jealousy which, he said, constantly prevailed since the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, I observed, that, after a war of such long duration, so full of rancour, and carried on in a manner of which history has no example, it was but natural that a considerable degree of agitation should prevail: but this, like the swell after a storm, would gradually subside, if not kept up by the policy of either party; that I would not pretend to pronounce which had been the aggressor in the paper war of which he complained, and which was still kept up, though with this difference, that in England it was independent of government, and in France its very act and deed. To this I added, that it must be admitted that we had such motives of mistrust against France, as could not be alledged against us; and I was going to instance the accession of territory and influence gained by France since the treaty, when he interrupted me, by saying, I sup-



pose you mean Piedmont and Switzerland; "ce sont des bagatelles;" and it must have been foreseen, whilst the negotiation was pending; "Vous n'avez pas le droit d'en parler à cette heure." I then alleged, as a cause of mistrust and of jealousy, the impossibility of obtaining justice, or any kind of redress, for any of his majesty's subjects.—He asked me in what respect; and I told him, that, since the signing of the treaty, not one British claimant had been satisfied; although every Frenchman of that description had been so within one month after that period; and that since I had been here, and I could say as much of my predecessors, not one satisfactory answer had been obtained, to the innumerable representations which we had been under the necessity of making in favour of British subjects and property detained in the several ports of France, and elsewhere, without even a shadow of justice: such an order of things, I said, was not made to inspire confidence, but, on the contrary, must create mistrust. This, he said, must be attributed to the natural difficulties attending such suits, when both parties thought themselves right; but he denied that such delays could proceed from any disinclination to do what was just and right. With regard to the pensions which were granted to French or Swiss individuals, I observed that they were given as a reward for past services during the war, and most certainly not for present ones, and still less for such as had been insinuated, of a nature repugnant to the feelings of every individual in England, and to the universally acknowledged loyalty and honour of the British government. That as for any participation of indemnities, or other

accessions which his majesty might have obtained, I could take upon myself to assure him, that his majesty's ambition led him rather to preserve than to acquire. And that, with regard to the most propitious moment for renewing hostilities, his majesty, whose sincere desire it was to continue the blessings of peace to his subjects, would always consider such a measure as the greatest calamity; but that, if his majesty was so desirous of peace, it must not be imputed to the difficulty of obtaining allies; and the less so, as those means which it might be necessary to afford such allies for, perhaps, inadequate services, would all be concentrated in England, and give a proportionate increase or energy to our own exertions.

At this part of the conversation, he rose from his chair, and told me that he should give orders to general Andreossy to enter on the discussion of this business with your lordship; but he wished that I should, at the same time, be made acquainted with his motives, and convinced of his sincerity, rather from himself than from his ministers. He then, after a conversation of two hours, during the greatest part of which he talked incessantly, conversed for a few moments on indifferent subjects, in apparent good humour, and retired.

Such was, nearly as I can recollect, the purport of this conference.

It must, however, be observed, that he did not, as M. Talleyrand had done, affect to attribute colonel Sebastiani's mission to *commercial motives only*, but as one rendered necessary, in a military point of view, by the infraction by us of the treaty of Amiens.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Whitworth.  
P. S. This

P. S. This conversation took place on Friday last, and this morning I saw M. de Talleyrand. He had been with the first consul, after I left him, and he assured me that he had been very well satisfied with the frankness with which I had made my observations on what fell from him. I told him, that, without entering into any farther detail, what I had said to the first consul amounted to an assurance of what I trusted there could be no doubt, of the readiness of his majesty's ministers to remove all subjects of discussion, where that could be done without violating the laws of the country, and to fulfil strictly the engagements which they had contracted, inasmuch as that could be reconciled with the safety of the state.—As this applied to Malta and Egypt, he gave me to understand that a project was in contemplation, by which the integrity of the Turkish empire would be so effectually secured, as to do away every cause of doubt or uneasiness, either with regard to Egypt, or any part of the Turkish dominions. He could not then, he said, explain himself farther. Under these circumstances, no one can expect that we should relinquish that assurance which we have in hand, till something equally satisfactory is proposed and adopted.

Whitworth.

*The Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury,  
&c. &c. &c.*

No. 39.

*Dispatch from Lord Hawkesbury to  
Lord Whitworth, dated Feb. 18,  
1803.*

My lord,

Your excellency's dispatch, of February 21st, has been received, and laid before the king.

I have great satisfaction in communicating to you his majesty's entire approbation of the able and judicious manner in which you appear to have executed the instructions which I gave to you in my dispatch of the 9th instant.

The account you have given of your interview with the first consul, is, in every respect, important.

It is unnecessary for me to remark on the tone and temper in which the sentiments of the first consul appear to have been expressed, or to offer any observations in addition to those so properly made by your excellency, at the time, upon several of the topics which were brought forward by the first consul, in the course of your conversation; I shall, therefore, content myself with referring your excellency to my dispatch to Mr. Merry, of August 28, 1802, in which the subject of the complaints of the French government, respecting the freedom of the press, the emigrants, &c. are particularly discussed. I cannot, however, avoid noticing, that nothing approaching to explanation or satisfaction is stated to have been thrown out by the first consul, in answer to the just representations and complaints of his majesty, in consequence of the unwarrantable insinuations and charges contained in colonel Sebastiani's report against his majesty's government,—the officer commanding his forces in Egypt, and his army in that quarter; but that, on the other hand, the language of the first consul has tended to strengthen and confirm the suspicions which that publication was peculiarly calculated to excite.

I shall now proceed to give you some farther instructions on the language which it may be proper for you

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to



to hold respecting the charge which has been advanced against his majesty's government, of their unwillingness to fulfil the treaty of Amiens. The treaty of Amiens has been in a course of execution, on the part of his majesty, in every article in which, according to the spirit of that treaty, it has been found capable of execution. There cannot be the least doubt that Egypt is at this time completely evacuated. The delay which had arisen in the evacuation of Alexandria, was owing to accidental circumstances, the particulars of which were explained to you in my dispatch of the 30th November last: and I had every reason to believe, from the communication I had with general Andreossy on the subject, that the French government were perfectly satisfied with the explanation which he was authorized, at the time, to give them respecting it.

With regard to that article of the treaty which relates to Malta, the stipulations contained in it (owing to circumstances which it was not in the power of his majesty to control) have not been found capable of execution. The refusal of Russia to accede to the arrangement, except on condition that the Maltese langue should be abolished;—the silence of the court of Berlin, with respect to the invitation that has been made to it, in consequence of the treaty, to become a guaranteeing power;—the abolition of the Spanish priories, in defiance of the treaty to which the king of Spain was a party;—the declaration of the Portuguese government, of their intention to sequester the property of the Portuguese priory, as forming a part of the Spanish langue,

unless the property of the Spanish priories is restored to them;—the non-election of a grand master:—These circumstances would have been sufficient, without any other special grounds, to have warranted his Majesty in suspending the evacuation of the island, until some new arrangement could be adjusted for its security and independence. But when it is considered how greatly the dominion, power, and influence of France have of late been extended, his majesty must feel that he has an incontestible right, conformably to the principles on which the treaty of peace was negotiated and concluded, to demand additional securities in any new arrangement which it might be necessary to make, with a view of effecting the real objects of that treaty. And these considerations, sufficient as they might be in themselves, to justify the line of conduct which his majesty had determined to adopt, have received additional force from the views which have been recently and unreservedly manifested by the French government, respecting the Turkish dominions, and the islands in the Adriatic (*and which have been in a great degree admitted by the first consul, in his interview with your excellency*)—views which are directly repugnant, not only to the spirit, but to the letter of the treaty of Amiens.

From the postscript in your excellency's letter, it appears that a project was in contemplation, by which, according to the declaration of M. Talleyrand, the integrity of the Turkish territory would be secured so as to do away every cause of doubt or uneasiness, either with regard to Egypt, or to any other part of the Turkish dominions.—



His majesty will consider the communication of such a project as indicating a disposition, on the part of the French government, to afford him explanation and satisfaction respecting some of the points which have been the subject of his representations. But, after all that has passed, his majesty cannot consent that his troops should evacuate the island of Malta, until substantial security has been provided for those objects which, under the present circumstances, might be materially endangered by their removal.

I am, &c.

Hawkesbury.

*His Excellency Lord Whitworth,  
&c. &c. &c.*

No. 40.

*Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to  
Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris,  
March 5, 1803.*

My lord,

I saw M. de Talleyrand yesterday, and acquitted myself of your lordship's instructions. I recapitulated the several arguments therein contained, dwelling particularly on the open avowal of the first consul's views in Egypt; and concluding with the resolution of his majesty not to withdraw his troops from Malta, until some security should be given, that, by so doing, his majesty should not expose the safety of his own dominions.

He heard me with great patience, and, in answer, endeavoured, as before, to convince me that there was no reason whatever for the apprehensions which we entertained.—That it was true, the acquisition of Egypt had been, and, perhaps, still was, a favourite object of the first consul; but that it was not so much so, as to allow him to go to war for its attainment.

I then told him, that what had in a particular manner excited the attention of your lordship, in my last report, was the assurance he had given me of some project being in contemplation, whereby the integrity of the Turkish empire would be so insured, in all its parts, as to remove every doubt or apprehension. I begged him, therefore, to explain himself on this subject, which I conceived to be of the utmost importance, since it was only by such means that both parties could be satisfied. He then gave me to understand, that what he had termed a project was nothing more than what had been expressed in the first consul's message to the legislative body, when he says, that there is a French ambassador at Constantinople, who is charged to give every assurance of the disposition of France to strengthen, instead of to weaken, that government. I expressed a doubt whether this, or any other parole security, would be considered as sufficient in such a transaction. Hereupon he repeated the question—What, then, is the security which you require, and which the first consul can give?—This, I told him, must be the subject of the negotiation on which we were willing to enter; and I trusted that the French government would bring into it the same temper, and the same real desire to conciliate, which was manifested by his majesty's ministers.

M. de Talleyrand now informed me, that the first consul had, five or six days ago, ordered instructions to be sent to general Andreossy, by which he was to require an immediate and categorical answer to the plain question—Whether his majesty would, or would not, cause Malta to be evacuated by the British troops?

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troops? That he concluded this communication was already made, and that he expected to learn the result of it in a very few days; adding, that all the first consul wanted was to know precisely on what he had to depend.

I could not help lamenting this precipitate measure, since it could answer no good purpose, and would only tend to introduce into the discussion ill-humour and offended dignity, in the place of dispassionate reasoning. I begged him, however, to be prepared, and to prepare the first consul, to meet with more opposition to his will than he had been accustomed to on similar occasions.

I told him, that his majesty was willing to discuss the point in dispute with fairness and candour, but certainly never would be intimidated into acquiescence; and I repeatedly urged, that, if he wished well to the peace of the two countries, he should prepare the first consul for the consequences which might naturally be expected from this step, and thus prevent the effect of any sudden gust of ill-humour. He was unwilling to admit that there could be any chance of satisfying the first consul short of a compliance with his wishes, founded, as he pretended, on good faith.

Our conversation ended here, and I wait the result of Gen. Andreossy's communication with the utmost impatience.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Whitworth.

P. S. In the interval between the writing and the transcribing the above dispatch, I have taken another opportunity of seeing M. de Talleyrand, and I am glad to find, that (for what purpose I know not) he had represented the instructions to general Andreossy as much more

absolute and offensive than they really are. I found him to-day entirely disposed to give me another opinion, and to convince me, that the first consul, far from wishing to carry matters to extremity, was desirous to discuss, fairly, and without passion, a point which, he admitted, was of importance to both countries. He repeatedly assured me, that much as the first consul might have the acquisition of Egypt at heart, he would sacrifice his own feelings to the preservation of peace, and henceforth seek to augment his glory, by improving and consolidating the internal situation of the country, rather than by adding to its possessions.

(Signed) W.

*Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury,*  
 &c. &c. &c.

No. 41.

*Note from General Andreossy to Lord Hawkesbury, dated March 10, 1803.*

The undersigned ambassador and minister plenipotentiary of the French republic to his Britannic majesty, had received from the first consul express orders to require from the British government some explanations respecting the protracted occupation of the island of Malta, by the English troops. He had hoped that verbal communications would have been sufficient to have produced satisfactory expositions, by preparing the way for the mutual conciliation of minds and interests, a conduct which has been prescribed to him by his ardent zeal for the maintenance of harmony between the two countries, and of the peace of Europe, objects of the solicitude of the French government: but the undersigned thinks he can no longer delay



delay complying with the instructions he had received; and he has, therefore, the honour of addressing the following observations to his excellency lord Hawkesbury, which recal to recollection the spirit and the leading features of the verbal communications which he has previously made to him.

By the conditions of the fourth paragraph of the tenth article of the treaty of Amiens, the English troops were to evacuate the island of Malta and its dependencies, three months after the exchange of the ratifications.

Ten months have elapsed since the ratifications have been exchanged, and the English troops are still at Malta.

The French troops, on the contrary, who were to evacuate the Neapolitan and Papal states, have not waited the expiration of the three months which were granted to them to withdraw, and have quitted Tarentum, the fortifications of which they had re-established, and where they had collected 100 pieces of cannon.

What can be alledged in justification of the delay in evacuating Malta? Has not the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens provided for every thing? and the Neapolitan troops being arrived, under what pretext do those of England still remain there?

Is it because all the powers enumerated in the 6th paragraph, have not yet accepted the guarantee which is devolved upon them? But this is not a condition that relates to the evacuation of the island; and besides, Austria has already sent its act of guarantee: Russia, itself, has made only a single difficulty, which is done away by the accession of the first consul to the modi-

fications proposed, unless, indeed, England itself throws obstacles in the way; by refusing to accede to the proposals of Russia, which, after all, could not affect the engagements of his Britannic majesty, who, according to the express conditions of the treaty, is to evacuate the island of Malta within three months, placing it under the guard of the Neapolitans, who are to garrison it until the definitive arrangements of the order are settled.

It should, therefore, seem impossible, and it would be without example in the history of nations, were his Britannic majesty to refuse to execute a fundamental article of the pacification, of the very one, which, in the drawing up of the preliminaries, was considered as the first, and as requiring to be settled previously to every other point.

Indeed, the first consul, who cordially relies on the intentions of his Britannic majesty, and cannot suppose them to be less open and generous than those with which he is animated, has hitherto been unwilling to attribute the delay of the evacuation of the island of Malta to any other than to maritime circumstances.

The undersigned is, therefore, charged to require explanations on this point, and he is persuaded that the British ministry will be the more anxious to furnish such as will be satisfactory, as they must be sensible how necessary they are for the maintenance of harmony, and how important they are for the honour of the two nations.

The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity to renew to lord Hawkesbury the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) F. Andreossy.  
Portland Place, March 10, 1802.



No. 42.

*Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated March 12, 1803.*

My lord,

The messenger Mason, arrived yesterday morning early, with your lordship's letter of the 7th, informing me, that, in consequence of the preparations in the ports of France and Holland, which, though avowedly intended for colonial service, might, in the event of a rupture, be turned against some part of the British dominions, his majesty had judged it expedient to send a message to both houses of parliament, recommending, in terms void of offence, the adoption of such measures, as may be consistent with the honour of his crown, and the security of his dominions; and, at the same time, such as will manifest his majesty's disposition for the preservation of peace.

I beg leave to return your lordship my thanks for having apprized me of this circumstance by a special messenger; I found, however, on going to M. de Talleyrand, at two o'clock, that he was already informed of it. He was just setting out to communicate it to the first consul, and appeared under considerable agitation. He returned with me to his cabinet, and though he told me he was pressed for time, he suffered me to relate the circumstance without interruption. I endeavoured to make him sensible that this measure was merely precautionary, and not, in the least degree, intended as a menace. I concluded my observations by repeating that it was merely a measure of self-security, founded on the armaments which were carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, remarking,

at the same time, that had not even these armaments been as notorious as they were, the very circumstance of the first consul's determination to augment so considerably his army, in time of peace, would have been a full and sufficient motive for such a measure of precaution.

M. de Talleyrand now informed me that he was already acquainted with the business; that a messenger had that morning arrived, who had brought him a copy of the message, which he communicated to me. I could draw from him no reply whatever to my observations. He confined himself strictly to the assurance which he has so repeatedly made, that there was no foundation whatever for the alarm which was felt by his majesty's ministers; that the first consul was pacific; that he had no thoughts whatever of attacking his majesty's dominions, unless forced to do so by a commencement of hostilities on our part; that he should always consider the *refusal to evacuate Malta as such a commencement of hostilities*; and that, as we had hitherto hesitated to do so, he was justified in adopting the measures which might eventually be necessary. He disclaimed every idea of the armaments fitting out in the Dutch ports having any other destination than to the colonies; and concluded, that, for his part, he could not comprehend the motives which had necessitated a resort to such a measure on the part of his majesty's government.

He then desired leave to go to the first consul, promising that he would let me know the result when we met at dinner at the Prussian minister's. He did not come there till near seven o'clock, and when we rose from dinner, he took me  
aside,

aside, and informed me, that although the first consul had been highly irritated at the unjust suspicion which his majesty's government entertained, yet, he would not allow himself to be so far mastered by his feelings, as to lose sight of the calamities which the present discussion might entail upon humanity. He dwelt much on this topic, and explained the measures to which he should be obliged to resort: he said, that if England wished to discuss fairly, he wished the same; that if England prepared for war, he would do the same; and that if England should finally determine on hostilities, he trusted to the support of the French nation in the cause of honour and of justice. It was in vain that I repeated that England did not wish for war; that peace was as necessary to us as it could be to France; that all we desired, and all that we were contending for, was security; that every thing proved to us that that security was threatened by the first consul's views on Egypt; and that, consequently, our refusal to evacuate Malta was become as much a necessary measure of precaution, as the defence of any part of his majesty's dominions. To this kind of reasoning M. de Talleyrand opposed the moderation of the first consul, his great self-denial, and his determination to sacrifice even the most favourite points to his sincere desire to avoid a rupture.

M. de Talleyrand now told me, that, in order to facilitate my communication of the first consul's sentiments, he would communicate to me a paper which he had that morning drawn up with him; that it was not to be considered as any thing absolutely official; that it was a me-

morandum to assist me, but such as I might, if I chose, transmit to your lordship. I now enclose it.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Whitworth.

*The Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.*

*Note Verbale referred to in No. 42.*

I. If his Britannic majesty, in his message, means to speak of the expedition of Helvoetsluys, all the world knows that it was destined for America, and that it was on the point of sailing for its destination, but, in consequence of his majesty's message, the embarkation and putting to sea are about to be countermanded.

II. If we do not receive satisfactory explanation respecting these armaments in England, and if they actually take place, *it is natural* that the first consul should march 20,000 men into Holland, since Holland is mentioned in the message.

III. These troops being once in the country, *it is natural* that an encampment should be formed on the frontiers of Hanover; and, moreover, that additional bodies should join those troops which were already embarked for America, in order to form new embarkations, and to maintain an offensive and defensive position.

IV. *It is natural* that the first consul should order several camps to be formed at Calais, and on different points of the coasts.

V. It is likewise *in the nature of things* that the first consul, who was on the point of evacuating Switzerland, should be under the necessity of continuing a French army in that country.

VI. It is also *the natural consequence*



quence of all this, that the first consul should send a fresh force into Italy, in order to occupy, in case of necessity, the position of Tarentum.

VII. England arming, and arming with so much publicity, will compel France to put her armies on the war establishment, a step so important, as cannot fail to agitate all Europe.

The result of all these movements will be to irritate the two countries still more. France will have been compelled to take all these precautions in consequence of the English armaments, and, nevertheless, every means will be taken to excite the English nation, by the assertion that France meditates an invasion. The whole British population will be obliged to put themselves under arms for their defence, and their export trade will, even before the war, be in a state of stagnation throughout the whole extent of the countries occupied by the French arms.

The experience of nations, and the course of events, prove, that the distance between such a state of things and actual hostility, is unfortunately not remote.

As to the differences, of which mention is made in his Britannic majesty's message, we know not of any that we have with England; for it cannot be imagined, that a serious intention can have existed in England, of evading the execution of the treaty of Amiens, under the protection of a military armament. Europe well knows, that it is possible to attempt the dismemberment of France, but not to intimidate her.

No. 43.

*Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, March 14, 1803.*

My lord,

The messenger, Mason, went on Saturday with my dispatches of that date, and, until yesterday, Sunday, I saw no one, likely to give me any farther information, such as I could depend upon, as to the effect which his majesty's message had produced on the first consul. At the court which was held at the Thuilleries upon that day, he accosted me, evidently under very considerable agitation. He began by asking me if I had any news from England. I told him that I had received letters from your lordship two days ago. He immediately said, and so you are determined to go to war: No! I replied, we are too sensible of the advantages of peace—Nous avons, said he, déjà fait la guerre pendant quinze ans.—As he seemed to wait for an answer, I observed only, c'en est déjà trop.—Mais, said he, vous voulez la faire encore quinze années, et vous m'y forcez.—I told him, that was very far from his majesty's intentions.—He then proceeded to count Marcow and the chevalier Azara, who were standing together, at a little distance from me, and said to them, les Anglois veulent la guerre, mais s'ils sont les premiers à tirer l'épée, je serai le dernier à la remettre. Ils ne respectant pas les traités. Il faut dorénavant les couvrir de crepe noir.—He then went his round. In a few minutes he came back to me, and resumed the conversation, if such it can be called, by something personally civil to me. He began again — Pourquoi des armemens? Contre qui des mesures de précaution? Je n'ai pas un seul vaisseau de ligne dans les ports de France; mais si vous voulez armer, j'armerai aussi; si vous voulez vous battre, je



je me battraï aussi. Vous pourrez peut-être tuer la France, mais jamais l'intimider.—On ne voudroit, said I, ni l'un ni l'autre. On voudroit vivre en bonne intelligence avec elle.—Il faut donc respecter les traités, replied he; malheur à ceux qui ne respectent pas les traités; ils en seront responsable à toute l'Europe.—He was too much agitated to make it adviseable for me to prolong the conversation; I therefore made no answer, and he retired to his apartment, repeating the last phrase.

It is to be remarked, that all this passed loud enough to be overheard by two hundred people who were present, and I am persuaded that there was not a single person, who did not feel the extreme impropriety of his conduct, and the total want of dignity as well as of decency on the occasion.

I propose taking the first opportunity of speaking to M. Talleyrand on this subject.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Whitworth.

The Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.

No. 44.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Hawkesbury to Lord Whitworth, dated March 15, 1803.*

I send your excellency a copy of the note presented to me by général Andreossi on the 10th instant\*, and a copy of the answer which I have, this day, by his majesty's commands, returned to it.

No. 45.

*Note from Lord Hawkesbury to General Andreossi, dated March 15, 1803.*

The undersigned, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, has laid before the king the note of his excellency the French ambassador of the 10th instant.

In obeying the commands of his majesty, by returning an official answer to this note, the undersigned feels it necessary for him to do little more than repeat the explanations which have been already given, on more than one occasion, by himself verbally to general Andreossi, and by lord Whitworth to M. Talleyrand, on the subject of the note, and of the points which appear to be connected with it. He can have no difficulty in assuring the French ambassador, that his majesty has entertained a most sincere desire that the treaty of Amiens might be executed in a full and complete manner; but it has not been possible for him to consider this treaty, as having been founded on principles different from those which have been invariably applied to every other antecedent treaty or convention, namely, that they were negotiated with reference to the actual state of possession of the different parties, and to the treaties or public engagements by which they were bound at the time of its conclusion; and that if that state of possession and of engagements was so materially altered by the act of either of the parties as to affect the nature of the compact itself, the other party has a right, according to the law of nations, to interfere for the purpose of obtaining satisfaction or compensation for any essential difference which such acts may have subsequently made in their relative situation; that if there ever was a case to which this principle might be applied

\* Vide page 694.

plied with peculiar propriety, it was that of the late treaty of peace; for the negociation was conducted on a basis not merely proposed by his majesty, but specially agreed to, in an official note, by the French government; namely, *That his majesty should keep a compensation out of his conquests for the important acquisition of territory made by France upon the continent.* That is a sufficient proof that the compact was understood to have been concluded in relation to the then existing state of things; for the measure of his majesty's compensation was to be calculated with reference to the acquisitions of France at that time; and if the interference of the French government in the general affairs of Europe since that period; if their interposition with respect to Switzerland and Holland, whose independence was guaranteed by them at the time of the conclusion of the treaty of peace; if the acquisitions which have been made by France in various quarters; but particularly those in Italy, have extended the territory and increased the power of France, his majesty would be warranted, consistently with the spirit of the treaty of peace, in claiming equivalents for these acquisitions, as a counterpoise to the augmentation of the power of France. His majesty, however, anxious to prevent all ground of misunderstanding, and desirous of consolidating the general peace of Europe, as far as might be in his power, was willing to have waved the pretensions he might have a right to advance of this nature; and as the other articles of the definitive treaty have been in a course of execution on his part, so he would have been ready to have carried into effect an

arrangement conformable to the true intent and spirit of the tenth article; the execution of that arrangement, according to its terms, having been rendered impracticable by circumstances which it was not in his majesty's power to control. Whilst his majesty was actuated by these sentiments of moderation and forbearance, and prepared to regulate his conduct in conformity to them, his attention was particularly attracted by the very extraordinary publication of the report of colonel Sebastiani to the first consul. This report contains the most unjustifiable insinuations and charges against his majesty's government; against the officer commanding his forces in Egypt, and against the British army in that quarter: insinuations and charges wholly destitute of foundation, and such as would have warranted his majesty in demanding that satisfaction which, on occasions of this nature, independent powers, in a state of amity, have a right to expect from each other. It discloses, moreover, views in the highest degree injurious to the interests of his majesty's dominions, and directly repugnant to, and utterly inconsistent with, the spirit and letter of the treaty of peace concluded between his majesty and the French government. His majesty's ambassador at Paris was accordingly directed to make such a representation to the French government as his majesty felt to be called for by imputations of the nature above described, by the disclosure of purposes inconsistent with good faith, and highly injurious to the interests of his people; and as a claim had recently been made by the French government on the subject of the evacuation of Malta, lord Whitworth



worth was instructed to accompany this representation by a declaration on the part of his majesty, that before he could enter into any farther discussions relative to that island, it was expected that satisfactory explanations should be given upon the various points respecting which his majesty had complained. This representation and this claim, founded on principles incontestibly just, and couched in terms the most temperate, appear to have been wholly disregarded by the French government; no satisfaction has been afforded, no explanation whatever has been given; but, on the contrary, his majesty's suspicions of the views of the French government with respect to the Turkish empire have been confirmed and strengthened by subsequent events. Under these circumstances his majesty feels that he has no alternative, and that a just regard to his own honour, and to the interests of his people, makes it necessary for him to declare, that he cannot consent that his troops should evacuate the island of Malta, until substantial security has been provided for those objects which, under the present circumstances, might be materially endangered by their removal.

With respect to several of the positions stated in the note, and grounded on the idea of the tenth article being executed in its literal sense, they call for some observations. By the tenth article of the treaty of Amiens, the island of Malta was to be restored, by his majesty, to the order of St. John, upon certain conditions. The evacuation of the island, at a specified period, formed a part of these conditions; and if the other stipulations had been in a due course of execution,

his majesty would have been bound, by the terms of the treaty, to have ordered his forces to evacuate the island: but these conditions must be considered as being all of equal effect; and if any material parts of them should have been found incapable of execution, or if the execution of them should, from any circumstances, have been retarded, his majesty would be warranted in deferring the evacuation of the island until such time as the other conditions of the article could be effected; or until some new arrangement could be concluded, which should be judged satisfactory by the contracting parties. The refusal of Russia to accede to the arrangement, except on condition that the Maltese language should be abolished; the silence of the court of Berlin, with respect to the invitation that has been made to it, in consequence of the treaty, to become a guaranteeing power; the abolition of the Spanish priories, in defiance of the treaty to which the king of Spain was a party; the declaration of the Portuguese government, of their intention to sequester the property of the Portuguese priory, as forming a part of the Spanish language, unless the property of the Spanish priories was restored to them:—these circumstances would have been sufficient, without any other special grounds, to have warranted his majesty in suspending the evacuation of the island. The evacuation of Tarentum and Brundisium is, in no respect, connected with that of Malta. The French government were bound to evacuate the kingdom of Naples by their treaty of peace with the king of Naples, at a period antecedent to that at which this stipulation was carried into effect.

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The French government were bound, likewise, by engagements with the emperor of Russia, to respect the independence of the kingdom of Naples; but even admitting that the departure of the French troops from Tarentum depended solely on the article of the treaty of Amiens, their departure is, by the terms of the treaty, to take place at the same period as the other evacuations in Europe, namely, one month after the ratification of the definitive treaty; at which period both Porto Ferrajo and Minorca were evacuated by his majesty's forces; whereas the troops of his majesty were, in no case, bound to evacuate the island of Malta, antecedent to the period of three months after the ratification of the definitive treaty; and, even in that event, it must be considered as depending upon the other parts of the arrangement being in a course of execution. With respect to the assertion in the note, that the Neapolitan troops were to form the garrison of Malta, until the period when the arrangements relative to the order could be carried into effect, it will appear, by a reference to the article, that, by the preliminary paragraph, the island was to be restored to the order upon the condition of the succeeding stipulations, and that it was only from the period when the restitution to the order had actually taken place, that, by the 12th paragraph, the Neapolitan troops were to form a part of the garrison:

The undersigned has thus stated, with all the frankness which the importance of the subject appears to require, the sentiments of his majesty on the note delivered to him by general Andreossy, and on the

points in discussion between the two countries.

His majesty is willing to indulge the hope, that the conduct of the French government on this occasion may be influenced by principles similar to those which have invariably influenced his own. That, as far as possible, all causes of distrust, and every impediment to a good understanding between the two countries, may be completely and effectually removed, and that the peace may be consolidated on a secure and lasting foundation.

The undersigned requests general Andreossy to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) Hawkesbury.  
*His Excellency General Andreossy,*  
&c. &c. &c.

No. 46.

*Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, March 17, 1803.*

My lord,

I called yesterday on M. de Talleyrand, to converse with him on the subject of what had passed on Sunday last at the Thuilleries. He had been, since that day, so fully occupied with his expeditions to different foreign courts, that I had no opportunity of seeing him sooner. I told him, that I had been placed by the first consul in a situation which could neither suit my public nor my private feelings. That I went to the Thuilleries to pay my respects to the first consul, and to present my countrymen, but not to treat of political subjects; and that unless I had the assurance from him that I should not be exposed to a repetition of the same disagreeable circumstances, I should be under the

the necessity of discontinuing my visits to the Thuilleries. M. de Talleyrand assured me, that it was very far from the first consul's intention to distress me; but he had felt himself personally insulted by the charges which were brought against him by the English government; and that it was incumbent upon him to take the first opportunity of exculpating himself in the presence of the ministers of the different powers of Europe. He assured me that nothing similar would occur.

(Signed) Whitworth.

*The Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury,*  
 &c. &c. &c.

No. 47.

*Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to  
 Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris,  
 March 18, 1803.*

My lord,

I received your lordship's dispatch, with its inclosure, this morning early; and I learnt at the same time that a messenger had arrived from general Andreossy to M. de Talleyrand; shortly after, M. de Talleyrand sent to desire I would call upon him, which I accordingly did. He told me that he had not only received your lordship's note to the French ambassador, but also the sentiments of the first consul upon it, which he was desirous to communicate to me, before he re-dispatched the messenger. This he did, and I refer your lordship to the communication which general Andreossy will make, according to his instructions, without loss of time.

From the tenor of this note, it appears, that this government is not desirous to proceed to extremities; that is to say, it is not pre-

pared so to do; and, therefore, it expresses a willingness to enter on the discussion of the point, which appears, according to their conception, or rather to the interpretation they choose to give to it, the most material. This, of course, is the safety of Egypt. On this the first consul declares in the note, as M. Talleyrand did repeatedly to me, that he would be willing to enter into any engagement, by which such a security as would fully quiet our apprehensions, might be given on the part of the French government. On the subject of Malta, the first consul maintains that he cannot listen to any compromise; with regard to Egypt, he is willing to enter into any engagement which may be thought sufficient.

I told him that he had departed from the letter and the sense of your lordship's note, by confining the question to Malta alone. That note had comprehended other most important considerations. That the best method of bringing the discussion to a speedy conclusion, such as his majesty's government appeared to wish, was to take it up on a broader scale. But that, at the same time, his majesty's government would not refuse to lend itself to any thing reasonable which might be suggested. There was, however, I told him, one distinction to be made in the situation of the two governments, in the discussion of this question. By our possession of Malta, France was not threatened; but the reverse was the case, should the access to Egypt be opened by its evacuation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Whitworth.

*The Right Honourable Lord  
 Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.*



## No. 48.

*Dispatch from Lord Hawkesbury to Lord Whitworth, dated March 27, 1803.*

My lord,

Your excellency's several dispatches to No. 26 inclusive, have been received and laid before the king.

With respect to the subject of your excellency's dispatch of March 14, I have it in command to signify to you his majesty's pleasure, that you take the earliest opportunity to represent to Monsieur de Talleyrand, the surprise with which his majesty has learnt the conduct which the first consul had observed towards your excellency in the instance to which that dispatch refers; and you will add, that as his majesty has a right to expect that his ambassador should be treated with the respect and attention due to the dignity of the sovereign whom he represents, it will be impossible for you to present yourself, on any days of ceremony, to the first consul, unless you receive an assurance that you will never be exposed to a repetition of the treatment which you experienced on the occasion.

Although your excellency appears to have anticipated this instruction in one of your most recent conversations with Monsieur de Talleyrand, I, nevertheless, think it right to enable your excellency to state to that minister, the sense which the king entertains of this transaction.

I am, &c.

(Signed) Hawkesbury.

*His Excellency Lord Whitworth,*

*K. B. &c. &c. &c.*

## No. 49.

*Dispatch from Lord Hawkesbury to Lord Whitworth, dated April 3, 1803.*

My lord,

I inclose to your excellency, for your information, copies of the official note delivered to me on the 29th ultimo, by general Andreossi, and of the answer which, by his majesty's command, I this day returned to that communication.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Hawkesbury.

*His Excellency Lord Whitworth,*

*K. B. &c. &c. &c.*

*Inclosure in No. 49.*

The undersigned general of division, ambassador and minister plenipotentiary from the French republic, has laid before his government the note addressed to him by his excellency lord Hawkesbury. He has received orders to make the following answer to the observations therein contained.

The object of this note appears to be to explain his Britannic majesty's message; and to give some elucidations which had been demanded respecting the execution of the treaty of Amiens.

The first consul will not make any complaint relative to the extraordinary and unexpected assertions of this act, issued by his Britannic majesty. Not one of them is founded.

His Britannic majesty believes that his kingdom is menaced by preparations made in the ports of Holland and France. He has been deceived; the first consul has made no preparation.

There were, at the time of the message, but two frigates in the roads of Holland, and but three corvettes in the roads of Dunkirk.

How can his Britannic majesty's ministers have been deceived on facts so evident? His Britannic majesty's ambassadors



ambassadors at Paris, and at the Hague, have seriously to reproach themselves, if they have credited information so evidently false, and if they did not foresee that they thereby exposed their government to err in the most important deliberations.

Was it not conformable to the usage practised among nations, first to demand explanations, and thus to take means for being convinced of the falshood of the intelligence which the ministers might have received? Must not the least effects of the omission of this practice be, to bring on the ruin of families, and carry confusion, uncertainty, and disorder into all the commercial affairs of both nations? The first consul knows, both from his own sentiments, and judging of other people by the French, that a great nation can never be terrified. He believes that good policy and the feelings of true dignity, ever inspire the sentiment of esteem for a rival nation, and never the design of menacing her. A great nation may be destroyed, but not intimidated.

The second part of his majesty's message consists of another assertion, no better founded. His Britannic majesty makes mention of discussions, the success of which is doubtful. What are these discussions? What official notes, what protocoles prove the opening, the progress, the vicissitudes of a debate? Can a state of difficulties, which leads to an alternative of peace or war, spring up unawares, without commencement, without progression, and lead without distinction to an appeal to arms, before all the means of conciliation have been exhausted.

In this case, the appeal has been  
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publicly made before it could be known that there was room for misunderstanding. The termination of the discussions were announced before they had begun. The issue of a difficult discussion has been declared before it arose. What would Europe, what would both nations think, if they knew that these discussions, announced by his Britannic majesty as so difficult to terminate, were unknown to the French government; and that the first consul, on reading the message, could not comprehend the meaning of either of the declarations therein contained.

He has also abstained from any ostensible step; and whatever may have been the clamour, the activity, the provocations of war, which have taken place in England since that message, he has given no orders, he has made no dispositions, no preparations. He places his glory, in an affair of this nature, wholly in being taken in an unprovided state. He will continue in this system of honest frankness, until his Britannic majesty has reflected fully on the part he proposes to take.

In lord Hawkesbury's note, an opinion is expressed, that the French republic has increased in power since the peace of Amiens. This is a decided error. Since that epoch, France has evacuated a considerable territory. The French power has received no degree of augmentation. If his Britannic majesty is determined to make war, he may alledge all the pretexts he pleases. He will find few less founded.

As to the complaints made respecting the publications which may have appeared in France, they are of an order too secondary to be capable of influencing such a decision.

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Are we then returned to the age of tournaments? Motives of this nature might have authorised, four centuries ago, the combat of thirties; but they cannot, in this age, be a reason for war between the two countries:

It might suffice in this respect to reply to his excellency, that no representation has been made by him on the subject to the government of the republic; and that, if it was but justice to grant satisfaction, the first consul had a right to expect that which was required by M. Otto, in his note of the 22d Thermidor last, upon grounds more serious and more just.

Is it possible that the English ministry can have been ignorant, that, ever since the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, the English press has not ceased to spread through Europe the rage of war, the discredit of peace, and shameless and boundless outrages against every thing which is the object of the love and veneration of the French people?

A few days after the ratification of peace, one of his Britannic majesty's ministers declared, that the peace establishment must be considerable; and the distrust excited by this declaration, made in parliament with as much bitterness as impropriety, furnished a commentary for the exaggeration and alarms which were circulated in despicable pamphlets, and in newspapers, as contemptible as those libels. Since that time, these writers have found themselves invariably supported in their insolent observations by particular phrases taken from the speeches of some leading members of parliament. These speeches, scarcely to be exceeded by the newswriters themselves, have, for these eighteen

months, tended to encourage insult against other governments to that degree, that every European must be offended, every reasonable Englishman must be humiliated, by such unheard-of licentiousness.

What, if we connect with these sallies, proceedings more offensive and serious; the indulgence granted to French criminals, publishing daily outrages in the French language; the still more inexcusable toleration extended to villains covered with crimes, and plotting assassinations incessantly, such as Georges, who still continues to reside at London, protected, and having a considerable establishment; in a word, the little justice which has been shewn to all our representations—how are we to account for the publicity of the complaint which his Britannic majesty has thought proper to make respecting some indefinite wrongs which he has hitherto thought unnecessary to bring before the first consul?

The first consul has had cause to be convinced that all his representations on all these points were useless, and that his Britannic majesty, regardless of the neighbouring powers, was resolved to authorise every thing within his dominions; but he did not, on that account, entertain a doubt of the continuance of peace, nor alarm Europe with the notification of war. He confined himself to this principle of conduct, to permit or to prevent in France, with respect to England, whatever should be permitted or prevented in England with regard to France.

*He has, however, expressed, and he again expresses his wish, that means should be adopted to prevent, in future, any mention being made of what*



*what is passing in England, either in the official discussions, or in the polemical writings in France, as in like manner in the French official discussions and polemical writings, no mention whatever should be made of what is passing in England.*

Lord Hawkesbury mentions an article in a newspaper, containing the report of a French colonel. In serious discussions, an answer on this point might be dispensed with; but it is neither a long nor difficult matter.

A colonel in the English army has published a work, in England, filled with the most atrocious and disgusting calumnies against the French army and its general. The lies it contains have been contradicted by the reception which colonel Sebastiani experienced. The publicity of his report was at once a refutation and a reparation which the French army had a right to expect. On his arrival in Egypt, this officer, to his great astonishment, found the English army there, although they should have evacuated it, and the Turks prodigiously alarmed at the continuance of the English army, and at its relations with the natives, in rebellion and open revolt against the Sublime Porte.

He must have conceived that the treaties which connect us with the Porte, and by which we have guaranteed to it the integrity of its possessions, compelled us to unite ourselves with that power. It was natural to think that England meant to declare war from the instant she refused to execute the articles of the treaty. For, after all, France is not reduced to such a state of debasement, as to suffer treaties made with her to be executed or not at pleasure.

Hence the researches made by this officer, as to the forces which were in Egypt, and as to the position occupied by the English army.

But Egypt has since been restored to the dominion of its lawful sovereign, and the idea of a rupture between the two nations, on account of the engagement contracted with the Porte, no longer exists.

There remains, therefore, but one object worthy of fixing the attention of the two nations. The execution of the treaty of Amiens, as far as concerns Malta. His majesty has engaged to restore it to the order, and to entrust it to the Neapolitan army till the order should be in a condition to guard it. His majesty will reject all sophistry, every distinction, every mental reservation which might be offered to him, to put in doubt the force and the validity of his engagement. His Britannic majesty's equity, his conscience in this respect, are guarantees for the French republic. Were it otherwise, what means in future would the two nations have for coming to an understanding? Would not all be chaos? This would, indeed, be adding another calamity to those which have menaced social order.

The undersigned is directed to declare, in short, that the first consul will not take up the defiance of war given by England to France; that as to Malta, he sees no subject for discussion, the treaty having provided for every thing, and settled every thing.

The undersigned has the honour, &c.

(Signed) F. Andreossy.

Portland Place, 8 Germinal,

Year 11. (29th March,

1803.)

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*Inclosure*



*Inclosure in No. 49.*

The undersigned, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, has laid before the king the note of his excellency general Andreossy, of the 29th of last month.

His majesty has been induced, by that spirit of moderation and forbearance which have invariably governed his conduct in every part of his communications with the French government, to abstain from making many observations which the perusal of this note may naturally have suggested to his mind.

His majesty has perceived, with great regret, that the French government continue to withhold all satisfaction and explanation on the points on which he has complained; and that, at the time when they evade all discussion on the subject of his representations, they persist in their requisition that the island of Malta should be forthwith evacuated by his forces.

His majesty can never so far forget what is due to himself and to his people, as to acquiesce in such a course of proceeding; he has, therefore, judged it expedient to give instructions to his ambassador, at Paris, to ascertain, distinctly, from the French government, whether they are determined to persevere in withholding all satisfaction and explanation on the points on which his majesty has complained; or whether they are disposed, without delay, to give such satisfaction and explanations upon the present state of affairs, as may lead to an arrangement which may be calculated to adjust the differences at present subsisting between the two governments. It is his majesty's anxious desire that, by this mode of pro-

ceeding, an end may be put to that state of suspense and irritation which must be so injurious to the interests of both countries; and that the two governments, actuated by the same principles of justice and moderation, may be led to concur in such measures as are most likely to conduce to their permanent tranquillity.

The undersigned requests general Andreossy to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

Hawkesbury.

*Downing Street, April 3d, 1803.*

*His Excellency General Andreossy,  
&c. &c. &c.*

*No. 50.*

*Dispatch from Lord Hawkesbury to Lord Whitworth, dated April 4, 1803.*

My lord,

It is become essential, that the discussions which have been for some time subsisting between his majesty and the French government, should be brought to an issue within as short a time as is consistent with the deliberation which must be given to objects of so much importance.

The last note presented by general Andreossy, in the name of his government, in answer to my note of the 15th of last month, evades all explanation, and even all discussion, of the points on which complaint has been made by his majesty.

If the French government should seriously intend to persist in this course of proceeding, there can be no hopes of a successful termination to the present negotiation. It is important, therefore, that you should ascertain distinctly, in the first instance, whether they are disposed to enter into explanation on the points on which his majesty has complained,

ed, and to come to such an arrangement as may be calculated to adjust the differences at present subsisting between the two countries; and for this purpose you will present a note to the effect of that which is herewith inclosed. It is possible that the French government may continue to evade all discussion on the points in question, and confine themselves to a categorical demand, that Malta should be immediately evacuated. In that case, it is his majesty's pleasure, that you should declare the impossibility of the relations of amity continuing to subsist between the two countries, and the necessity you will be under of leaving Paris within a certain time. But if, on the other hand, they should shew a readiness to enter into discussion, and to give reasonable satisfaction and explanation, it is important that you should be informed, without loss of time, of the sentiments of his majesty's government, as to what might be considered an equitable adjustment of the differences between the two governments at this moment.

I have, therefore, by his majesty's command, inclosed the project of an arrangement, which, under the present circumstances, would meet the ideas of his majesty's government; which would afford security for those objects which are considered as endangered by the unequal disclosure of the views of the first consul, and which, at the same time, might entirely save the honour of the French government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) Hawkesbury.

*His Excellency Lord Whitworth,*

&c. &c.

majesty's ambassador extraordinary, has received the orders of his court to make the following communication to the French government.

His majesty has perceived, with great regret, that the French government continue to withhold all satisfaction and explanation on the points on which he has complained, and that at the time when they evade all discussion on the subject of his representations, they persist in their requisition that the island of Malta should be forthwith evacuated by his forces. His majesty can never so far forget what is due to himself, and to his people, as to acquiesce in such a course of proceeding. He has, therefore, commanded the undersigned to ascertain, distinctly, from the French government, whether they are determined to persevere in withholding all satisfaction and explanation upon the points on which his majesty has complained, or whether they are disposed, without delay, to give such satisfaction and explanation upon the present state of affairs, as may lead to an arrangement which may be calculated to adjust the differences at present subsisting between the two governments.

It is his majesty's anxious desire, that, by adopting this mode of proceeding, an end may be put to that state of suspense and uncertainty which must be so injurious to the interests of both countries; and that the two governments, actuated by the same principles of justice and moderation, may be led to concur in such measures as are most likely to conduce to their permanent tranquillity.

(Signed) Whitworth.

*First Inclosure referred to in No. 50.*  
The undersigned, his Britannic

*Second Inclosure referred to in*  
No. 50.

Z z 3

Heads



H heads of an arrangement to be concluded by treaty or convention between his majesty and the French government.

Malta to remain in perpetuity in the possession of his majesty. The knights of the order of St. John to be indemnified by his majesty for any losses of property which they may sustain in consequence of such an arrangement.

Holland and Switzerland to be evacuated by the French troops.

The island of Elba to be confirmed by his majesty to France, and the king of Etruria to be acknowledged.

The Italian and Ligurian republics to be acknowledged by his majesty, provided an arrangement is made in Italy for the king of Sardinia, which shall be satisfactory to him.

#### No. 51.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, April 7, 1803.*

I received your lordship's dispatches of the 4th instant, by the messenger Wagstaff, with their inclosures, yesterday evening; and shall, probably, in the course of the day, have an opportunity of communicating to M. de Talleyrand the note, which I shall translate for that purpose.

#### No. 52.

*Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated April 7, 1803.*

My lord,

Since writing the preceding dispatch, I have seen M. de Talleyrand, and communicated to him the inclosed note, which I trust your lordship will find as close a translation as possible, of that which I received from your lordship. He read

it over with much attention, and when he had done, he appeared to be in expectation of some other communication. Upon desiring he would explain himself, he said, that he was in hopes I should have furnished him with the heads of those points, on which it was affirmed, in the note, that the French government had so repeatedly refused all explanation and satisfaction. I told him that it would have been entirely useless to repeat what had been so often urged in vain; that he could not but know, that the explanation required referred to the conduct of the French government, and the system of aggrandisement which it had constantly pursued since the conclusion, and in direct violation of the treaty of Amiens, founded, as it indisputably was, on the state of possession of the two countries at the time; that, with regard to the satisfaction, it evidently referred to the unjustifiable insinuations and charges against his majesty's government, against the officer commanding his forces in Egypt, and against the British army in that quarter, contained in the official report of colonel Sebastiani. He was, by no means, disposed to admit, that either of these cases could justify the assertion of the French government having refused explanation and satisfaction, on the ground that no notice had been taken of these transactions, but in a very cursory manner; nor had any explanation ever been required as to any particular transaction, whether in Italy or elsewhere, and if it had, it would immediately have been given; and that the language of col. Sebastiani was not to be put in any comparison with that used by major Wilson, in his account of the campaign of



of Egypt. I urged the difference of a common publication like that to which he alluded, and a report to the first consul published by him in his official paper. On this occasion, M. de Talleyrand was disposed to call in question the authenticity of the *Moniteur*. In short, the most ungrounded assertions were substituted for arguments; and, amongst these, I cannot but place that, so often repeated, of the first consul's having entirely given up all idea whatever of Egypt, consequently, we could have no pretext for retaining Malta.

He assured me, for the rest, that we could communicate it this evening to the first consul, and that, tomorrow, he should, in all probability, have a communication to make in return.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Whitworth.

*The Right Honourable Lord*

*Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.*

*Inclosure referred to in No. 52.*

Le soussigné, ambassadeur extraordinaire et plenipotentiaire de sa majesté Britannique, a reçu ordre de sa cour de communiquer ce qui suit au gouvernement de France.

Sa majesté a vu à regret que le gouvernement de France continue à refuser toute satisfaction et toute explication sur les objets dont elle à se plaindre, et qu'en évitant toute discussion de ce qui fait le sujet de ses représentations il persiste néanmoins à demander l'évacuation de l'isle de Malthe par les forces de sa majesté. Sa majesté sait trop ce qu'elle se doit à elle-même et à son peuple pour acquiescer à de pareils procédés. En conséquence elle a ordonné au soussigné de savoir distinctement du gouvernement de

France, s'il este déterminé à persévérer dans son refus de toute satisfaction et de toute explication sur les objets de plainte de sa majesté, ou bien s'il est disposé à donner sans délai cette satisfaction et cette explication sur l'état actuel des affaires de manière à pouvoir conduire à un arrangement qui seroit de nature à ajuster les différens qui actuellement existent entre les deux gouvernemens.

Sa majesté desire sincerement l'adoption de ce moyen que mettroit fin à un état de suspension et d'incertitude si nuisible à l'intérêt des deux nations, et de voir que les deux gouvernemens agissans par les mêmes principes de justice et de modération puissent s'entendre pour concourir aux mesures es plus susceptibles de leur assurer une tranquillité permanente.

Le soussigné prie son excellence M. de Talleyrand d'agréer l'assurance de sa haute consideration.

Whitworth.

No. 53.

*Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated April 9, 1803.*

My lord,

In my conversation yesterday evening with M. de Talleyrand, I found him, after he had seen the first consul, more disposed to contest the substance of the note which I had presented the day before, than to afford any farther explanation. He said, that, in order to proceed regularly, it would be necessary that the French government should be informed, precisely, what were the objects which had created such uneasiness, and on which it was alleged all explanation had been refused. That, although this had, perhaps, been touched upon in general

neral conversation, yet, no specific charge had been adduced, in such a manner as to demand a formal explanation. I told him, that if the object of the French government was to protract the present state of suspense and uncertainty, that object might be answered to the extent, indeed, of a very few days, by forcing me to such a reference; but I must, at the same time, declare to him, that it could be productive of no advantage, and would serve only to provoke such a recapitulation of the system and conduct which France had pursued since the treaty of Amiens, as would have all the appearance of a manifesto, every item of which would carry conviction to every individual in Europe; that it appeared, therefore, more likely to answer the end which both parties proposed, that of hastening the conclusion of an amicable arrangement, to take up the business on the basis which I should propose, and by which they would admit no more than what was incontrovertible, namely, that if the French government exercised a right of extending its influence and territory, in violation of the spirit of the treaty of Amiens, Great Britain had, if she chose to avail herself of it, (which I was confident she would not do, further than was necessary as a measure of security,) an undoubted right to seek a counterpoise. He did not seem inclined to dispute this position, but rather to admit that such a right did exist, and might be claimed in consequence of the acquisitions which had been made by France. On the point of satisfaction I found him much more obstinate. He said that the first consul was hurt at the expression (*satisfaction*,) to which he gave an in-

terpretation I had never understood belonged to it, as implying superiority; so that if the British government required satisfaction of the French, it arrogated to itself a superiority. I told him, what certainly must be understood by every one, that the demand of satisfaction implied that one party had been offended by another, and, of course, had a right to demand such satisfaction; that an inferior had an equal right with his superior to demand it; but, in the case in question, there was perfect equality, and, consequently, there was no offence to be found, but in the conduct which rendered such an appeal necessary. The discussion of this point took up a considerable time, without producing any thing decisive.

We, at last, came to the main point of the business; and on this I cannot say any real progress has been made. M. de Talleyrand repeated to me that the first consul had nothing more at heart, than to avoid the necessity of going to war, and that there was no sacrifice he would not make, short of his honour, to obtain this end. Is there, said M. de Talleyrand, no means of satisfying both parties; for, at the same time that the first consul insists, and will always insist, on the full execution of the treaty, he will not object to any mode by which you may acquire the security you think so necessary. You are not satisfied with the independence of Neapolitan troops; what others will answer the purpose? he then started the idea of a mixed garrison, composed of English, French, Italians, Germans, &c. He begged that I would refer, once more, to your lordship, and submit the in-

closed



closed paper, which he drew up in my presence. I told him that we were only losing time by such a reference; that my instructions were positive, and had certainly not been sent me without the fullest consideration. I could not, however, refuse what he so earnestly required; and your lordship will see, by the paper, how the matter rests after this conference. I will confess to your lordship, that my motive for consenting to forward this sort of proposal is, that supposing we should find the first consul as obstinate as he now appears to be, on the point of abandoning Malta to us in perpetuity, and that a temporary possession might be considered as the next best thing, something of this kind might derive from it.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Whitworth.

*The Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.*

*Inclosure referred to in No. 53.*

The conversation with M. Talleyrand to-day has led us to this result. Every thing which may tend to violate the independence of the order of Malta, will never be consented to by the French government. Every thing which may tend to put an end to the present difficulties, or be agreeable to the English government, and which shall not be contrary to the treaty of Amiens, the French government have no objection to make a particular convention respecting it. The motives of this convention shall be inserted in the preamble, and shall relate to the respective grievances concerning which the two governments shall think it advisable to come to an understanding with each other.

No. 54.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated April 14, 1803.*

Since my last, the negotiation is at a stand, in the expectation, I suppose, of the answer which may arrive, to the overture which I communicated to your lordship on the 9th instant, and which is expected here to produce a good effect, notwithstanding the little hope I have given. To-morrow, I shall, in all probability, be in possession of this answer from your lordship, and be enabled to speak still more positively.

No. 55.

*Dispatch from Lord Hawkesbury to Lord Whitworth, dated April 13, 1803.*

My lord,

His majesty has received from his charge d'affaires at Hamburgh, the most extraordinary account of the conduct of Monsieur Rheinhardt, the French minister at that place, with respect to a most gross and unwarrantable libel upon his majesty's government. He has been assured that the French minister, having proposed the insertion of that libel in the official gazette of the town of Hamburgh, and the insertion of it having, in the first instance, been refused, the French minister went so far as to demand, in his official capacity, the insertion of that article by order of the senate. His majesty is unwilling to believe that the French government could have authorized so outrageous an attack upon his majesty and his government, and so daring a violation of the independence of a neutral state. It is his majesty's pleasure, that you should communicate these circumstances



cumstances to the French government, and state, at the same time, the impossibility of bringing the present discussions to an amicable conclusion, unless some satisfaction shall be given to his majesty for the indignity which has thus been offered to him, in the face of all Europe, by the French minister at Hamburgh.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Hawkesbury.

*His Excellency Lord Whitworth,*

*K. B. &c. &c. &c.*

No. 56.

*Dispatch from Lord Hawkesbury to Lord Whitworth, dated April 13, 1803.*

My lord,

Your excellency's dispatches have been received, and laid before the king.

His majesty has observed, with great satisfaction, the admission by the French government of the justice of his claim to some compensation, in consequence of the increased power and influence of France, since the period of the conclusion of the definitive treaty.

Although, under the circumstances of your conversation with M. Talleyrand, and particularly after the note verbale which he gave to you, it might have been expedient that you should have deferred presenting the project contained in my dispatch, No. 7, in the form of a project, it is desirable that you should communicate, without delay, in some mode or other, the contents of that project, for the purpose of ascertaining, distinctly, whether the conditions are such as to induce the French government to give way upon the question of Malta. These conditions appear to his

majesty so well calculated to save the honour of the French government on the subject of Malta—if the question of Malta is principally considered by them as a question of honour—and, at the same time, hold out to them such important advantages, that the success of the proposition is, at least, worth trying, particularly as the result of it might be productive of the most easy means of adjusting the most material of our present differences.

With respect to the assertion so often advanced and repeated by M. Talleyrand in your last conversations of the non-execution of the treaty of Amiens relative to Malta, I have only to observe again, that the execution of that article is become impracticable from causes which it has not been in the power of his majesty to control. That the greatest part of the funds assigned to the support of the order, and indispensibly necessary for the independence of the order and defence of the island, have been sequestrated since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, in direct repugnance to the spirit and letter of that treaty; and that two of the principal powers who were invited to accede as guarantees to the arrangement, have refused their accession, except on the conditions that the part of the arrangement which was deemed so material relative to the Maltese inhabitants should be entirely cancelled. The conduct of the French government, since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, gives his majesty a right, which is now, at length, admitted by themselves, to demand some compensation for the past, and security for the future. Such compensation could never be considered

as obtained by the possession of an island, which would only entail a very heavy expence on this country;—and the degree of security which would be provided by these means, would only be such as his majesty, under the present circumstances, is entitled to demand.

I observe, in the note verbale of monsieur Talleyrand, he makes use of the expression, *the independence of the order of Malta*. If this is meant to apply to the order exclusively, his majesty would be willing, for the preservation of peace, that the civil government of the island should be given to the order of St. John; the Maltese enjoying the privileges which were stipulated in their favour in the treaty of Amiens; and that, conformably to principles which have been adopted on other occasions, the fortifications of the island should be garrisoned for ever by the troops of his majesty.

In the event of either of these propositions being found unattainable, his majesty might be disposed to consent to an arrangement by which the island of Malta would remain in his possession for a limited number of years, and to waive in consequence his demand for a perpetual occupation, provided that the number of years was not less than ten, and that his Sicilian majesty could be induced to cede the sovereignty of the island of Lampedusa for a valuable consideration. If the proposition is admitted, the island of Malta should be given up to the inhabitants at the end of that period, and it should be acknowledged as an independent state. In this case, his majesty would be ready to concur in any arrangement for the establishment of the order of St. John in some other part of Europe.

You will not refuse to listen to any proposition which the French government may be disposed to make to you with a view to an equivalent security for those objects in regard to which his majesty claims the possession or occupation of Malta; but the three propositions to which I have above alluded, appear, at the present moment, to furnish the only basis for a satisfactory arrangement; and you will decline receiving any proposition which does not appear to you to offer advantages to his majesty as substantial as that which I have last stated.

It is very desirable that you should bring the negociation to an issue, if possible, without referring to his majesty's government for further instructions, after the receipt of this dispatch; and if you should be of opinion that there is no hopes of bringing it to a favourable conclusion, you may inform M. Talleyrand of the necessity you will be under, after a certain time, to leave Paris.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Hawkesbury.

*His Excellency Lord Whitworth, K.B.*

&c. &c. &c.

No. 57.

*Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, April 18, 1803.*

My lord,

I did not fail to put into immediate execution the instructions contained in your lordship's dispatch, (No. 11.) on the subject of the libel inserted by the French minister in the *Hamburgh gazette*. I represented the outrageous and unprecedented conduct of M. Rheinhardt in such terms as it deserves; and fairly declared to M. de Talleyrand, that, until satisfaction shall be given to

to his majesty for the indignity which has been offered him by the French minister, in his official character, there could be no possibility whatever of bringing the present discussion to an amicable issue. M. de Talleyrand assured me, that the French government saw the conduct of M. de Rheinhardt in the same light as his majesty's ministers, and that they could not be more surprised than the first consul had been at seeing such an article inserted by authority; that an immediate explanation had been required of M. Rheinhardt, five days ago; and if his conduct had been such as had been represented, he would, doubtless, feel the effects of the first consul's displeasure; and that, in the mean time, I might inform your lordship that he was completely disavowed. I told M. de Talleyrand, that, as the insult had been public, it would be necessary that the reparation should be so also. He answered me again, that the first consul considered M. Rheinhardt's conduct as so reprehensible, that every satisfaction might be expected.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Whitworth.

*The Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury,*  
&c. &c. &c.

No. 58.

*Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to  
Lord Hawkesbury, dated April 18,  
1803.*

My lord,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your lordship's dispatches of the 13th instant.

I saw Joseph Bonaparte immediately on the receipt of your lordship's dispatch; and without troubling your lordship with a repetition

of the arguments I used to hasten the conclusion of the negotiation, amongst which I endeavoured to convince him of the importance of preventing the ultimatum which would inevitably follow the rejection of what I had to propose, I will briefly state, that, on finding it perfectly impracticable to establish the principle of our keeping possession of Malta in perpetuity, I delivered to him, in writing, the second proposal I had to make. He did not fail to observe, that, by this modification, the difficulty which he considered as insurmountable was not removed; that although the order was restored, it could not be considered as independent; and, in fact, Malta would belong to that power which had possession of the forts. I enforced the adoption of this plan by every reason which could serve to recommend it; but the possession in perpetuity was constantly urged as a difficulty which nothing could remove. Our conversation lasted near two hours. I confess that I gained no solid ground of hope that the project, which he assured me he would take to the first consul at St. Cloud, would be adopted. But he said that he was not without hope that he might be authorised to propose to me the occupation of the fortresses for a term of years. It was my wish, that such a proposal should come from him rather than from me. I told him that I did not well see how such a tenure would suit us; but that I wished too sincerely to avoid the fatal extremities to which I saw the discussion was tending, not to give any reasonable proposal which might be made on their part every assistance in my power. This proposal originated with him, and was therefore

received



received by me merely as a matter which I would refer to your lordship. If, however, I can bring the matter to an immediate conclusion, and without further reference to your lordship, on the principle of our retaining possession of the fortresses of Malta for a term of years, not less than that pointed out by your lordship, and with the assurance that this government will not oppose the cession of the island of Lampedosa, I shall have great pleasure in announcing to your lordship such a conclusion.

I do not enter into detail of the conversation which I had the same morning with M. de Talleyrand, immediately upon my leaving Joseph Bonaparte, as it differed in nowise from what I have above-mentioned. He suggested also the possibility of coming to an arrangement on the ground of a temporary occupation, and I made him the same answer.

Such is the state of the discussion at this moment. I am in expectation of hearing very shortly either from Joseph or M. de Talleyrand; and I am not without hopes that I may be able to announce to your lordship that such an arrangement is made, as may answer his majesty's expectations, in a very few days. Your lordship may be assured, that I feel the necessity of expedition. Were it less urgent, I might, perhaps, hope to bring the discussion to even a more favourable issue.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Whitworth.

*The Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury,*  
&c. &c. &c.

*Inclosure referred to in No. 58.*

His majesty will consent, for the

sake of preserving peace, that the government of the island of Malta shall be given to the order of St. John; the Maltese enjoying those privileges which have been granted on former occasions. The fortifications of the island shall be occupied, in perpetuity, by the troops of his majesty.

No. 59.

*Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris April 20, 1803.*

My lord,

I had hoped that the first extraordinary messenger I should have occasion to send, would have been to announce to your lordship, that the differences between the two governments were adjusted on one of the modifications pointed out to me by my last instructions from your lordship. In this expectation I am deceived. I saw Joseph Bonaparte the night before last, before I had sealed up my dispatches of that evening to your lordship; but as all he said tended only to justify the hope I had given your lordship in those dispatches, I added nothing to them. He assured me, positively, that I should hear from M. de Talleyrand in the course of yesterday morning, and that a meeting would be appointed in order to settle the term of years for which the first consul might be induced to consent to the cession of Malta. It is true that he declared, that, in order to gain his consent, it would be necessary to hold out the advantages which the British government was willing to offer in return, meaning the acknowledgments of the new governments in Italy. I told him that this offer was made only with a view to the possession of Malta in perpetuity;

perpetuity; but after some conversation, I gave him to understand, that I would not refuse to admit the demand, *sub sperati*, on the condition that the cession should be made for a considerable term of years; that Holland and Switzerland should be evacuated; and that a suitable provision should be made for the king of Sardinia. He seemed to think there could be no difficulty in this arrangement; and I left him in the persuasion, that I should the next day, yesterday, or this morning, receive the summons from M. de Talleyrand, which he had given me reason to expect.

I am sorry to say, that no such summons has been received by me, neither has any further notice been taken of the business. So that I feel that I should betray the confidence your lordship may place in me, were I to delay any longer requesting, that I may be immediately furnished with the terms on which his majesty's ministers would be willing to conclude, and which probably will not differ much from those above stated, in order that I may propose them in the form of an ultimatum; and that, at the expiration of the period allowed for deliberation, I may be authorised, not only to declare that I am to leave Paris, but actually so to do, unless, in the intermediate time, the French government should accede to our demands.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Whitworth.

*Right Honourable Lord Hawkesbury,*  
 &c. &c. &c.

No. 60.

*Dispatch from Lord Hawkesbury to Lord Whitworth, dated April 23, 1803.*

My lord,

Your excellency's dispatches of the 18th and 20th instant have been received, and laid before the king.

It is necessary for me to do little more on the present occasion than to refer you to my dispatch of the 13th of April, in which I stated to you these several propositions on which alone, in the judgment of his majesty, the differences between this country and France could be satisfactorily adjusted.

If, upon the receipt of this dispatch, it shall not have been in your power to bring the negotiation to a conclusion on any of the propositions to which I have above referred, it is his majesty's pleasure that you should communicate, officially, to the French government, that you have gone, in point of concession, to the full extent of your instructions; and that, if an arrangement, founded upon one of these propositions, cannot be concluded, without further delay, you have received his majesty's commands to return to England.

His majesty can only consent to relinquish the permanent occupation of Malta by his forces, on the conditions that the temporary possession shall not be less than ten years; that the authority, civil and military, shall, during that period, remain solely in his majesty; and that, at the expiration of that period, the island shall be given up to the inhabitants, and not to the order; and provided likewise, that his Sicilian majesty shall be induced to cede to his majesty the island of Lampedosa. It is indispensable that, as a part of this arrangement, Holland should be evacuated by the French troops within a short period

riod after the conclusion of a convention, by which all those provisions are secured. His majesty will consent to acknowledge the new Italian states, upon the condition that stipulations in favour of his Sardinian majesty, and of Switzerland, form a part of this arrangement.

It is his majesty's pleasure that, in the event of the failure of the negotiation, you should delay your departure from Paris no longer than may be indispensibly necessary for your personal convenience; and that you should, in no case, remain there, after the receipt of this dispatch, more than seven days.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Hawkesbury.

*His Excellency Lord Whitworth, K.B.*

&c. &c. &c.

No. 61.

*Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, April 23, 1803.*

My lord,

As I heard nothing from M. de Talleyrand, I called on him on Thursday, in order to learn the effect of the proposal which I had made, conformably to your lordship's instructions, on the basis of a perpetual possession of the forts of Malta, on re-establishing the order in the civil government of the island. He told me, that if I had called on him sooner, he should, two days ago, have communicated to me the first consul's answer, which was, that no consideration on earth should induce him to consent to a concession in perpetuity of Malta, in any shape whatever; and that the re-establishment of the order was not so much the point to be discussed, as that of suffering

Great Britain to acquire a possession in the Mediterranean. I told him that I did not call sooner because I was given to understand that he would have himself proposed it to me, for the purpose of communicating the answer of the first consul; and that it did not, in any shape, become me to put myself on the footing of a solicitor in this transaction. After some conversation, and finding (what I most sincerely believe to be the case) that the first consul's determination was fixed on the point of a possession of Malta in perpetuity; I repeated to him what I had previously suggested to Joseph Bonaparte, the modification which I had to propose, namely, that, for the sake of peace, his majesty would be willing to wave his pretensions to a possession in perpetuity, and would consent to hold Malta for a certain number of years to be agreed upon, on the condition that no opposition should be made, on the part of the French government, to any negotiation his majesty might set on foot with his Sicilian majesty, for the acquisition of the island of Lampedosa. We discussed this proposal in a conversation of some length; and I made use of all the arguments which have been furnished me by your lordship, or which occurred to me, in its favour. I begged him, particularly, to recollect that we were in actual possession of the object, and that, therefore, every modification tending to limit that possession was, in fact, a concession on the part of his majesty, and a proof of his desire to sacrifice, to his love of peace, the just claim which he had acquired in consequence of the conduct of France, and which had recently been admitted, of a much more considerable



considerable compensation and counterpoise. M. de Talleyrand did not seem disposed to dispute any of my positions, and I left him, I confess, fully impressed with the idea, that the next day (Friday) I should find him prepared to treat on this ground, and that the only difficult point to be arranged would be, the number of years for which Malta should be ceded to his majesty.

Your lordship will conceive my surprise, when, on seeing him the next day, he told me, that, although he had not been able to obtain from the first consul all he wished, still the proposition he had to make would, he trusted, be such as fully to answer the purpose: he then said, that the first consul would on no terms hear either of a perpetual or a temporary possession of Malta; that his object was the execution of the treaty of Amiens; and that rather than submit to such an arrangement as that I had last proposed, he would even consent to our keeping the object in dispute for ever; on the ground that, in the one there was an appearance of generosity and magnanimity, but in the other, nothing but weakness and the effect of coercion; that, therefore, his resolution was taken, and what he had to propose was the possession we required of the island of Lampedosa, or of any other of the small isles, of which there were three or four between Malta and the coast of Africa; that such a possession would be sufficient for the object we had in view, which was a station in the Mediterranean, as a place of refuge and security for any squadron we might find it convenient to keep in that sea. I suffered him to expatiate a considerable time, and with-

out interruption, on the great advantage we were to derive from such an acquisition, as well as on the confidence which the first consul reposed in our pacific intention in lending a hand to such an establishment. He concluded by desiring I would transmit this proposal to your lordship. I told him that I was extremely sorry indeed, to find that we had made such little progress in the negotiation; that my orders were positive; that I could hear of nothing short of what I had proposed, neither could I possibly undertake to make such a proposal to his majesty, since every word of my instructions (from which I certainly should not depart) applied positively to Malta, unless an equivalent security could be offered; and surely he would not pretend to tell me that Lampedosa could be considered as such; that the possession of Malta was necessary for our security, and was rendered so not from any desire of aggrandizement on the part of his majesty, but by the conduct of the French government; and that so strongly were we impressed with the necessity, that, rather than abandon it, we were prepared to go to war. That it was on this ground I must declare to him, that I could neither take upon myself to forward such a proposal as he had made to me, or, indeed, any thing short of what I had last proposed as a fair equivalent. That, in so doing, I acted in conformity to his majesty's views, who would most assuredly disapprove of my conduct, were I, by unnecessarily protracting the negotiation, to add one day, or one hour, if it could be avoided, to the suspense and anxiety under which his own subjects and all Europe must labour at such a crisis :

crisis; that I had hoped the French government, actuated by the same generous motives, would have acted in the same manner; that it might, by pursuing a contrary line of conduct, gain still a few days; but I must declare, that, in a very short time, I should have to communicate to him those very terms from which his were so wide, but to draw nearer to which was, perhaps, the object of his negotiating, in the form of an ultimatum, which would at least have one good effect, that of bringing the matter to an issue, and the certainty even of war was preferable to the present state of indecision.

To all I could say, M. Talleyrand objected the dignity and honour of the first consul, which could not admit of his consenting to any thing which might carry with it the appearance of yielding to a threat. I told him that it never could be admitted that the first consul had a right to act in such a manner as to excite jealousy and create alarm in every state of Europe, and when asked for explanation or security, say that it was contrary to his honour or his dignity to afford either. Such arguments might, perhaps, do, when applied to some of those governments with which France had been accustomed to treat, or more properly to dictate to, but never could be used to Great Britain; that his majesty had a right to speak freely his opinion, and possessed also the means, whenever he chose to employ them, of opposing a barrier to the ambition of any individual, or of any state, which should be disposed to threaten the security of his dominions, or the tranquillity of Europe.

Our conversation concluded by M.

de Talleyrand's assuring me that he would report the substance of it to the first consul in the evening, and that, probably, he should have occasion to see me on the following day.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Whitworth.

*The Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury,*  
&c. &c. &c.

No. 62.

*Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, April 25, 1803.*

My lord,

The conversation I had on Saturday morning with M. Talleyrand has produced nothing from which I can draw a more favourable conclusion, as to the result of the negotiation, than when I last addressed your lordship. He told me, that although he had seen the first consul the night before, he had nothing to add to what he had communicated to me on Friday; that the first consul was determined not to give his consent to our retaining Malta, either in perpetuity or for a term, although, of the two, he would prefer the former, as the less repugnant to his feelings; that he was therefore ordered to repeat the proposal he had lately made me, of acceding to our demand of Lampedusa, or any of the neighbouring islands; and that, as our object was to obtain a settlement in the Mediterranean, he imagined that which we had ourselves pointed out would answer every purpose we might have in view. But, at all events, the first consul neither could nor would relinquish his claim to the full execution of the treaty of Amiens. To this I could only repeat what I had already said to him on the inadequacy



quacy of such a proposal, and of the impossibility in which I found myself to transmit it to your lordship. I lamented the course which the negotiation was taking, and that the first consul should have so little regard to the dreadful consequences which must ensue, as to suffer them to be outweighed by a mistaken notion of dignity. And I added, that notwithstanding the acquiescence which he might have met with from others, the plea of its being incompatible with the dignity of the French government to give satisfaction or security, when both might with justice be demanded, could never be admitted by Great Britain.

M. de Talleyrand heard every thing I could say with the utmost patience, notwithstanding he had nothing satisfactory to say, and seemed unwilling to break up the conference. He constantly brought forward the same inadmissible proposal, requesting that I would at least communicate it to your lordship. This, I told him, I could not refuse to do, since every thing which passed between him and me must, of course, make the subject of my reports to your lordship. I declared, however, at the same time, that I should not think myself by any means authorized to suspend the execution of any instructions I might receive, tending to bring the negotiation to an issue, in the expectation of any change which such a proposal might produce. All I could do, and that I would certainly do, would be to communicate the ultimatum, if his majesty should think proper to furnish me with it, confidentially to M. de Talleyrand, before I presented it officially to him, as minister for foreign affairs. He assured me that

he should consider such a conduct as a further proof of my desire to conciliate, and that he could not yet forbear hoping that the differences might be adjusted. I repeated that if his hope was founded on the expectation of his majesty being induced to recede from his demand, it would be deceiving himself to cherish it.

The remainder of the conversation turned on the calamities which would follow the failure of our endeavour to avoid a rupture. He insinuated that Holland, Naples, and other countries connected with Great Britain, would be the first victims of the war. I asked him whether he thought that such a conduct would add to the glory of the first consul, or whether the falling on the innocent and defenceless would not rather tarnish it, and ultimately unite against him, not only the honest men in his own country, but every government in Europe.—That it certainly would excite more detestation than terror in England, at the same time that it would serve to impress upon us still more strongly the necessity of omitting no means of circumscribing a power so perniciously exerted. I could not help adding, that although no act of hostility had actually taken place, yet the inveteracy with which our commerce, our industry, and our credit had been attacked in every part to which French influence could be extended, did, in fact, almost amount to the same, since it went to prove, in addition to the general system of the first consul, that his object was to pursue, under the mask of peace, the same line of conduct in which the preceding governments had acted.

I now trust entirely to the effect  
of



of the ultimatum, which will at least convince him that we are in earnest, and that he has nothing to expect from protraction. I shall not, however, as I said before, make use of this officially, until I have tried its effect in a more conciliatory manner.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Whitworth.

*The Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury,*  
&c. &c. &c.

P. S. Your lordship's dispatches of the 23d, with their inclosures, were delivered to me, by Shaw, this evening at nine o'clock. I shall see M. de Talleyrand to-morrow morning; and I trust your lordship will not disapprove my following the line of conduct I had proposed, and which I have mentioned to your lordship, of informing him of the nature of my instructions, a few hours before I carry them officially into execution. W.

#### No. 63.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, April 27, 1803.*

I avail myself of the opportunity of a messenger passing through from Constantinople and Vienna, to inform your lordship of the state of the negotiation at this moment. I communicated to M. de Talleyrand the purport of my instructions of the 23d, yesterday at four o'clock. He immediately asked me if the possession of Malta was still insisted upon. I told him most certainly it was; and I repeated to him the particulars of the terms on which it was yet possible to conclude the business. That these were, the possession of Malta for ten years, during which period the authority, civil and military, was to remain solely in his majesty, and that at the ex-

piration of that term it was to be given up to the inhabitants, and not to the order; provided, also, that his Sicilian majesty shall be induced to cede to his majesty the island of Lampedosa; that Holland should be evacuated by the French troops within a month after the conclusion of a convention by which all these provision shall be secured; and that his majesty would consent to acknowledge the new Italian states, provided stipulations were made in favour of his Sardinian majesty and of Switzerland.

I had no sooner made known these conditions than M. de Talleyrand told me it would be perfectly unnecessary to delay the official communication; for, as the possession of Malta was still insisted upon, although for a term, the first consul would not consent to them. I accordingly did repeat them to him in the manner he desired; when he told me that he comprehended perfectly what we required, but that, in similar cases, it was usual to state the demand in writing, and he desired I would give him a note upon the subject. I told him that I would repeat to him once more, or as often as he pleased, the express terms which I had stated to him, and that as my communication to him was verbal, I should, of course, be content with an answer in the same form. He consented, at length, to receive it, and to communicate to me the first consul's answer as soon as possible. I desired that he would recollect, that Tuesday next must be the day of my departure.

#### No. 64.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated April 29, 1803.*

My last letter to your lordship

was of yesterday evening. This morning a person came to me, whom I suspect of being employed by the first consul, for the purpose of ascertaining my sentiments, and told me that I should, in the course of the day, receive a letter from M. de Talleyrand, drawn up under the inspection of the first consul, which, although not exactly what I might wish, was, however, so moderate as to afford me a well-grounded hope; and might certainly be sufficient to induce me to delay, for a short time, my departure. I told him that it would be a matter of great satisfaction to me to perceive a probability of bringing the negotiation to a favourable issue; and that I should be extremely sorry to spoil the business by any useless precipitation. But it must be recollected, that I acted in conformity to instructions; that those instructions were positive; that by them I was enjoined to leave Paris on Tuesday next, unless, in the intermediate time, certain conditions were agreed to. Having received no letter in the course of the day, about four o'clock I went to M. de Talleyrand; I told him that my anxiety to learn whether he had any thing favourable to tell me, brought me to him, and in case he had not, to recal to his recollection that Tuesday was the day on which I must leave Paris, and to request that he would have the necessary passports prepared for me and my family. He appeared evidently embarrassed, and after some hesitation observed, that he could not suppose I should really go away; but that, at all events, the first consul never would recal his ambassador. To this I replied, his majesty recalled me in order to put an end to the negotiation, on the

principle that even actual war was preferable to the state of suspense in which England, and indeed all Europe, had been kept for so long a space of time.

From the tenor of his conversation, I should rather be led to think that he does not consider the case as desperate. Upon my leaving him he repeatedly said, *J'ai encore de l'Espoir*.

*Saturday Evening.*

P. S. This day has passed without any occurrence whatever. The letter in question has not yet arrived.

No. 65.

*extract of a Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hackesbury, dated May 2, 1803.*

Another day has passed over without producing any change. I determined to go myself to M. de Talleyrand, and to deliver, instead of sending, the inclosed letter. I told him that it was with great reluctance that I came to make this last application to him. That I had long since informed him of the extent of the term which had been assigned for my stay at Paris, and that as I had received, to this moment, no answer whatever to the proposal I had repeatedly made, I could no longer delay requiring him to furnish me with the necessary passports for the return of myself, my family, and the remainder of my mission, to England. Upon this I gave him the letter, a copy of which I inclose, and, on reading it, he appeared somewhat startled. He lamented that so much time had been lost; but said that enough remained, if I was authorised to negotiate upon other terms. I could of course but repeat to him, that I had no other terms to propose, and that, therefore, unless  
the



the first consul could so far gain upon himself as to sacrifice a false punctilio to the certainty of a war, of which no one could foresee the consequence; nothing could possibly prevent my departure to-morrow night. He hoped, he said, this was not so near; that he would communicate my letter, and what I had said, to the first consul immediately, and that, in all probability, I should hear from him this evening. I thought it, however, right to apprise him, that it was quite impossible I could be induced to disobey his majesty's orders, and protract a negotiation on terms so disadvantageous to ourselves, unless he should furnish me with such a justification as would leave me no room to hesitate; and that I did not see that any thing short of a full acquiescence in his Majesty's demands could have that effect. He repeated, that he would report the conversation to the first consul, and that I should shortly hear from him.

In this state the business now rests; I am expecting either a proposition, or my passports, and am consequently taking every measure for setting out to-morrow night.

*Inclosure referred to in No. 65.*

Sir, *Paris, May 2, 1803.*

When I had the honour, on Tuesday last, of communicating to you, officially, the last propositions which I was instructed by my court to submit to the French government, for the sake of removing the present difficulties, I had the honour to announce to you, that, in case the first consul should not consent to these propositions, I should find myself under the necessity of leaving Paris in eight days. We are nearly arrived at the end of this period, with-

out my having received any answer to this communication. It remains for me only, therefore, to obey the orders of the king my master to return to him; and, for this purpose, I entreat you, sir, to have the goodness to furnish me with the necessary passports.

I seize this opportunity of renewing to your excellency the assurances of my high consideration.

(Signed) Whitworth.

*His Excellency M. de Talleyrand.*

No. 66.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, May 4, 1803.*

Soon after I had dispatched the messenger, the night before last, with my dispatches of the 3d, I received a communication from M. de Talleyrand, of which I inclose a copy, the purport of which was so completely short of every thing which could be satisfactory, that I did not think myself authorized to enter into any discussion upon it; and, as early as I could on the following morning, I returned the answer, of which the inclosed is a copy.

After this I concluded, of course, that there was an end to the negotiation. I had, for some days past, been preparing for my departure; every measure was taken for setting out at four o'clock this morning, and we were expecting only the passports which I had demanded, for the purpose of ordering the post horses. The day and the evening passed without the passports having been sent; and whilst we were deliberating on the motives of such a delay, about twelve o'clock at night, a gentleman who was with me received a communication, which con-



vinced me that it was not meant to give me my passports without another attempt, and I was, therefore, not surprised when, about one o'clock, I received the inclosed note from M. de Talleyrand.

In this situation I am waiting the hour of rendezvous with M. de Talleyrand.

*First Inclosure referred to in No. 66.*

The undersigned has reported to the first consul the conversation which he had with his excellency lord Whitworth, on the 6th of this month, and in which his excellency announced, that his Britannic majesty had ordered him to make, verbally, in his name, the following demands :

1st. That his Britannic majesty should retain his troops at Malta for ten years.

2d. That the island of Lampedosa should be ceded to him in full possession.

3d. That the French troops should evacuate Holland.

And that if no convention, on this basis, should have been signed within a week, his excellency lord Whitworth had orders to terminate his mission, and to return to London.

On the demand made by the undersigned, that lord Whitworth would, in conformity to the usage of all ages, and of all countries, give in writing what he himself called the *ultimatum* of his government, his excellency declared, that his instructions expressly forbade him to transmit, on this subject, any written note.

The intentions of the first consul being entirely pacific, the undersigned dispenses with making any observations on so new and so strange

a manner of treating on affairs of this importance.

And, in order to give a fresh testimony of the value which he attaches to the continuance of peace, the first consul has directed the undersigned to make the following notification in the accustomed style and forms.

As the island of Lampedosa does not belong to France, it is not for the first consul either to accede to or to refuse the desire testified by his Britannic majesty, of having this island in his possession.

With regard to the island of Malta, as the demand made respecting it by his Britannic majesty would change a formal disposition in the treaty of Amiens, the first consul cannot but previously communicate it to his majesty the king of Spain, and to the Batavian republic, contracting parties to the said treaty, in order to know their opinion ; and besides, as the stipulations relative to Malta have been guaranteed by their majesties the emperor of Germany, the emperor of Russia, and the king of Prussia, the contracting parties to the treaty of Amiens, before they agree to any change in the article of Malta, are bound to concert with the guaranteeing powers.

The first consul will not refuse this concert, but it belongs not to him to propose it, since it is not he who urges any change in the guaranteed stipulations.

With regard to the evacuation of Holland by the French troops, the first consul has no difficulty in directing the undersigned to repeat that the French troops shall evacuate Holland at the instant that the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens shall be executed in every quarter of the globe.

The

The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity to renew to his excellency the English ambassador, the assurance of his high consideration.

Ch. Mau. Talleyrand.  
*Paris, 12 Floreal, Year 11,*  
(2d May, 1803.)

*Second Inclosure referred to in No. 66.*

The undersigned, in answer to the note which M. de Talleyrand transmitted to him yesterday evening, has the honour to observe to him, that the king has had no other motive in seeking to accelerate the proceedings of the negotiation, than to relieve, as soon as possible, the two countries the most interested, and Europe in general, from the state of suspense in which they are placed. It is with great regret that he perceives nothing in his excellency's note which can correspond with this intention, and consequently nothing that can justify him in delaying to obey the orders of his court. It remains, therefore, only to request the minister for foreign affairs to give him the means of obeying them, by furnishing him with the necessary passports for his return. It is, however, necessary for him to rectify a mistake which has crept into M. de Talleyrand's note. The undersigned did not say he was expressly forbidden to transmit any written note on the object of the discussion, but that he was not authorized to do it, and that he would not take that responsibility on himself.

He avails himself of this opportunity to renew to his excellency M. de Talleyrand the assurances of his highest consideration.

(Signed) Whitworth  
*Paris, 3d May, 1803.*

*Third Inclosure referred to in No. 66.*  
My lord, *Paris, May 3, 1803.*

Having to-morrow morning to make to you a communication of the greatest importance, I have the honour to inform you of it without delay, in order that you may not expect this evening the passports which you had demanded. I propose that you should call to-morrow, at half past four, at the foreign department.

Receive, my lord, the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed) Ch. Mau. Talleyrand.

No. 67.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, May 4, 1803.*

I am this moment come from M. de Talleyrand. The inclosed note will shew your lordship, that the idea which has been thrown out, is to give Malta to Russia.

My only inducement for having undertaken to refer again to your lordship, is to avoid every reproach of precipitation. The difference will be but five days, and I have declared, that I see so many objections to the plan, that, although I would not refuse their solicitation to send it, I could give no hope whatever of its being accepted as a ground of negotiation.

*Inclosure referred to in No. 67.*

The undersigned has submitted to the first consul his Britannio majesty's note of the 3d instant.

After the last communication, addressed to his excellency, it is more difficult than ever to conceive, how a great, powerful, and enlightened nation can be willing to take upon itself to declare a war, which would be accompanied by such heavy calamities

mities, and the cause of which would be so insignificant, the object in question being a miserable rock.

His excellency must have been aware, that the twofold necessity of making an agreement with the guaranteeing powers of the treaty of Amiens, and of not violating a compact, in the execution of which, the honour of France, the security for the future, and the good faith of the diplomatic intercourse between the nations of Europe, were so deeply interested, had imposed a law upon the French government, of discarding every proposition diametrically contrary to the treaty of Amiens.—Nevertheless, the first consul, accustomed for two months to make every species of sacrifice for the maintenance of peace, would not reject a mezzo-termo of a nature to conciliate the interests and dignity of the two countries.

His Britannic majesty appears to have been of opinion, that the Neapolitan garrison, which was to be placed at Malta, would not afford a sufficient force for securing the actual independence of the island.

This motive being the only one which can explain his majesty's refusal to evacuate the island, the first consul is ready to consent that the island of Malta shall be placed in the hands of one of the three powers who have guaranteed its independence—either Austria, Russia, or Prussia, with a proviso, that, as soon as France and England shall have come to an agreement upon this article, they shall unite in their requisitions, to engage other powers, either contracting or acceding to the treaty of Amiens, to consent to it.

Were it possible that this proposition should not be accepted, it would be manifest, not only that

England never intended to comply with the terms of the treaty of Amiens, but that she has not been actuated by good faith in any of her demands, and that in proportion as France conceded one point, the British government advanced another. If this should be demonstrated, the first consul will at least have given another proof of his sincerity, of his anxiety to devise the means of avoiding war, of his eagerness to embrace them, and of the value which he would place on their being adopted.

*Paris, 14 Floreal, Year 11.*

No. 68.

*Dispatch from Lord Hawkesbury to Lord Whitworth, dated May 7, 1803.*

My lord,

Your excellency's dispatches have been received, and laid before the king.

The propositions which have been made to you, on the part of the French government, and which have induced your excellency to delay your departure until the return of the messenger Sylvester, are in every respect so loose, indefinite, and unsatisfactory, and fall so short of the just pretensions of his majesty, that it is impossible that the French government could have expected them to have been accepted. During the whole of the discussions which have lately occurred, his majesty has had a right to consider himself in the character of the injured party. No means have been omitted, on his part, to induce the French government to make a full and early explanation of their views, and to afford to his majesty that satisfaction and security to which he considered himself to be entitled. It was in consequence of the apparent determination



mination of the French government, to evade all discussion on the points of the difference between the two countries, that his majesty was induced to state the grounds on which, according to his views, an arrangement might be concluded satisfactory to both governments; and he accordingly authorised your excellency to communicate the three projects which, at different times, I had forwarded to you.

*Until the very moment* when your excellency was about to leave Paris, the French government have avoided making any distinct proposition for the settlement of the differences between the two countries; and when, at the very instant of your departure, the French government felt themselves compelled to bring forward some proposition, they confined that proposition to a part only of the subject in discussion, and, on that part of it, what they have brought forward is wholly inadmissible.

The French government propose, that his majesty should give up the island of Malta, to a Russian, Austrian, or Prussian garrison. If his majesty could be disposed to wave his demand for a temporary occupation of the island of Malta, the emperor of Russia would be the only sovereign to whom, in the present state of Europe, he could consent that the island should be assigned; and his majesty has certain and authentic information, that the emperor of Russia would on no account consent to garrison Malta. Under these circumstances, his majesty perseveres in his determination to adhere to the substance of his third project as his ultimatum: as, however, the principal objection stated by the French government to his majesty's proposition is understood

to be confined to the insertion of an article in a public treaty, by which his majesty shall have a right to remain in possession of the island of Malta for a definite number of years (*being in no case less than ten*), may be stated in a secret article; and the public articles may be agreed to conformably to the inclosed project. By this expedient, the supposed point of honour of the French government might be saved. The independence of the island of Malta would, in principle, be acknowledged, and the temporary occupation of his majesty would be made to depend *alone on the present state of the island of Lampedosa*.

You may propose this idea to M. Talleyrand, at the same time assuring him that his majesty is determined to adhere to the substance of his ultimatum. And if you shall not be able to conclude the minute of an arrangement on this principle, you will on no account remain in Paris more than thirty-six hours after the receipt of this dispatch.

I observe by your dispatch, you did not consider yourself authorised to deliver to the French government any note or project in writing. The words of my dispatch were, that you were to communicate the terms officially, which left it at your own discretion to communicate them verbally, or in writing, as you might judge most expedient. You were certainly right in communicating them, in the first instance, verbally; but, as so much stress has been laid by M. Talleyrand on this distinction, it is important that I should inform you, that his majesty neither had, nor has, any objection to your delivering the inclosed project as an ultimatum, accompanied by a short note in writing.

I cannot conclude this dispatch, without

without recalling again your attention to the conduct of the French minister at Hamburgh, and referring you to my instructions, by which you should abstain from concluding the arrangement, unless you have received from M. Talleyrand an assurance that his conduct would be publicly disavowed.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Hawkesbury.

*His Excellency Lord Whitworth,*

*K. B. &c. &c. &c.*

No. 69.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, May 9, 1803.*

The messenger, Sylvester, is arrived with your lordship's dispatch, No. 15, of the 7th of May.

As soon as I received your lordship's instructions, I prepared a translated copy of the project furnished me by your lordship, and a short note, with which it is my intention to accompany the communication. I then sent a person to Monsieur Talleyrand, to know when I could see him, and I was informed, that he was at St. Cloud. I soon after learnt, that he was gone there in consequence of the accident which happened yesterday to the first consul. I understand that no bad consequences are likely to ensue, and that he is able to transact business. I cannot, however, expect to see M. Talleyrand before to-morrow morning. Although this circumstance may cause a delay of a few hours, your lordship may be assured, that the execution of those instructions with which you have furnished me, shall not be protracted. I shall leave Paris most assuredly, or have concluded a satisfactory arrangement, within the

time specified by your lordship, reckoning from the moment of my being able to make an official communication, rather than from that of the receipt of your lordship's letter.

No. 70.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, May 12, 1803.*

The messenger, Sylvester, as I mentioned in my last dispatch, returned on the 9th, at twelve o'clock; and I wrote to M. Talleyrand, informing him of it, and desiring him to name an hour when I might wait on him, in order to communicate to him the purport of my instructions. To this letter, I received no answer that evening or the following morning. Anxious to execute my orders, and to lose no time, I enclosed the project furnished me by your lordship, accompanied by an official note, and a private letter to M. de Talleyrand, and sent it to the foreign department by Mr. Mandeville, with directions to deliver it to M. de Talleyrand, or, in his absence, to the *Chef du Bureau*. He delivered it, accordingly, to M. Durand, who promised to give it to his chief as soon as he came in, which he expected, he said, shortly. At half past four, having waited till that time in vain, I went myself to M. de Talleyrand; I was told that the family was in the country, and that they did not know when the minister would be in town. Half an hour after I had returned home, the packet which Mr. Mandeville had given into the hands of M. Durand, was brought to me, I believe, by a servant, with a verbal message, that, as M. de Talleyrand was in the country, it would be necessary that I should send it to him there. In order



order to defeat, as much as depended upon me, *their intention of gaining time*, I wrote again to M. de Talleyrand, recapitulating the steps I had taken since the return of the messengers; and desired Mr. Talbot, the secretary of the embassy, to take it, himself, at nine o'clock at night, when I thought M. de Talleyrand would be at home, to his house at Meudon. He was, however, not at home. Mr. Talbot was told that he was at St. Cloud, where he had been all day, and that he would not be back until very late. He, therefore, left my private letter, with his name, and returned with the packet. It was my intention to have sent it on the following morning to the Bureau, with orders, that it should be left there; at one o'clock in the morning, I received a note from M. de Talleyrand, accounting for his not being able to answer me sooner, and appointing me at twelve o'clock at the *Bureau des Relations Extérieures*. I went at the appointed time. He began, by apologizing for having so long postponed the interview, which he attributed to his having been the whole day with the first consul. We then entered upon business. I told him that, limited as I was by your lordship's instructions, he could not be surprised at my impatience to acquit myself of my duty. I explained to him the nature of your lordship's observations on the proposal of the 4th, and that it was considered as, on one hand, impracticable, from the refusal of the emperor of Russia to take charge of Malta, and, on the other, as being wholly inadequate to his majesty's just pretensions. I gave him the note in which this was expressed, and the project, on which alone a

satisfactory arrangement could be framed. He read with apparent attention, and without many remarks; and, after some time, he asked me, if I felt myself authorized, by my instructions, to conclude with him a convention, framed on the basis of my project, or, indeed, extending that basis, since the first article of it would be the perpetual possession of Malta to England, in a return for a consideration. I told him, I most certainly was not authorized to enter into any engagement of such a nature, which would make the negotiation one of exchange, instead of a demand of satisfaction and security. To this he replied, that the satisfaction and security which we required was Malta, and that this we obtained. That the first consul could not accede to what he considered, and what must be considered by the public and by Europe, as the effect of coercion, but if it were possible to make the draft palatable, did I think myself justifiable in refusing to do so. I told him that, acting in strict compliance with my instructions, I could have no need of justification, and that I came to him with the determination of abiding strictly by them. He contended, that by communicating a project, I merely stated on what grounds we would be willing to conclude, and that a counter-project, founded on the basis of giving us what we required, could not be refused a fair discussion. To this, I urged the resolution of his majesty's ministers, to avoid every thing which could protract the negotiation. That I saw no other means of acting up to those views, than by making my stand on the project at all events. I urged him, repeatedly, to explain himself  
more



more fully on the nature of the demand which he should make for Malta, *but he could not, or would not, explain himself.* After much contest, it was agreed the proposal should be submitted to me in the course of a few hours, and that I should determine on the line of conduct I might feel myself justified in pursuing, either to sign it, to send it home, or to leave Paris.

The remainder of this day passed without receiving any communication from M. de Talleyrand. Upon this, I determined to demand my passports, by an official note, which I sent this morning by Mr. Mandeville, in order that I might leave Paris in the evening.

At two, I renewed my demand of passports, and was told I should have them immediately. They arrived at five o'clock, and I propose setting out as soon as the carriages are ready.

*First Inclosure referred to in No. 70.*

The undersigned, his Britannic majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the French republic, having transmitted to his court the proposal which was made to him by the minister for foreign affairs, on the third instant, has just received orders to transmit to his excellency the accompanying project of a convention, founded on the only basis which his majesty conceives, under the existing circumstances, to be susceptible of a definitive and amicable arrangement. The minister for foreign affairs will not fail to observe to what degree his majesty has endeavoured to conciliate the security of his interests with the dignity of the first consul. The undersigned flatters himself, that the first consul, doing justice to these sentiments,

will adopt, in concert with his majesty, an expedient so suitable for restoring permanent tranquillity to both nations, and to all Europe.

The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity, to renew to his excellency the assurance of his highest consideration.

(Signed) Whitworth.

*Second Inclosure referred to in No. 70.*

PROJECT.

I. The French government shall engage to make no opposition to the cession of the island of Lampedosa to his majesty by the king of the two Sicilies.

II. In consequence of the present state of the island of Lampedosa, his majesty shall remain in possession of the island of Malta, until such arrangements shall be made to him, as may enable his majesty to occupy Lampedosa as a naval station; after which period, the island of Malta shall be given up to the inhabitants, and acknowledged as an independent state.

III. The territories of the Batavian republic shall be evacuated by the French forces within one month after the conclusion of a convention, founded on the principles of this project.

IV. The king of Etruria, and the Italian and Ligurian republics, shall be acknowledged by his majesty.

V. Switzerland shall be evacuated by the French forces.

VI. A suitable territorial provision shall be assigned to the king of Sardinia, in Italy.

SECRET ARTICLE.

His majesty shall not be required by the French government to evacuate

enate the island of Malta until after the expiration of ten years.

Article IV. V. and VI. may be entirely omitted, or must all be inserted.

*Third Inclosure referred to in No. 70.*

Sir, *Paris, May 10, 1803.*

In order not to lose an instant of so precious a time, I have the honour to convey to you the project which I have received from my court, with the note which accompanies it. I shall have the honour of calling on your excellency at any hour you may appoint, in consequence of the request I made yesterday. But, in the mean while, you will be in possession of the contents of my instructions. I hope to God that they may be of a nature to insure the tranquillity of both countries and of Europe.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to your excellency the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed) Whitworth.

*To His Excellency M. de Talleyrand.*

&c. &c. &c.

*Fourth Inclosure referred to in No. 70.*

Sir, *Paris, May 10, 1803.*

Having yesterday morning received some important instructions to communicate to you, I wrote to you that evening to ask your excellency at what hour I could have the honour to acquit myself of this duty. That letter has not been answered. At two o'clock this afternoon I sent Mr. Mandeville, attached to the embassy, to the office for foreign affairs, in order to deliver to your excellency, or in your absence to your first secretary, a sealed packet, containing the papers which I had to communicate to you, and I added a

second letter to your excellency. M. Mandeville delivered this packet into the hands of M. Durand, who assured him that it should be communicated to you without delay. At half past four, not having received any answer to my letters, I went to the foreign office, and I there learnt that you were in the country, and that it was not known when you would return to town.

Half an hour afterwards, having returned home, the papers which my secretary had taken and delivered to M. Durand, were brought to me, with a message that I must send them to the minister in the country.

In this state of things, since your excellency does not give me an opportunity of making you this communication, I have no other alternative than to give it in charge to Mr. Talbot, secretary to the embassy. He will have the honour to deliver to you the project of a convention, which, I hope, will serve as the basis to an amicable arrangement between our two governments.

I have only to add, that the term of my stay in Paris is limited, and I must set out on my journey for England on Thursday morning, if the negotiation is not favourably terminated before that time.

I request you, sir, to accept the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed) Whitworth.

*Fifth Inclosure referred to in No. 70.*

It being impossible for the undersigned to delay any longer executing the orders of his court, he finds himself obliged to request the minister for foreign affairs to have the goodness to expedite the necessary passports for his return to England.

He requests his excellency to accept

cept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) Whitworth.  
Paris, 12th May, 1803.

No. 71.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Sir George Rumbold, Bart. to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Hamburgh, March 29, 1803.*

Late last night it was determined that the senate should be convened extraordinarily on this day, in order to consider of a requisition from the French minister, to insert in the Hamburgh paper a most offensive article, intended as a justification of the first consul, and an attack on the measures of the British government. It is with great regret that I inform your lordship, that the senate have judged it prudent to comply with this demand; and that the article will be inserted in the paper of to-morrow. It is now in the hands of the publisher for that purpose. It was the wish of the senate that they might at least be allowed to omit or qualify the most offensive passages, but Mr. Rheinhardt said his orders were positive, for the full and exact insertion of the whole.

No. 72.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Hill to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Copenhagen, April 2, 1803.*

The French minister at Hamburgh, received orders from his government to have inserted in the public papers of that city, an article which was sent to him, containing a commentary upon his majesty's communication to parliament, respecting the necessity of increasing the military forces of the country in the present circumstances. The senate of Hamburgh consented with much

repugnance to the insertion of this paragraph. The French minister desired that the same should be published in the papers of Altona; but the Danish magistrates said that they could not possibly permit it without an express order from this government. In consequence of this refusal, M. Daguesseau, the French minister at this court, received from his colleague at Hamburgh, a copy of the article, with a request that he would solicit the permission of its publication in the Danish papers. To my knowledge he had no answer yesterday, and I have every reason to suppose that this government will shew the greatest reluctance in acceding to the French minister's request.

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### DECLARATION.

His majesty's earnest endeavours for the preservation of peace having failed of success, he entertains the fullest confidence that he shall receive the same support from his parliament, and that the same zeal and spirit will be manifested by his people, which he has experienced on every occasion when the honour of his crown has been attacked, or the essential interests of his dominions have been endangered.

During the whole course of the negotiations which led to the preliminary and definitive treaties of peace between his majesty and the French republic, it was his majesty's sincere desire, not only to put an end to the hostilities which subsisted between the two countries, but to adopt such measures, and to concur in such propositions, as might effectually contribute to consolidate the general tranquillity of Europe. The  
same



same motives by which his majesty was actuated during the negotiations for peace, have since invariably governed his conduct. As soon as the treaty of Amiens was concluded, his majesty's courts were open to the people of France for every purpose of legal redress; all sequestrations were taken off their property; all prohibitions on their trade, which had been imposed during the war, were removed, and they were placed, in every respect, on the same footing with regard to commerce and intercourse, as the inhabitants of any other state in amity with his majesty, with which there existed no treaty of commerce.

To a system of conduct thus open, liberal, and friendly, the proceedings of the French government affords the most striking contrast. The prohibitions which had been placed on the commerce of his majesty's subjects during the war, have been enforced with increased strictness and severity; violence has been offered in several instances to their vessels and their property; and, in no case, has justice been afforded to those who may have been aggrieved in consequence of such acts, nor has any satisfactory answer been given to the repeated representations made by his majesty's ministers or ambassador at Paris. Under such circumstances, when his majesty's subjects were not suffered to enjoy the common advantages of peace within the territories of the French republic, and the countries dependent upon it, the French government had recourse to the extraordinary measure of sending over to this country a number of persons for the professed purpose of residing in the most considerable sea-port towns of Great Britain and Ireland,

in the character of commercial agents or consuls. These persons could have no pretensions to be acknowledged in that character, as the right of being so acknowledged, as well as all the privileges attached to such a situation, could only be derived from a commercial treaty; and as no treaty of that description was in existence between his majesty and the French republic.

There was consequently too much reason to suppose, that the real object of their mission was by no means of a commercial nature; and this suspicion was confirmed, not only by the circumstance that some of them were military men, but by the actual discovery, that several of them were furnished with instructions to obtain the soundings of the harbours, and to procure military surveys of the places where it was intended they should reside—His majesty felt it to be his duty to prevent their departure to their respective places of destination, and presented to the French government the necessity of withdrawing them; and it cannot be denied, that the circumstances under which they were sent, and the instructions which were given to them, ought to be considered as decisive indications of the dispositions and intentions of the government by whom they were employed.

The conduct of the French government, with respect to the commercial intercourse between the two countries, must, therefore, be considered as ill suited to a state of peace, and their proceedings in their more general political relations, as well as in those which immediately concern his majesty's dominions, appears to have been altogether inconsistent with every principle of good

faith

faith, moderation, and justice. His majesty had entertained hopes, in consequence of the repeated assurances, and professions of the French government, that they might have been induced to adopt a system of policy, which, if it had not inspired other powers with confidence, might, at least, have allayed their jealousies. If the French government had really appeared to be actuated by a due attention to such a system; if their dispositions had proved to be essentially pacific, allowances would have been made for the situation in which a new government must be placed after so dreadful and extensive a convulsion as that which has been produced by the French revolution. But his majesty has, unfortunately, had too much reason to observe and to lament that the system of violence, aggression, and aggrandizement which characterized the proceedings of the different governments of France during the war, has been continued with as little disguise since its termination. They have continued to keep a French army in Holland against the will, and in defiance of remonstrances of the Batavian government, and in repugnance of the letter of three solemn treaties. They have, in a period of peace, invaded the territory, and violated the independence of the Swiss nation, in defiance of the treaty of Luneville, which had stipulated the independence of their territory, and the right of the inhabitants to chuse their own form of government. They have annexed to the dominions of France; Piedmont, Parma, and Placentia, and the island of Elba, without allotting any provision to the king of Sardinia, whom they have despoiled of

the most valuable part of his territory, though they were bound, by a solemn engagement to the emperor of Russia, to attend to his interests, and to provide for his establishment. It may, indeed, with truth, be asserted, that the period which has elapsed since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, has been marked with one continued series of aggression, violence, and insult on the part of the French government.

In the month of October last, his majesty was induced, in consequence of the earnest solicitation of the Swiss nation, to make an effort, by a representation of the French government, to avert the evils which were then impending over that country. This representation was couched in the most temperate terms; and measures were taken by his majesty for ascertaining, under the circumstances which then existed, the real situation and wishes of the Swiss cantons, as well as the sentiments of the other cabinets of Europe. His majesty learned, however, with the utmost regret, that no disposition to counteract these repeated infractions of treaties and acts of violence was manifested by any of the powers most immediately interested in preventing them; and his majesty, therefore, felt that, with respect to these objects, his single efforts could not be expected to produce any considerable advantage to those in whose favour they might be exerted.

It was about this time that the French government first distinctly advanced the principle, that his majesty had no right to complain of the conduct, or interfere with the proceedings of France, on any point which did not form a part of the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens.

That



That treaty was unquestionably founded upon the same principle as every other antecedent treaty or convention, on the assumption of the state of possession and of engagements subsisting at the time of its conclusion; and if that state of possession and of engagements is materially affected by the voluntary act of any of the parties, so as to prejudice the condition on which the other party has entered into the contract, the change so made may be considered as operating virtually as a breach of the treaty itself, and as giving the party aggrieved a right to demand satisfaction or compensation for any substantial difference which such acts may have effected in their relative situations; but, whatever may be the principle on which the treaty is to be considered as founded, there is indisputably a general law of nations, which, though liable to be limited, explained, or restrained by conventional law, is antecedent to it, and is that law or rule of conduct to which all sovereigns and states have been accustomed to appeal, where conventional law is admitted to have been silent. The treaty of Amiens, and every other treaty, in providing for the objects to which it is particularly directed, does not, therefore, assume or imply an indifference to all other objects which are not specified in its stipulation, much less does it adjudge them to be of a nature to be left to the will and caprice of the violent and the powerful. The justice of the cause is alone a sufficient ground to warrant the interposition of any of the powers of Europe in the differences which may arise between other states, and the application and extent of that just interposition is to be determined solely by

considerations of prudence.—These principles can admit of no dispute; but if the new and extraordinary pretensions advanced by the French government, to exclude his majesty from any right to interfere with respect to the concerns of other powers, unless they made a specific part of the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens, was that which it was possible to maintain, those powers would have a right, at least, to claim the benefit of this principle, in every case of difference between the two countries. The indignation of all Europe must surely then be excited by the declarations of the French government, that, in the event of hostilities, these very powers, who were no parties to the treaty of Amiens, and who were not allowed to derive any advantage from the remonstrances of his majesty in their behalf, are nevertheless to be made the victims of a war, which is alledged to arise out of the same treaty, and are to be sacrificed in a contest, which they not only have not occasioned, but which they have had no means whatever of preventing.

His majesty judged it most expedient, under the circumstances which then affected Europe, to abstain from a recurrence to hostilities, on account of the views of ambition, and acts of aggression, manifested by France on the continent; yet an experience of the character and dispositions of the French government could not fail to impress his majesty with a sense of the necessity of increased vigilance in guarding the rights and dignity of his crown, and in protecting the interests of his people.

Whilst his majesty was actuated by these sentiments, he was called



upon by the French government to evacuate the island of Malta. His majesty had manifested, from the moment of the signature of the definitive treaty, an anxious disposition to carry into full effect the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens relative to that island. As soon as he was informed that the election of a grand master had taken place, under the auspices of the emperor of Russia, and that it had been agreed by the different priorities assembled at St. Petersburg, to acknowledge the person whom the court of Rome should select out of those who had been named by them to be grand master of the order of St. John, his majesty proposed to the French government, for the purpose of avoiding any difficulties which might arise in the execution of the arrangement, to acknowledge that election to be valid; and when, in the month of August, the French government applied to his majesty to permit the Neapolitan troops to be sent to the island of Malta, as a preliminary measure for preventing any unnecessary delay, his majesty consented, without hesitation, to this proposal, and gave directions for the admission of the Neapolitan troops into the island. His majesty had thus shewn his disposition not only to throw no obstacle in the way of the execution of the treaty, but, on the contrary, to facilitate the execution of it by every means in his power. His majesty cannot, however, admit, that, at any period since the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, the French government have had a right to call upon him, in conformity to the stipulations of that treaty, to withdraw his forces from the island of Malta. At the time when this demand was made by the French

government, several of the most important stipulations of the arrangement respecting Malta remained unexecuted: the election of a grand master had not been carried into effect. The tenth article had stipulated that the independence of the island should be placed under the guarantee and protection of Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Spain, and Prussia. The emperor of Germany had acceded to the guarantee, but only on condition of a like accession on the part of the other powers specified in the article. The emperor of Russia had refused his accession, except on the condition that the Maltese langue should be abrogated; and the king of Prussia had given no answer whatever to the application which had been made to him to accede to the arrangement. But the fundamental principle, upon the existence of which depended the execution of the other parts of the article, had been defeated by the changes which had taken place in the constitution of the order since the conclusion of the treaty of peace. It was to the order of St. John of Jerusalem that his majesty was, by the first stipulation of the tenth article, bound to restore the island of Malta. The order is defined to consist of those langues which were in existence at the time of the conclusion of the treaty; the three French langues having been abolished, and a Maltese langue added to the institution. The order consisted, therefore, at that time, of the following langues, viz. the langues of Arragon, Castile, Germany, Bavaria, and Russia.— Since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, the langues of Arragon and Castile have been separated from the order by Spain, a part of the Italian

Italian langue has been abolished by the annexation of Piedmont and Parma to France. There is strong reason to believe that it has been in contemplation to sequester the property of the Bavarian langue, and the intention has been avowed of keeping the Russian langues within the dominions of the emperor.

Under these circumstances, the order of St. John cannot now be considered as that body to which, according to the stipulation of the treaty, the island was to be restored; and the funds indispensibly necessary for its support, and for the maintenance of the independence of the island, have been nearly, if not wholly, sequestered. Even if this had arisen from circumstances which it was not in the power of any of the contracting parties to the treaty to control, his majesty would nevertheless have had a right to defer the evacuation of the island by his forces, until such time as an equivalent arrangement had been concluded for the preservation of the independence of the order and of the island. But if these changes have taken place in consequence of any acts of the other parties to the treaty; if the French government shall appear to have proceeded upon a system of rendering the order whose independence they had stipulated, incapable of maintaining that independence, his majesty's right to continue in the occupation of the island, under such circumstances, will hardly be contested. It is indisputable, that the revenues of the two Spanish langues have been withdrawn from the order by his catholic majesty; a part of the Italian langue has, in fact, been abolished by France, through the

unjust annexation of Piedmont and Parma, and Placentia, to the French territory. The elector of Bavaria has been instigated by the French government to sequester the property of the order within his territories; and it is certain that they have not only sanctioned, but encouraged the idea of the propriety of separating the Russian langues from the remainder of the order.

As the conduct of the governments of France and Spain have, therefore, in some instances directly, and in others indirectly, contributed to the changes which have taken place in the order, and thus destroyed its means of supporting its independence, it is to those governments, and not to his majesty, that the non-execution of the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens must be ascribed.

Such would be the just conclusion, if the 10th article of that treaty were considered as an arrangement by itself. It must be observed, however, that this article forms a part only of a treaty of peace, the whole of which is connected together, and the stipulations of which must, upon a principle common to all treaties, be construed as having a reference to each other.

His majesty was induced, by the treaty of peace, to consent to abandon, and to restore to the order of St. John, the island of Malta, on condition of its independence and neutrality. But a further condition, which must necessarily be supposed to have had considerable influence with his majesty, in inducing him to make so important a concession, was the acquiescence of the French government in an arrangement for the security of the Levant, by the eighth and ninth articles in the treaty, stipulating the integrity



of the Turkish empire, and the independence of the Ionian islands.—His majesty has, however, since learned, that the French government have entertained views hostile to both these objects; and that they have even suggested the idea of a partition of the Turkish empire.—These views must now be manifest to all the world, from the official publication of the report of colonel Sebastiani: from the conduct of that officer, and of the other French agents in Egypt, Syria, and the Ionian islands, and from the distinct admission of the first consul himself, in his communication with lord Whitworth. His majesty was, therefore, warranted in considering it to be the determination of the French government to violate those articles of the treaty of peace, which stipulated for the integrity and independence of the Turkish empire, and of the Ionian islands, and consequently he would not have been justified in evacuating the island of Malta, without receiving some other security, which might equally provide for these important objects. His majesty accordingly feels that he has an incontestible claim, in consequence of the conduct of France since the treaty of peace, and with reference to the objects which made part of the stipulations of that treaty, to refuse, under the present circumstances, to relinquish the possession of the island of Malta.

Yet, notwithstanding this right, so clear and so unquestionable, the alternative presented by the French government to his majesty, in language the most peremptory and menacing, was the evacuation of Malta, or the renewal of war.

If the views of ambition and aggrandizement, which have thus been

manifested by the French government since the conclusion of the treaty of peace, have in so very particular a manner attracted the attention of his majesty, it has been equally impossible for him not to feel, and not to notice, the repeated indignities which have been offered by that government to his crown and his people.

The report of colonel Sebastiani contains the most unwarrantable insinuations and charges against his majesty's government, against the officer who commanded his forces in Egypt, and against the British army in that quarter. This paper cannot be considered as the publication of a private individual; it has been avowed, and indeed bears evidence upon the face of it, that it is the official report of an accredited agent, published by the authority of the government to which it was addressed, who thereby have given it their express sanction.

This report had been published a very short time, when another indignity was offered to this country in the communication of the first consul of France to the legislative body. In this communication, he presumes to affirm, in the character of chief magistrate of that country, "*That Great Britain cannot singly contend against the power of France;*" an assertion as unfounded as it is indecent, disproved by the events of many wars, and by none more than by those of the war which has been recently concluded. Such an assertion, advanced in the most solemn official act of a government, and thereby meant to be avowed to all the powers of Europe, can be considered in no other light than as a defiance publicly offered to his majesty, and to a brave and powerful people,



people, who are both willing and able to defend his just rights and those of their country, against every insult and aggression.

The conduct of the first consul to his majesty's ambassador at his audience in presence of the ministers of most of the sovereigns and states of Europe, furnishes another instance of provocation on the part of the French government, which it would be improper not to notice on the present occasion, and the subsequent explanation of this transaction may be considered as having the effect of aggravating instead of palliating the affront.

At the very time when his majesty was demanding satisfaction and explanation on some of the points above mentioned, the French minister at Hamburgh endeavoured to obtain the insertion in a Hamburgh paper of a most gross and opprobrious libel against his majesty, and when difficulties were made respecting the insertion of it, he availed himself of his *official character of minister of the French republic*, to require the publication of it, by order of his government, in the gazette of the senate of that town. With this requisition, so made, the senate of Hamburgh were induced to comply; and thus has the independence of that town been violated, and a free state made the instrument, by the menace of the French government, of propagating throughout Europe, upon their authority, the most offensive and unfounded calumnies against his majesty and his government. His majesty might add to this list of indignities, the requisition which the French government have repeatedly urged that the laws and constitution of his country should be changed relative

to the liberty of the press. His majesty might, likewise, add the calls which the French government have, on several occasions, made upon him to violate the laws of hospitality, with respect to persons who had found an asylum within his dominions, and against whose conduct no charge whatever has at any time been substantiated. It is impossible to reflect on these different proceedings, and the course which the French government have thought proper to adopt respecting them, without the thorough conviction that they are not the effect of accident; but that they form a part of a system which has been adopted for the purpose of degrading, vilifying, and insulting his majesty and his government.

Under all these insults and provocations, his majesty, not without a due sense of his dignity, has proceeded, with every degree of temper and moderation, to obtain satisfaction and redress, while he has neglected no means consistent with his honour, and the safety of his dominions, to induce the government of France to concede to him, what is, in his judgment, absolutely necessary for the future tranquillity of Europe. His efforts, in this respect, have proved abortive, and he has, therefore, judged it necessary to order his ambassador to leave Paris. In having recourse to this proceeding, it has been his majesty's object to put an end to the fruitless discussions which have too long subsisted between the two governments, and to close a period of suspense peculiarly injurious to the subjects of his Majesty.

But though the provocations which his majesty has received might entitle him to larger claims than those

which he has advanced, yet, anxious to prevent calamities which might thus be extended to every part of Europe, he is still willing, as far as is consistent with his own honour, and the interests of his people, to afford every facility to any just and honourable arrangement, by which such evils may be averted. He has, therefore, no difficulty in declaring, to all Europe, that, notwithstanding all the changes which have taken place since the treaty of peace, notwithstanding the extension of the power of France, in repugnance to that treaty, and to the spirit of peace itself, his majesty will not avail himself of these circumstances, to demand in compensation all that he is entitled to require, but will be ready to concur, even now, in an arrangement, by which satisfaction shall be given to him, for the indignities which have been offered to his crown and to his people, and substantial security afforded against further encroachments on the part of France.

His majesty has thus distinctly and unreservedly stated the reasons of those proceedings to which he has found himself compelled to resort. He is actuated by no disposition to interfere in the internal concerns of any other state; by no projects of conquest and aggrandizement; but solely by a sense of what is due to the honour of his crown, and the interests of his people, and by an anxious desire to obstruct the further progress of a system, which, if not resisted, may prove fatal to every part of the civilized world.

*Westminster, May 18, 1803.*

*from the Moniteur of the 30th of Jan. 1803.*

On the 16th of September I embarked at Toulon, on board the *Cornélie*; and on the 30th I arrived at Tripoli. I immediately wrote to baron Cederstrom, the Swedish rear-admiral, as well as to the minister of the pacha, to offer them my mediation to terminate the differences existing between the Swedish court and the regency. My mediation was accepted: the minister and the rear-admiral repaired to the commissarial house of France, and we entered on the negotiation. The two parties were far asunder; the pacha demanded a considerable sum, and an augmentation of the annual tribute. He urged a treaty made two years ago by an envoy of the king of Sweden, which assured the payment of 245,000 heavy piastres, and of an annuity of 20,000; he added, that two years of war had subjected him to extraordinary expences, and that he used great moderation in conforming himself to the treaty in question. M. de Cederstrom only offered, in the name of his court, 100,000 piastres for the redemption of the Swedish slaves, who were to the number of one hundred and fifty, and an annuity of 5000 piastres. After much debate, I succeeded in making them sign a treaty, which fixed the payment of the ransom at 150,000 piastres, and the annuity at 8000.—On the 1st of October I was presented, with much pomp, to the pacha, who received me in the most distinguished manner. The exchange of the ratification of the treaty of peace took place, and the Italian republic was formally acknowledged. I caused its flag to be hoisted on the commissarial house of France, and it was saluted by the frigate



frigate and the place with 21 guns. —It was not without difficulty that the pacha consented to acknowledge that republic. He feared that all Italy was comprized in this new republic, and that, in consequence, he would be obliged to respect, indiscriminately, all the ships of commerce of that part of Europe :—this would destroy his marine. I gave him the necessary explanations, and particularly those which related to the object of his apprehensions, and he replied to me, “Certainly I wish to be at peace with the Italian republic, without too much injuring my interest; but if it were still more difficult, I would do it, since the great Bonaparte desires it.”—The pacha of Tripoli is a brave and enterprising man, the friend of France. The English have furnished succours to his brother, who is at present at Derue, without means or credit. His plan is to raise the country against the bey. The political and administrative affairs of the regency are conducted by Seid-Muhammed-el-Deghais, minister of the pacha. This man is full of sagacity, and has even some notions of European politics. He has been in France, and preserves for our country a predominant sentiment of affection. On the 2d of October I set out from Tripoli, and on the 16th arrived at Alexandria: the same day I waited upon general Stuart, commandant of the English forces by land and sea. I communicated to him the order of the minister for foreign affairs, which enjoined me to proceed to Alexandria, and if the English still occupied that place, to demand a speedy evacuation, and the execution of the treaty of Amiens. General Stuart then told me, that the evacuation of the place would shortly be effected;

but seeing that I insisted, and that I desired an answer less vague, he declared to me, that he had no orders from his court to quit Alexandria, and that he even believed he should pass the winter there. General Stuart is a man of *médiocre* talents: he has for his aid-de-camp, a French emigrant, called the chevalier de Sades, a man of talent, and an enemy of France, who has much influence over the general. I went the same day to see Khourchid-Ahmid, the pacha of Alexandria, and the capitan bey, commander of the forces of the Ottoman Porte. After the customary compliments, and some language agreeable to the Sublime Porte, I announced to them, that the agents of French commerce would assemble in Egypt. This communication gave them the greatest pleasure, and they did not conceal that they saw with grief the stay of the English in the country. I told them, that their stay could not be much longer, and that the general peace left no doubt of their approaching departure. On the 17th I visited the cheik El-Mesiriy. The same day I also visited the cheik Ibrahim Mufti. On the 18th I visited the coupure du Khalidj, which has formed the lake Mareotis. The current of the waters of the lake Madié is still very strong, and if the Porte does not make haste to re-establish this important canal, the overflows which take place on the little tongue of land that separates the two lakes, will render the opening so considerable, that it will be impossible to travel. I do not think that the Swedish engineer sent by the Porte to direct these labours, has the necessary talents. The formation of the lake Mareotis appears to have contributed to the salubrity of the air. The city has up other water than



than what it draws from the wells of Marabouf. This little fort I found guarded by an English and Turkish garrison, in order to protect the inhabitants who came to draw water. I employed the day of the 19th in perambulating the town, and receiving different individuals who came to visit me. On the 20th I set out for Cairo, escorted by two Turkish officers, and six French soldiers, whom I had taken on board the frigate, but contrary winds obliged me to return to the port. The next day I was at Aboukir, where I passed the night. I profited by this opportunity to visit the fort, which is in a very ruined state. On the 22d I arrived at Rosetta, after having visited the fort Julien; I saw the same day Osman, aga, and duvanny of the town, as well as all the christians who reside there. The 23d I was at Faoné, where I visited the commandant of the place, the cadî, and the cheiks; I received from the latter, and from all those whom I entertained, protestations of attachment to the first consul. I passed the next day at Ralimanie, where I visited the cheik Muhammed Abou-Aly; the fort of the town is almost entirely destroyed. I visited on the 25th, at Menouf, the cheik Abdin, whom the first consul had appointed cadî. The other cheiks of that town who came to visit me, held the same language as those of Faoné. I said to them, "The first consul loves your country much, he speaks of it often; he interests himself in your happiness; he did not forget you, and recommended you to the Porte. He has made peace with Europe, and this country will feel the interest which he takes, and the recollection which he has preserved of the poor cheiks of Egypt."—Muhammed Ka-

chef-Zourba Matzellem; who commanded at Menouf, on my journey through that town, has been beheaded in consequence of being accused of communications with the mamelouks. The two forts of Menouf are destroyed. I arrived the same day at Boulak. I sent immediately citizen Joubert to inform the pacha of Cairo of my arrival. The next morning, the 26th, the pacha sent 300 cavalry and 200 infantry, commanded by the principal officers of his household, to accompany me to him, amidst a great many discharges of artillery. Having arrived at the pacha's, I said to him, "Peace has been concluded between the French republic and the Sublime Porte; the ancient relations of amity and commerce have been re-established, and I am charged by the great consul Bonaparte, to assure you of his benevolence, and to announce to you the arrival of commissaries of the French commerce in Egypt." The pacha answered me, "the benevolence with which the first consul has honoured me, penetrates me with gratitude, and his commercial agents shall meet here the most friendly reception." I proceeded then to the house which the pacha had prepared for me. I received, the same day, the visits of all the principal men of the country, and of the copt intendants. On the 27th I again repaired to the pacha, with whom I had a long conference. I spoke to him in these words: "the first consul takes in you, and the country which you govern, a very lively interest, and desires to contribute to your happiness; he has charged me, therefore, to offer you his mediation, in order to make peace between you and the beys."

The pacha thanked me warmly and

and sincerely for the interest which the first consul took in his behalf; but he protested to me, that he had the most positive orders from his court to make a war of extermination upon the beys, and not to enter into any arrangement with them. I observed, that the unfortunate circumstances which had happened to the Ottoman troops (they had been beaten five times successively by the mamelouks), rendered their position very critical, and that obstinacy exposed them to the loss of the province. He then communicated to me the order of the Porte, and I saw, beyond a doubt, that it was not possible for him to enter into any accommodation. I informed him that I intended to visit the different cheiks of Cairo, and also Madame Murad Bey, and to inspect the environs and fortifications of the city. He ordered, immediately, that the guard which he had sent should accompany me wherever I wished to go, informing me, that he would use every means in his power to render my stay at Cairo agreeable.—The same day I commenced my visits, beginning with the cheik Abdallah-el-Chescanoi, of the great mosque. As I was expected by him, he had assembled a considerable number of cheiks. The conversation turned upon the interest which the first consul took in Egypt, on his power, his glory, and on his esteem and benevolence for the learned cheiks of Cairo. Their answers expressed their attachment to his person. He must have been a witness like myself to the enthusiasm excited at the view of the portrait of the first consul to form an idea of the exaltation of their sentiments. I have given it to all the principal cheiks of Cairo, and of the towns where I have tra-

velled.—On the 28th I invited the cheik Omar El-Berky, prince of the Shiriss: he was ill, and I saw only his son.—The cheik Suleiman El-Fargoumy received me with much friendship, and assured me of his boundless admiration for the first consul.—The citizen Joubert and Beye have certified to me, that the inhabitants of Cairo never testified so much attachment to France as on my arrival.—When we pass along the streets, every body salutes us. Their astrologers make predictions every day as to what concerns the first consul.—On the 29th, I went to visit Madame Murad Bey: her intendant had already prayed of me that I would grant her an interview. I informed her that the first consul had charged me to interpose my mediation, in order to make their peace with the Sublime Porte; but that the pacha had ordered that no negotiation should be entered into.—I employed that day, and the following, in visiting the citadel, the Isle of Ro da Gize, Boulak, and all the other little forts which surround the city. The Turkish soldiers murmured to see me visit their forts, but I feigned not to hear them, and continued my course and my observations.

On the 29th, in returning to Fort Dupuy, a soldier menaced me with his attagan; but as the inhabitants of the city testified highly their indignation against him, I did not stop at his menaces, and continued my route. A moment afterwards Mustapha Oukil, one of the chiefs of the city, passed before me on horseback. In passing, he reproached my guides with marching before a christian, and above all, before a Frenchman, and menaced them with the bastinado after my departure. I

could



could not be silent under such an insult; and, upon my return, I sent citizen Joubert to the pacha, to make my complaint, and demand a prompt redress. I declared to him that I expected this man would come publicly to me to ask my pardon, place himself at my disposal, and implore my pity. He found that Mustapha was greatly protected by the pacha, and wanted to arrange it otherwise; but I persisted by declaring formally to the pacha, that if this reparation was not made in the manner in which I demanded it, I should instantly depart, and immediately write to Paris and Constantinople to state my complaint. This declaration produced all the effect which I expected; and Mustapha, alarmed, came on the following day to me, conducted by Rosetti, and he publicly asked my pardon, and put himself at my disposal. I told him that my first intention had been to cut off his head, and that I only gave him his life at the solicitations of the pacha and M. Rosetti; but if in future he should ever insult the French, or those in their suite, his destruction would be inevitable. This affair, which was instantly spread throughout the whole city, produced the best effect.—The same day an attempt was made to excite the Albanese against me. Two letters from Rosetta, written by English protégées, assured that there had been seen upon the coasts of Narolia a French fleet of 300 sail; that we were marching against Constantinople, and that my visit to Egypt had no other object but to deceive them, and blind them to their danger. I made the merchant come to me who had received the letter; I made him give it me—I instantly sent it to the pacha himself,

telling him that this absurd news was spread to occasion disorders, and to endeavour to alter the good understanding which existed between France and the Sublime Porte: and I guaranteed the falsehood of it with my head. The pacha had discovered the snare, and did not fall into it. He even communicated to me a letter from general Stuart, which he had just received, and to which was joined an order of the day, of the first consul, when he commanded the army of Egypt. This order of the day was dated in August 1799, and recalled to the recollection of the Egyptians, that Constantinople was tributary to Arabia, and that the time was now come to restore Cairo to its supremacy, and to destroy the eastern empire of the Ottomans. General Stuart begged the pacha to consider the spirit of that order, and to judge from it of our attachment, and of our peace with the Turks. I was indignant to find that a soldier of one of the most polite nations of Europe should degrade himself so far as to instigate assassination, by means of such an insinuation—the pacha treated me with the greatest politeness, and the English at Cairo were witnesses of the attachment of that city to the French. I received a deputation from the monks of Mount Sinai, whom I recommended to the pacha: I wrote to their superior, to assure them of the friendship and protection of the first consul. The monks of the Propaganda at Cairo, whom I placed under the national protection which they enjoyed before the war, celebrated a Te Deum for the prosperity of the first consul. I assisted at this ceremony, at which all the christians of Cairo were present. The evening before my departure

(the



(the 2d of November) I had another interview with the pacha, and recommended all the christians of Cairo to his protection, as well as the Turks who, during the residence of the French in Egypt, were connected with them. He not only promised to respect them, but even to treat them with bounty. On the 3d, I set out in a conveyance of the pacha's, in order to repair to Damietta. The pacha ordered me to be escorted to Boulak, with the same honours that I received on the day of my arrival. I had written to captain Gourdin, to repair to Damietta with the frigate, in order to convey me to Syria. On the 5th I stopped a short time at Simenoud, and afterwards at Mansoura, where I saw the commandant of the city, and the cheik Esseid-Muhammed-El-Chenaoni, who came to see me, as well as all the other cheiks. I spoke to them in the same manner as the other cheiks of Egypt, and received the same promises of attachment. The tower of Mansoura is destroyed. The same day I arrived at Damietta. The next day I went to Ahmed-Pacha-Behil, a creature of the grand vizier's; he returned my visit the same day. He conducted himself perfectly well to me during my stay in that city.

On the 7th I went to visit the fort of Lesbe and the towers of Bogaz. They have not continued the works of that fort, which is in a bad state: those of Bogaz are in a good condition. There is a garrison of 200 men in the fort and in the towers. On the 8th I received the visit of Hassan Toubar: his influence over the inhabitants of Mensale is still the same. On the 9th I went to Senenie, where I saw the cheik Ibrahim-El-Behlout, he who

behaved so well to the French under the orders of general Vial, when they were taken and imprisoned. The first consul had exempted his village from all contributions. I saw all the cheiks at Damietta, particularly Ali Khasaki, whom the first consul had invested with a pelisse: he is possessed of great credit, and is much attached to the French. There are at Damietta two christians, who are men of merit, and may be very useful to us: they are M. Bazile and Don Bazile. They are possessed of good information, have very considerable fortunes, and are very highly respected. In Egypt, chiefs, merchants, people, all like to talk of the first consul—all offer up prayers for his happiness. All the news which concerns him spread from Alexandria or Damietta to the pyramids and the grand cataracts with astonishing rapidity. On the 14th the frigate arrived at Bogaz from Damietta: I immediately set out for Acre, at which place I arrived on the 19th.

The 20th of November, in the morning, I dispatched citizens Joubert and Legrange to Dgezzar-pacha, with a letter, in which I stated to him, that peace being concluded between France and the Porte, the relations of commerce should be re-established on the footing they stood before the war, and that I was charged by the first consul to confer with him on these objects. I begged of him to answer me in writing, if he was inclined to treat with me. In some hours the messengers returned: Dgezzar had received them coldly. He expressed his desire to see me personally, but was unwilling to write. Every body advised me not to see him, without an assurance written by himself; but this

this he appeared unwilling to do : but, notwithstanding this cautionary advice, and his obstinate refusal to write, I determined to repair myself immediately to Acre. I repaired to the house of the commissary of the Seven Isles. Very soon after, the drogoman of the pacha, informed of my arrival, came to conduct me to the pacha, who received me in an apartment where he was unattended, and which was without any other furniture than a carpet. He had, on one side of him, a pistol, with four barrells, a small air-gun, a sabre, and a hatchet. After inquiring as to my health, he asked me, whether I was not persuaded that our end is pre-ordained in heaven, and that nothing could change our destiny. I answered, that I believed, as he did, in predestination. He continued to speak for some time on that subject. I perceived, however, that he affected a degree of simplicity, but that, at the same time, he wished to pass for a man of wit, as well as for a just man. He repeated several times, ‘ It is said, that Dgezzar is barbarous : this is false ; he is but just and severe. Request of the first consul, not to send me, as commissary of commercial relations ; a lame or a blind man ; because such a person would be sure to say, that Dgezzar had made him so.’ Soon after he said, ‘ I desire that the commissary you may send shall reside at Seide, as that is the most commercial part in my dominions : besides, it is not necessary he should reside here, where I shall be myself the French commissary, and shall take care that your countrymen be well received. I highly esteem the French. In stature, Bonaparte is small, but he is nevertheless the

greatest of mankind. I know that he is greatly regretted at Cairo, where they wish to see him again.’ I made a few observations on the peace between France and the Porte ; to which he answered, ‘ Do you know why I have thus received, and feel so much pleasure at seeing you ? It is because you come unauthorised by a *firman*, and without any orders from the divan. I have the greatest contempt for its blind vizier. They say that Dgezzar is a Bosnian, a man of straw, and cruel to excess ; but, nevertheless, I can stand the ordeal. I was once poor. My father had nothing to bequeath me but courage. I have achieved my own elevation by dint of exertion. This, however, does not make me proud, and Dgezzar, perhaps, will soon finish his career ; not that he is old, as his enemies report, (he then performed some of the manœuvres of the Mamelukes, in their mode of rising their arms, &c. which he really executed with surprising adroitness and agility,) but because, most likely, God will have it so. The king of France, once so powerful, has perished. Nebuchadnezzar, the greatest of all kings, was, when his time was come, killed by a fly, &c.’ He made several other observations in this strain, and afterwards spoke of the motives which induced him to make war upon the French army : from the whole of his demeanour it could easily be seen, that he wished to be on good terms with the first consul, and that he stifled his resentments. The following is the apologue, which he used to demonstrate the causes of his resistance. ‘ A black slave,’ he said, ‘ after a long journey, in which he had suffered the greatest privations, arrived at a little field of sugar



sugar canes; he stopped therein, and indulged himself in partaking of the delicious liquor they afforded; and, at length, was determined to remain on the spot. Very soon after, two travellers, who had followed him, came up. The first said to him, salamallee (the mode of wishing health). "The devil take it," answered the black. The second traveller then approached, and inquired why he had answered in such a way to so good a wish. "I had very good reason for it," replied he, "if I had answered in a friendly manner, the man would have entered into conversation with me, and afterwards sat down beside me; he would have partaken of my refreshments, and finding them desirable, would have endeavoured to obtain exclusive possession." I recommended to the favourable attention of Dgezzar, the christians and the convents at Nazareth and Jerusalem; he assured me that he would treat them with much regard. I did not forget the Mutuales, and received the same assurance in their behalf. Dgezzar frequently observed to me, that his word was, with him, more sacred than treaties. Our conversation was interrupted for some moments by a kind of military music, which he performed in a very agreeable style. The palace of Dgezzar is built with much taste and elegance; but, in order to arrive at the apartments, a number of turnings are necessary. At the foot of the staircase, however, is situated a prison, the gate of which is allowed to be open from noon till evening. I saw a number of the unfortunate inhabitants. In the courts I observed twelve field-pieces well mounted, and in admirable order. Never did I encounter a sight more

hideous or repulsive than that of the minister of Dgezzar, whom I met in going out. The pacha had caused one of his eyes to be put out, and his nose and ears to be cut off. I saw in the town more than a hundred individuals in the same state. On beholding the domestics of Dgezzar, and even the inhabitants of Acre, one would imagine himself in the resorts of brigands ready to assassinate. This monster has imprinted the mark of his atrocious character upon every thing within the limits of his power. I had an opportunity of seeing, while at Acre, the procureur of the Propaganda, as well as that of the Holy Land. Of the former, and of the commissary of the Seven Isles, I collected some information concerning the present state of Syria, and the fortifications of Acre, of which I had seen but a part; I was not suffered to visit them. The procureur of the Holy Land is grateful to the first consul for the protection he had afforded the monks. He assured me that my recommendation to Dgezzar would be very useful. He hinted to me Dgezzar's earnest wishes to be on good terms with the first consul. It is certain that the former behaved very well to the crew of a French vessel which put into Acre shortly before my arrival. Dgezzar occupies all Palestine, with the exception of Jaffa, where Aboumarak Pacha has been besieged nearly five months by a force of 9000 men. This operation prevents Dgezzar from carrying on hostilities with the desired vigour against the emir of the Druses, who, for the space of a year, had paid him no tribute. Tripoli is tranquil at present: it is different at Aleppo, whence the pacha has been driven.

Damascus



Damascus is in open rebellion against the Porte:—Not only has the pacha of the divan been expelled, but the aga, who commanded the citadel for the Turks, has been delivered up by the soldiers to the insurgents, who have decapitated him. Tripoli is now under a rebellious pacha, who is a creature of Dgezzar; who has lately ordered him to protect the pilgrims from Mecca. In a word, all Syria is with Dgezzar, and the Ottomans are as much detested here as in Egypt. The Mutuales live peaceably in their villages; they have, however, been obliged to retire from the borders of the sea. Aboumarak is now at the last extremity: this man is equally inconsiderate and cruel, and is surpassed only by Dgezzar. The christians are even more in dread of him, and tremble for their future situation. The monks of the convent of Jassa have withdrawn to Jerusalem. The 21st of November I quitted Acre. As the winds were unfavourable to a voyage to Jassa, I set sail for Zante, where I arrived the 4th of December. I landed the same day, but the ship's company were put under quarantine. I repaired to the house of the French commissary, escorted by the officers of health. I soon learned that the Isle and the Republic were split into different parties, and that even the tranquillity of the place was threatened. I assembled the members of the constituted authorities, and the principal persons of the town, at the house of the governor M. de Calishipode. After having represented to them the interest which the first consul took in their welfare, I induced them to lay aside that spirit of party which distracted them, and to wait without passion, and in silence, the new

constitution. These few words were received with enthusiasm, and all of them exclaimed, "France for ever. Bonaparte for ever!"—These cries were reiterated on my going out by more than 4000 men, who followed me to the door. The governor and the Russian commandant were alarmed at it; and I learned by the French commissary, on the following day, that two of the leading men were sent to prison, but that, on his solicitations, and fearful of my reproaches, they were set at liberty in the course of the night. I went to the Conciergerie, and had the governor brought there. I spoke to him strongly on the irregularity of his conduct: he was alarmed, and promised that he would look upon those who cried out, "Live the first consul!" as good citizens, and should in future treat them as such. As he sent, in the course of the night, a courier to his government, and I had reason to believe he had made a wrong report, I immediately wrote to the charge d'affaires of the republic at Corfou, to inform him what had passed, and that I was setting off for Messina. I do not stray from the truth in assuring you, that the islands of the Ionian sea will declare themselves French as soon as an opportunity shall offer itself.

English army in Egypt.—That army, commanded by general Stuart, consists of 4430 men. They wholly and exclusively occupy Alexandria and the neighbouring forts. The Turks, who formed the garrison of some of these forts, have been removed. Lately the English general has occupied Demanhour with 100 infantry and 100 horse, under the pretext of curbing the Arabs. The English have made no necessary works

works for the maintenance of the forts; the palisades are almost entirely destroyed, and the branches occasioned by the rains have very much damaged all the new fortifications. They occupy none of the works which are beyond the line of the Arabs, and all the redoubts which existed at the departure of the French army are destroyed. The pacha of Cairo furnishes to the English army corn, rice, wood, and provisions, without any payment. The consumption is treble what it should be: they commit great waste. A great misunderstanding reigns between general Stuart and the pacha.

## STATE OF THE ARMY.

|                               |     |
|-------------------------------|-----|
| Dillon's regiment—emigrants   | 450 |
| British chasseurs—ditto       | 550 |
| Role's regiment—Swiss         | 600 |
| Wetteville's regiment—ditto   | 680 |
| The 10th regiment of infantry |     |
| —English                      | 600 |
| The 61st regiment of infantry |     |
| —ditto                        | 650 |
| The 88th regiment of infantry |     |
| —ditto                        | 400 |
| Dragoons of the 26th light—   |     |
| ditto                         | 350 |
| Artillery—ditto               | 150 |

Total 4430

The Turkish army.—Muhammed, pacha of Cairo, who has taken, it is not known why, the title of viceroy of Egypt, does not command the troops in person. Muhammed Aly-Serr-Cherisme, who had the command since my arrival, was killed before Gaza; they are now under the orders of Jussef Kiahia. Tair is pacha of the Arnaoutes, who compose the greatest part of this army, amounting to about 16,000 men. They from time to time receive reinforcements.—Chourchid-Ahmed, a pacha

of two tails, is at Alexandria with 600 men, who occupy no fortification. This pacha is, as one may say, a prisoner with the English.—The Turkish army consists of 7640 men, and that of the Arnaoutes of 8500, making a whole of 16,140.—It is useless to add, that this is not an army; they are men ill-armed, without discipline, without confidence in their chiefs, and enervated by excessive debauchery. The chiefs are in every thing like their soldiers; ignorant even of the first principles of the military art: and uniformly actuated by the love of wealth, they think of nothing but of obtaining it, and of finding the means of carrying it off in safety. Six thousand French would at present be enough to conquer Egypt.

Army of the Mamelukes.—The army of the Beys is composed of 3000 Mamelukes, of 3500 Arabs of the tribe of Ababde of Chark, and of 3500 of the tribe of Binialy. Muhammed Bey Elfy married the daughter of the cheik of the first, and Maarzouk Bey, son of Ibrahim Bey, the daughter of the cheik of the tribe of Binialy. The power in this army is divided between Ibrahim Bey, who is the chief, Eley Bey and Osman Bey, who has succeeded Murad Bey. Their headquarters are at Djergé. They have eighty French deserters, which form a small corps of artillery. To the present time, they have beat the Turks in every action, and the Egyptians prefer them to the Osmanlis. The whole of Upper Egypt has submitted to them.

Syria.—Acre. The body of this place has been repaired; the port has been covered with a small horned work, and the tower of the angle by a half-moon. They have likewise



likewise made a small fleche, in front of the palace of the pacha.—All the works are well kept. The weakest part is that towards the sea, and particularly the point which defends the entrance of the port. The forces of Dgezzar are at present 13 or 14,000 men, of which 9,000 are employed at the siege of Jaffa. Jerusalem and Nazareth are occupied by the troops of the pacha of Acre. The Naplonsains serve against Aboumarak.—Jaffa. The Vizier, after the taking of Egypt, caused the body of the place to be re-constructed, which is at present in a very good state. Aboumarak, pacha of Palestine, who defends this place, has a garrison of 4000 men.—Gaza is occupied by 400 troops of Aboumarak.—The emir of the Druses has refused to Dgezzar his annual contribution, and has raised a respectable armament. The pacha waits till the fall of Jaffa to attack him. The English wished to interfere as mediators between the emir and Dgezzar, but the last refused their mediation. The Porte has, at this moment, little connexion with Syria.

(Signed) Horace Sebastiani.

*Acts of the Government. Paris, 3d Ventose, Feb. 22.*

Decree of the government of the 21st February.

The government of the republic decrees, that a view of the present situation of the republic shall be carried to the legislative body, by the messengers of the government, and also the same be inserted in the bulletin of the laws.

(Signed) Bonaparte, first consul.

By order of the first consul.

(Signed) H. B. Maret, secretary of state.

### *View of the state of the Republic.*

Events have neither frustrated the wishes, nor disappointed the expectations of government. The legislative body, on resuming its labours, has the satisfaction of finding the republic strengthened by the union of its citizens, more active in its pursuits of industry, and more confident in its prospects of prosperity.

The execution of the concordat, from which the enemies of public order still ventured to conceive criminal hopes, has almost every where produced the most beneficial effects. The principles of an enlightened religion, the voice of the sovereign pontiff, the firmness and perseverance of government have triumphed over every obstacle. Mutual sacrifices have reunited the ministers of religion; enlightened reason and cordial unanimity have revived the Gallican church; and the happiest change has already manifested itself in the public morals. Every day produces a more perfect coincidence of opinion, and of sentiment. Childhood is more docile to the instructions of parents, and youth more submissive to the authority of magistrates. The conscription goes on smoothly in those very places, where the mere name of conscription was sufficient to stimulate insurrection, and to serve the country is now become a duty of religion.

In those departments which the first consul visited, he every where received pledges, and observed proofs, of a return to those principles which constitute the strength and happiness of society.

In the departments of the Eure, the Lower Seine, the Oise, the inhabitants proudly exult in the national glory.



glory. They are sensible to their full extent of the advantages of equality. They hail, with blessings, the restoration of peace; they receive, with blessings, the re-establishment of public worship. These are the ties that bind down every heart to the state, and the constitution.

It is the duty of government to cherish and direct these auspicious dispositions.

Other forms of worship have been regularly organized. Consistories are formed of enlightened citizens, tried and acknowledged defenders of public order, of civil and religious liberty.

Public instruction, that indispensable support of society, is every where sought after with eagerness and alacrity. Several lyceums have already been opened: already, as government had well foreseen, a number of private schools aspire to the rank of the secondary schools. The whole body of citizens shew their conviction, that there can be no happiness without the light of education; that, without talents and information, there can be no equality, but that of misery and servitude.

A military school is opened to receive the young defenders of the country. Soldiers, they will learn to support the life of camps, and endure the fatigues of war. By long habits of obedience, they will be trained up to the art of commanding, and they will bring to the armies courage and discipline, united with talents and with knowledge.

In the lyceums, as well as in the military school, the youth of the departments, newly incorporated with the republic, will live mingled, without any distinction, with the

youths of old France. From this confusion of minds and manners, from this communication of habits and of dispositions, from this commixture of interests, of projects, and of hopes, will spring up that fraternity, which, of several nations, will make but one people, destined by their position, by their courage, and by their virtues, to form the centre of union, and the example of Europe.

The national institute, which has its ascendancy over public instruction, has received a more useful direction, and henceforward will exert a more active influence over the national character, over the language of the country, and over the arts, sciences, and literature.

In order to ensure the stability of our infant institutions, in order to remove from the eyes of the public the spectre of discord, which appeared to them in the periodical return of elections to the supreme magistracy, the friends of the country called for the consulate for life to be granted to the first magistrate. The people, upon being consulted, answered to their call, and the senate proclaimed the will of the people.

The system of lists of eligibility could not resist the test of experience, and the force of public opinion.

The organization of the senate was incomplete.

The national justice was left to be administered by tribunals without harmony, and without dependence on each other. There was no authority to protect or to reform them; no tie of restraint, to subject them to one common discipline.

In fine, there was wanting to France, a power to reclaim justice itself, the power of granting pardon.

pardon. How often, these twelve years past, has that power been implored! How many unfortunates have fallen the victims of an inflexible sternness, with which wise men reproached our laws! How many criminals have been acquitted through a false indulgence, because our punishments were too severe.

A *senatus consultum* has restored to the people the exercise of those rights, which the constituent assembly had acknowledged; but it has restored them surrounded with precautions, which preserve the people from errors or precipitation in their choice; with precautions, which guard the influence of property, and the preponderance of enlightened talents.

Should the first magistracy become vacant, the duties and the proceedings of the senate are traced out for such an emergency: forms of certain operation, guide the wisdom and the liberty of their choice; and the quick decision of that choice deprives ambition of the means of conspiring, and anarchy the means of destroying.

The cement of time will every day consolidate, more and more, this tutelary institution. It will be not only the term of all disquietudes, and the object of all hopes, but likewise the fairest recompences that can be held out to public services and public virtues.

Justice embraces all tribunals with one common bond. They have each their subordinate station and their censor: they are always free in the exercise of their functions; always independent of power, but never independent of the laws.

The privilege of granting pardon, when the interest of the republic requires it, or when circumstances

prescribe indulgence, is entrusted to the hands of the first magistrate; but it is only confided to him under the guard of justice itself; he is to exercise it only under the eyes of a council, and after having consulted the severe oracles of the law.

If institutions may be appreciated by their effects, never was any institution more important in its result than the organic *senatus consultum*. From that moment the French people began to confide in their destiny; property began to resume its former value, and speculations of distant view to be multiplied; until that moment, every thing seemed to float in uncertainty. The present moment was cherished, the next was a subject of alarm, and the enemies of the country continued to cherish hopes. Since that moment, they are reduced to impotence and detestation.

The island of Elba has been ceded to France; that acquisition gives her a mild and industrious people; two fine ports, a productive and precious mine: but, being separated from France, it could not be intimately united with any of her departments, or subjected to the regulations of a common administration. Principles have been made to bend to the necessity of circumstances; exceptions have been established for the island of Elba, which its position, and the public interest, prescribed.

The abdication of the sovereign, the will of the people, and the necessity of existing circumstances, had placed Piedmont under the power of France. Amidst the nations that surrounded it, with the elements that composed its population, Piedmont was unable to support either the weight of its own inde-



independence, or the expences of a monarchy. United to France, it will reap the benefits of its security and its greatness ; its laborious and enlightened citizens will exert their industry and their talents in the bosom of the arts, and under the shade of peace.

Security and tranquillity prevail in the interior of France. The vigilance of the magistracy, the severity of justice, and a gendarmerie vigorously appointed, and directed by a commander grown grey in the career of honour, has every where impressed terror on the minds and the attempts of the brigands.

Private interest has raised itself to a sentiment of public interest. Citizens have not shrunk from attacking those whom they formerly dreaded, even when they were chained down at the foot of the tribunals of justice. Whole communes have taken up arms and destroyed the brigands. Foreigners envy the security of our public roads, and that public force, which, though often invisible, is always present, attend on their footsteps, and watch for their protection without any necessity of imploring its aid.

During the course of a difficult year, amidst the exigencies of a general scarcity, the poor looked with confidence to the care of government. They supported, with courage, the privations which necessity imposed ; and they received, with gratitude, the succours which they were taught to expect.

The crime of forgery is no longer encouraged by the hope of impunity. The zeal of the tribunals appointed to prosecute and punish it, and the just severity of the laws, have, at length, checked the pro-

gress of an evil which threatened both the public treasure, and the fortunes of individuals.

Our cultivation daily improves, and defies the most boasted agricultural systems of Europe. In every department are to be found enlightened farmers, who afford both instruction and example.

Premiums have been held out for improving the breed of horses ; and similar encouragements are proposed for the improvement of wool by the introduction of a foreign breed of sheep. Zealous administrators are every where occupied in tracing out and revealing the richness of our soil, and in disseminating the useful plans and the happy results which experience daily discovers.

Our manufactures multiply and receive new spirit and improvement. While they emulate each, they will soon, no doubt, become the rivals of the most renowned manufactures of foreign countries. Henceforth there will be nothing wanting to their prosperity but capitals less dearly purchased. But capitalists begin already to give up the hazardous speculations of stock-jobbing, and devote their attention to the improvement of land and the pursuit of useful enterprizes. More than twenty thousand workmen, who were dispersed throughout Europe, have been recalled by the attention and by the favours of government, and will soon be restored to our manufactures.

Among our manufactures, there is one which is almost peculiar to France, which Colbert kindled up by his genius. It was buried under the rains of Lyons : government has exerted all its endeavours to extricate it. Lyons is again restored to splendour and opulence ; already



do its manufactures impose a tribute on the luxury of Europe. But the principle of their success is to be found in the luxury of France itself; it is in the changefulness of our taste, and the mutability of our fashions, that foreign luxury must look for its aliment; it is it that gives motion and life to an immense population, who, without that encouragement, must lose itself in corruption and misery.

There will soon be at Compiègne, there will soon arise on the confines of La Vendée, a number of prytanes, where our youth will be brought up in habits of industry, and instructed in the mechanical arts. From that source our dockyards and our manufactures will, one day, draw inspectors to direct their labours.

Fourteen millions arising out of the barrier tax, and ten millions out of the extraordinaries, have been employed during the year 10, in improving the public roads, in keeping up the old communications. New communications have also been opened. The Simplon, Mount-Cenis, and Mount-Genevre, will soon open a triple and easy access to Italy—a high road will lead from Genoa to Marseilles—a road is chalked out from Saint Esprit to Gap—another from Rennes to Brest, through Pontivy. At Pontivy establishments are to be raised which will have a powerful influence over the public mind of the departments of which ci-devant Brittany was composed—a canal will introduce into it new sources of commerce and prosperity.

On the banks of the Rhine from Bingen to Coblenz, a necessary road is cut through inaccessible rocks. The neighbouring communes asso-

ciate their labours to the sacrifices of the public treasury, and the people of the other bank, who ridiculed the folly of the enterprize, are astonished and confounded at the rapidity of the execution.

A great number of workmen are employed on the canal of Saint Quintin.

The canal of Ourcq is opened, and soon will Paris people enjoy the benefit of its waters, and the salubrity and the embellishments which they promise.

The canal, intended to unite the navigation of the Seine and the Saone, of the Danube and the Rhine, is almost entirely finished as far as Dole, and the public treasury already receives, in the increased price of wood, to which that canal opens the approach, a sum equal to that which it has furnished for the continuance of the work.

The canals of Argues, Mortes, and the Rhone, the draining of the marshes of the Lower Charente, are begun, and will open new channels to commerce, and afford new lands for cultivation. Works are going forward for the reparation of the dykes of the Isle of Cadsand, of Ostend, of the Cotes du Nord, and the re-establishment of the navigation of our rivers. This navigation is no longer given up solely to the labours and the cares of government. The owners of boats plying on these rivers, have already felt that it was their patrimony, and they fix on themselves the taxes by which the works are to be kept in proper repair. On the ocean forts are erecting, to cover the roads of the Isle of Aix, and to protect the vessels of the republic. Every where funds are raised for the reparation and improvement of our ports. A new bason

bason and locked sluices will terminate the harbour of Havre, and will form an excellent port for the commerce of La Manche. A company of pilots is formed to secure the safe navigation of L'Escant, and to free foreign pilots from the danger to which an unknown navigation must expose them.

At Antwerp labours are begun, which will have the effect of restoring to its commerce its ancient celebrity, and the government has in contemplation a plan for forming canals to unite the navigation of the Escaut, the Meuse, and the Rhine, to give to our docks those materials of wood which grows in our own soil, and to our manufactures a perfection which the manufacturers of other countries dispute with us on our own territory.

The islands of Martinique, Tobago, and St. Lucie, have been restored to us, with all the elements of prosperity. Guadaloupe, reconquered and pacified, returns to cultivation. Guiana rises from a long protracted infancy, and assumes a flourishing appearance.

St. Domingo had submitted, and the author of its troubles was in France. Every thing announced the return of prosperity, but a cruel malady delivered it up to new miseries. At length, the scourge which desolated our army, has ceased its ravages. The forces which now are on the island, and those which will speedily arrive from our different ports, guarantee the prospect of its speedy return to peace and to commercial pursuits.

Vessels are setting sail for the isles of France and Re-union, and for India.

Our maritime commerce is seeking to renew its ancient connexions,

to form new relations; and by these efforts it gains new strength. Already, happy experience and wise encouragements have re-animated a spirit for engaging in the fishery, which was long the patrimony of France. Commercial expeditions, still more important, are formed or projected for the West India colonies, the Isle of France, and the East Indies.

Marseilles resumes, in the Mediterranean, its ancient ascendancy.

Chambers of commerce have been restored in the cities where they formerly existed. New ones have been established in those places, which, by the extent of their operations, and the importance of their manufactures, have appeared to deserve them. In these associations, formed by persons whose situation entitles them to the honour of choosing the members, the spirit, as well as the science of commerce, will revive. There its interests will be developed, inseparable from the interests of the state. The merchant will there learn to place, in preference to riches, the consideration which honours them, and before the enjoyments of a vain luxury, that wise economy which fixes the esteem of his fellow-citizens, and the confidence of strangers.

Deputies, chosen from the different chambers, will discuss, in the presence of government, the interests of commerce and manufactures, and the laws and regulations which circumstances may require.

In our forces, by sea and land, instruction and the love of discipline are sedulously inculcated. Responsibility becomes more rigid in our military corps. An economical administration has succeeded to the dilapidating system of contracts. The



soldier, better fed and better clothed, understands economy, and his savings, which he throws into the common stock, attach him to his standard as well as to his family.

Every branch of our finances becomes more productive. The collection of direct contribution is less rigorous with regard to the contributors. In the year six, it was reckoned that about fifty millions were in the hands of the collectors of taxes, and payments were three or four years in arrear. At this moment, the sum in the hands of the collectors is not above three millions, and the contributions are paid even before they are due.

All the rules which have been made, and all the plans of administration which have been formed, give a produce still increasing. The rules applicable to the registering of commercial transactions, is productive to a degree, which attests the rapid movements of capital, and the multiplicity of business which is transacted.

In the midst of so many signs of prosperity, the excess of the direct contributions is still made a ground of complaint.

The government has learnt, from every one versed in the principles of taxation, that the surcharge consisted chiefly in the inequality of the mode in which the taxes were imposed. Measures have been taken, and are carrying into effect, to ascertain the real inequalities which exist in the different departments.—In the course of the year twelve, regular and simultaneous operations will have ascertained what is the relation which ought to exist betwixt the contributions of the different departments, and what in each department is the just rate of the land tax.

The moment that a certain result has been fixed, the government will give orders for those alterations which justice requires. But in the course of this year, and without waiting for those results, it will propose an important diminution in the land tax.

Innovations are still proposed in our financial system; but every change is an evil, if it cannot be satisfactorily demonstrated that certain advantage would result from it. The government will seek, from time and from discussions, weighed with all possible care, the maturity of these projects, which inexperience often hazards; which they support by those past examples, the memory of which has been almost effaced from the public mind; and on the financial doctrines of a nation, which, by unnatural and exaggerated efforts, has broke through every measure of public contribution and expenditure.

With an increase of revenue, which no one ventured to calculate, extraordinary circumstances have led to wants which it was impossible to foresee.

It was necessary to re-conquer two of our colonies, and to re-establish in all the power and the government of the mother country.

It was necessary, by means sudden and too extended to admit of rigid economy, to procure subsistence for the capital and several of the departments. At least, however, the success of the government has been equal to its efforts, and, after these vast exertions, resources remain henceforth to guarantee the capital against the return of want, and to disconcert the projects of monopoly.

In the methodized statement of the minister of finance, will be found a general view of the annual contri-



contributions, and the different branches of the public revenue; what was their amount during the last year; what prospect of amelioration existed; whether from the mode of administration, or the progress of public prosperity, what have been, in the different departments of the ministry, the elements of the expenditure during the year ten; what are the sums still remaining to be paid for that and former years; what resources exist to cover them, whether arising from outstanding arrears of taxes, or from the extraordinary funds appropriated to pay off the debts contracted in these years; and which have not yet been exhausted; what is the actual amount of the public debt; what has been its increase; how it has been diminished by natural causes; and how its extinction has been affected by the sinking fund.

In the account of the minister of the public treasury will be seen a statement of the receipts, the payments of the year ten; what belongs to the different branches of the revenue; what is chargeable in each year, and on each part of the administration.

The united accounts of the two ministers will form a complete table of our financial situation. The government hold up, with equal satisfaction, the picture which it presents to its friends and its detractors, to citizens, and to foreigners.

After authorizing the foreseen expence of the year 12, and appropriating the necessary revenue, objects of the greatest interest will occupy the attention of the legislative body. It is necessary to introduce a change into our system of coinage. The custom-house duties must be re-organized, so as more

effectually to check the progress of contraband trade. It is at length essential to give to France that civil code so long promised and so long expected.

Above all, projects of laws have been formed under the observations of government, and matured in conferences where commissions from the council of state and the tribunate were animated only by the love of truth and regard for the public interest. The same sentiments, the same principles will guide the deliberation of the legislators, and secure to the republic the wisdom and the impartiality of the laws which are adopted.

On the continent, every thing offers us pledges of repose and tranquillity.

The Italian republic, since the proceedings at Lyons, has been daily strengthening itself by the more intimate union of the people of whom it is composed. The happy harmony among the authorities by which it is governed, its internal administration, its military force, already give it the character and the attitude of a state long established; and, if wisdom preserve them, they guarantee to it a destiny of uninterrupted prosperity.

Liguria, placed under a mixed constitution, sees at its head, and in the bosom of its authorities, all those of its citizens, the most estimable for their virtues, by their illumination and their fortune.

New shocks have convulsed the Helvetic republic. The government owed its support to neighbours, whose repose was essential to the repose of France, and it will use every exertion to ensure the success of its mediation, and with it the happiness of a people whose position,

tion, whose habits, and whose interests, make it the necessary ally of France.

Batavia successively takes possession of the colonies which the peace restored to her.

She will ever remember that France must ever be her most useful friend or her most destructive foe.

In Germany the last stipulations of the treaty of Luneville are carrying into effect.

Prussia, Bavaria, all the secular princes who had possessions on the left bank of the Rhine, will obtain, on the right bank, suitable indemnities.

The house of Austria finds in the bishopricks of Salzburgh, Aishtett, Trent and Brixen, and the greatest part of Pau, more than it had lost in Tuscany. Thus, by the happy co-operation of France and Russia, all permanent interests are conciliated, and from the bosom of that tempest which seemed ready to overwhelm it, the German empire, that empire so necessary to the equilibrium and the repose of Europe, rises more powerful, composed of elements more homogeneous, better combined, and more adapted to the circumstances and opinions of the present age.

A French ambassador is at Constantinople, charged with renewing and fortifying the ties which attach us to a power which seems to be threatened with destruction, but which it is our interest to sustain and to support the foundations by which it is upheld.

The British forces are still in Alexandria and Malta. The government had a fair right of complaint, but it has received intelligence that the vessels which are to convey them

to Europe are already in the Mediterranean.

The government guarantees to the nation the peace of the continent, and it is permitted to entertain a hope of the continuance of maritime peace. This peace is the want, as well as the desire of all nations. For its preservation, the government will do every thing compatible with national honour, essentially connected with the strict execution of the treaties.

But in England, two parties maintain a contest for power. One of those parties has concluded peace, and appears desirous of maintaining it. The other has taken an oath of eternal hatred to France. Hence that fluctuation of opinion and of counsels which prevail.—Hence that attitude, at the same time pacific and menacing.

While this contest of parties continues, measures of precaution are what the government is called upon to adopt. Five hundred thousand men ought to be, and shall be ready to undertake its defence, and avenge its injuries. Strange necessity which miserable passions impose on two nations, whom interest and inclination mutually prompt to the cultivation of peace.

Whatever success intrigues may experience in London, no other people will be involved in new combinations—the government says, with conscious pride, that England alone cannot maintain a struggle against France.

But we have better hopes, and we believe that in the British cabinet nothing will be listened to but the counsels of wisdom and the voice of humanity.

Yes, doubtless, the peace will daily



daily be more consolidated. The relation of the two governments will assume the character of good-will which is suitable to their mutual interests. A happy repose will bury the recollection of the long calamities of a disastrous war, and France and England, rendering their happiness reciprocal, will deserve the gratitude of the whole world.

The first consul.

(Signed) Bonaparte.

By order of the first consul.

The secretary of state,

H. B. Maret.

*Copy of a Letter from Citizen Talleyrand to Citizen Fauveret, Paris, 26 Brumaire, 10th Year, (Nov. 17, 1803.)*

I forward to you, citizen, a series of questions, concerning which I am desirous of having your answers. You will have the goodness to place them opposite the questions on the same sheet of paper, doubled in two, similar to the one which I have the honour to send to you. I shall be obliged to you to send me this paper as soon as possible, without, however, suffering your too great haste to be prejudicial to your accuracy. If you are doubtful upon any point, you will have the goodness to mention it. You will probably find no difficulty in consulting with some well-informed merchants or clerks in the custom-house, who you think may have it in their power to give you some positive information, and you will declare the sources from whence you have drawn that information. You will not consider this business as forming a part of your official correspondence. You must not number it, but you must content yourself with putting

at the top of it, as in the projet which I enclosed to you, *Private Correspondence*.

*To Citizen Fauvelet, at Dublin.*

### *Private Correspondence.*

#### Questions.

1. What number of vessels have entered and cleared out of the ports within your district, within each year, from 1792 to 1801, inclusive?

2. What is their tonnage, or their admeasurement in sea tons of 2000 4 P.?

3. Under what flag do they navigate?

4. From whence they come?

5. Whither bound?

6. With what merchandize freighted?

7. What was the price of freight to the principal ports of Europe, each sea ton of 2000 4 P. S.?

8. What French productions are most in request in the market of the town where you reside, as well as of the other considerable towns in your district?

9. What is the merchandize which can be exported to France with greater advantage from the said markets than from any other?

10. What are the course of exchange, and the current prices of merchandize, from three months to three months, from the year 1792 to 1801?

11. You are required to furnish a plan of the ports of your districts, with a specification of the soundings, for mooring vessels.

12. If no plan of the ports can be procured, you are to point out with what wind vessels can come in and go out, and what is the greatest draught of



*of water with which vessels can enter therein deeply laden?*

13. What are the principal commercial houses?

If the heads of these houses are foreigners, you are to point out of what country they are; and, in all cases, you are to state with what countries they are principally connected, and what is their chief line of commerce.

14. What is the usual course of exchange?

15. Whether there is a public bank, and what is its organization?

16. Whether there are any insurance companies, public or private, and what are their customs and rules, and the prices of insurance, for European and long voyages?

17. In case there exists any other public establishment which relates to commerce, you are to give every possible detail concerning it, especially in whatever regards manufactures and fisheries.

18. You are to point out the relative conformity of weights and measures with those of France, ancient and modern, as soon as you shall have obtained practical and exact information on those points.

19. You are to add to all this the most extensive information, as well general as particular, which you may be able to obtain from authority, especially with regard to commerce, and particularly respecting false accounts of purchases and sales of different merchandizes, in order to ascertain the expences, rights, and local customs in cases of purchases and sales.

20. Whether there are any fairs in your district; what species of traffic is carried on there, and to what amount.

*From the Hamburgh Correspondent of March 30, 1803.*

The following article is inserted by desire.

*Paris, March 15.*

For some months a war of newspapers, and of the press, has been kept up between France and England. This seemed merely the dying embers of an extinguished conflagration; the last consolation of a desperate party; the food of some low passions, and a few hungry scribblers. The French government was far from attaching importance to such matters. Notwithstanding some difficulties in the complete execution of the treaty of Amiens, they still believed they might rely on the good faith of the British government, and directed their attention solely to the re-establishment of the colonies. Relying upon the sacredness of treaties, they securely dispersed the remains of the French naval force, which had been given a prey to the English fleet. In this situation suddenly appeared a solemn message from the cabinet of St. James's, and informed all Europe that France was making considerable preparations in the ports of Holland and France; an address was voted by parliament, promising to the king of England such extraordinary means of defence, as the security of the British empire, and the honour of the three crowns, might require.

From the sudden appearance of this message, people doubted whether it was the effect of treachery, of lunacy, or of weakness. Let any one cast his eyes over the ports of France and Holland, where he will find only detached naval preparations.

tions destined for the colonies, and consisting only of one or two line of battle ships, and a few frigates. On the other hand, let him look at the ports of England, filled with a formidable naval force; on such a review, one could be tempted to believe that the message of the king of England was mere irony, if such a farce were not unworthy the majesty of a government. If one considers the influence of factions in so free a country, one might suppose that the king of England had only had the weakness to yield, if weakness were compatible with the first quality of a king. In short, no rational motives remain to which it can be ascribed, except bad faith—except a sworn enmity to the French nation—except perfidy, and the desire of openly breaking a solemn treaty, for the sake of advantages which will be maintained, and the sacrifice of which the honour of France and the faith of treaties forbid.

When a man reads this message, he thinks himself transported to the times of those treaties which the Vandals made with the degenerate Romans, when force usurped the place of right, and when, with a hasty appeal to arms, they insulted the antagonist they meant to attack. In the present state of civilization, there is a respect which a great monarch, which a polished people owe to themselves, were that respect no more than to seek a plausible pretext for an unjust war. But in this instance every thing is precipitate, and repugnant to decency and to justice. An eternal war would succeed a dreadful contest; and the more unjust the attack, the more irreconcilable would be its animosity.

Such a novelty will doubtless ex-

cite the disapprobation of Europe. While even the English, whose national pride had not entirely blinded them, sighed at this prospect, did the *Times* call the peace of Amiens an armistice, and, in doing so, passed the severest satire on the government it defended; and the rapid fall of the national funds is the first prelude to the misfortunes which may follow as the revenge due for the wound given to all social rights.

The French are less intimidated than irritated by the threats of England. They have neither been dispirited by their reverses, nor elated by their victories; in a war to which there appeared no termination, they saw all Europe confederated against them. Their constancy, their courage, and the prompt activity of their government, brought it to a conclusion. *This* war would have a different object. France would contend for the liberty of the states of Europe, and the sacredness of their treaties; and if the English government be determined to make it a national war, perhaps her boasted formidable naval strength would not be sufficient to decide the result, and to secure the victory.

The French, strong in the justice of their cause, and in the confidence they repose in their government, do not dread the new expences and new sacrifices which such a war might render necessary. Their system of finance is more simple and less artificial than that of London, and so much the more solid. It all lies in their soil and in their courage.

On the first news of the English message, all eyes were turned to the cabinet of the Thuilleries. Its most trifling motions received a character of importance, its most unpremeditated



tated words were eagerly caught up. Every one impatiently expected the assembly for the presentation of foreigners, which madame Bonaparte holds once a month. Every one was prepared to draw some inferences from it. It was as splendid as usual. The first consul made his appearance, and said, on his entrance, to the English ambassador, who was standing beside M. Markoff, "We have been at war for twelve years. The king of England says that France is making immense naval preparations. He has been led into an error. In the French ports there are no preparations of any magnitude. The whole fleet is gone to St. Domingo and the colonies. With regard to the ports of Holland, to which the message likewise alludes, there are only the preparations for the expedition under general Victor, and all Europe knows its destination is for Louisiana. The king says farther, that between the cabinets of Paris and London differences continue. I know of none. It is true that England ought to have evacuated Malta, and Malta is not evacuated; and, as his Britannic majesty has bound himself by the most solemn treaty ever entered into, it is impossible to doubt of the speedy evacuation of that island; and," added the first consul, "those who would attempt to frighten the French people should know, that it is possible to kill, but not to intimidate them."

During the course of the evening, when the first consul happened to be near M. Markoff, he said to him, half aloud, "that the British ministry wished to keep Malta for five years more. Such a proposal was insulting, and no treaties should be entered into, which it was not re-

solved to observe." At the conclusion of the assembly, when the English ambassador was about to retire, the first consul said to him, "Madame the duchess of Dorset has spent the unpleasant part of the year at Paris. It is my sincere wish that she may also spend the agreeable season. But if it should happen that we really must go to war, the responsibility is exclusively with those who deny the validity of their own contracts, since they refuse to observe treaties which they had concluded."

These words of the first consul require no comment. They explain completely his present opinions, his past conduct, and his resolution for the future. It is sufficient to compare them with the tergiversations, the duplicity, the evasions, and the message of the English government, in order to be enabled to decide on the justice of the dispute.

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*Letter from Spiridion Foresti to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Corfu, December 10, 1803.*

My lord,

The last letters from my agent at Zante furnish me with the information that the Cornelia, French frigate, having on board Horatio Sebastiani, chief of brigade, and charged with a public mission on the part of the first consul of the French republic, came to anchor there on the 3d instant. The envoy finding that a vessel coming from Alexandria was subject to a long quarantine, and could not be permitted to communicate freely with the shore, applied to the delegate of that island for permission to land, which being granted him, he was conducted to the delegate's apartments. He then requested



requested, that a meeting of the three orders might be called, which was also complied with, and twelve persons, four of each order, met in the delegate's house. The envoy Sebastiani then harangued them nearly in the terms of the address, which I have herewith the honour of inclosing to your lordship. His speech, however, contained some additional observations, importing that *Bonaparte had been the first to break the chains of the islanders*. When he had done speaking, a tumultuous cry was uttered, of *Viva la Liberta! Viva l'Uguaglianza!*

Before his departure, however, he caused to be forwarded to the delegate of Cephalonia, and to the senate of Corfu, copies of the inclosed address, expressing a wish that it might be generally circulated among the people of each island.

I have the honour to be, &c.  
(Signed) Spiridion Foresti.  
*Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury,*  
&c. &c. &c.

---

*Letter from Spiridion Foresti to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Corfu, January 2, 1803.*

My lord,  
In my letter of the 10th ultimo, your lordship will perceive that I inserted the arrival of the Cornelia-French frigate at Zante, and that Horatio Sebastiani harangued the people of that island. At that time I was not in possession of his exact oration, but since then the delegate of Zante transmitted his speech to the senate of Corfu; a copy of which I beg leave to submit to your lordship's attention.

Monsieur Romieu, the French minister here, communicated to the prince of the senate, that the first

consul of the French republic had taken under his protection the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman churches of this republic; and, on the 19th December, wrote to the vicar-general of Corfu to inform him of the same; a copy of which permit me to inclose for your perusal.

From the proceedings of the French commissary here, and those of the other islands, together with the disposition of the natives, I am afraid that this republic will be a constant theatre of French intrigue. The aforesaid commissaries occasion count Mocenigo and this government an infinite deal of trouble.

I have the honour to be, &c.  
(Signed) Spiridion Foresti.  
*Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury,*  
&c. &c. &c.

---

*Horace Sebastiani, Chief of Brigade of a Regiment of Dragoons, and Envoy of the First Consul in the Levant.*  
*To His Excellency the Delegate of Zante.*

Sir,  
The first consul Bonaparte has charged me to visit these islands which compose your republic, and to assure the inhabitants, that he takes a lively interest in their prosperity.

I know that the difference of political opinions divides this rising republic into various parties, and that, without the wise measures taken by your government, its tranquillity will be destroyed. I could wish to make known to your administrators and fellow-citizens how much the first consul wishes to see a stop put to those intestine divisions which afflict these islands.

Your

Your political independency has been guaranteed by France, Russia, and the Sublime Porte. These powerful nations, united together by the bonds of the truest friendship, are occupied, in concert with your most enlightened and most virtuous fellow-citizens, to give you a form of government suitable to your situation, and the genius of your inhabitants. Wait with confidence and moderation the result of these important operations, and be assured that you will see the end of your ills, and the beginning of your prosperity. All exaggerations of political opinions are inimical to the general prosperity: absolute democracy, always tempestuous, sacrifices to vain chimeras the security, the property, civil liberty, and, in short, all that constitutes the happiness of a state: aristocracy, which is not moderated, is always tyrannical: and the elevation of a small number of families is preferred to talents and to virtue. In order that a government may be prosperous, it is necessary that it should have in its formation a happy combination of the advantages of different forms of government; the power and promptitude of monarchy, the vigilance and intelligence of aristocracy, and the vigour and elevation of democracy; that the citizens may find the security enjoyed under the first, the tranquillity of the second, and the equality of the rights, fixed by the laws, which are found in the third.

Recollect, that the man who forms a part of society, only preserves the liberty of doing that which is not prejudicial to the rights of others; and that equality only consists in the exact execution of the laws, and in the protection which they

afford to every member of the political body. As the quarantine prevents communication, I beg you will communicate this my letter to all the authorities, and also to the principal inhabitants.

I avail myself of this opportunity to assure you of the sentiments of esteem and consideration which I entertain for your person.

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*Liberty. Equality.*

*Corfu, 29th Frimaire, 11th Year of the French Republic.*

*The Adjutant Commandant Romieu, Commissary General of Commercial Relations, and Chargé d'Affaires to the Republic of the Seven Islands, to the Vicar General of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Churches at Corfu.*

Mr. Vicar General,

I hasten to inform you, with the greatest joy, that I have just received the express orders of my government to place the church of the Roman religion in the republic of the Seven Islands, under its special protection. I make this communication to the prince of the senate. This proof of the good will of the French towards this church, will be a powerful motive, Mr. Vicar General, for addressing, through the faithful in your communion, the most ardent vows to heaven for the prosperity of the lives of its consuls, in the same way as the Roman churches practise in the French republic.

With the most distinguished consideration, Mr. Vicar General, I have the honour to salute you.

(Signed) A. Romieu.

A true Copy,

Spiridion Foresti.

CHARACTERS.

## CHARACTERS.

*Memoirs of Thomas Warton, late Poet Laureat. Extracted from an Account of his Life and Writings, by Richard Mant, M. A.*

THOMAS Warton was descended from an ancient and honourable family, of Beverley, Yorkshire. His grandfather, Antony Warton, appears to have been the first of the family that settled in Hampshire; he was a member of Magdalen college, Oxford, and rector of Breamore, in New Forest; he had three sons, of whom two were deaf and dumb; the third son, Thomas, father of the subject of the present sketch, was born at Godalming, Surry, in 1687; and became fellow of Magdalen college, Oxford, and vicar of Cobham, in Surry, and professor of poetry, in Oxford. He married Elizabeth, daughter of the rev. Joseph Richardson, rector of Dunsfold, Surry; and had by her three children, Joseph, the late master of Winchester college; Thomas, the subject of these memoirs; and a daughter, Jane, now living unmarried, at Wickham, Hants. A volume of his poems were published by his eldest son in 1748. His son Thomas was born at Basingstoke, in 1728, and, at an early age, discovered unusual mental powers, of which the following transla-

tion, performed before the age of eleven, is a specimen.

“ When bold Leander sought his distant fair,

“ (Nor could the sea a braver burthen bear)

“ Thus to the swelling waves he spoke his woe,

“ Drown me on my return, but spare me as I go.”

In 1743, he was admitted a commoner of Trinity college, to which he continued warmly attached till his death. In 1747, he published “ *The Pleasures of Melancholy*,” written in his 17th year. The age of the author is sufficiently discernible in its luxuriance and want of compression; but it is truly a Miltonic poem, abounding with bold metaphors, and highly-coloured pictures, and shews that, even thus early, he was partial to the *taper’d choir*, and *scenes of awful solemnity and grandeur*.

In 1749 came out his “ *Triumph of Isis*,” occasioned by the jacobite principles, which were suspected to prevail in the university of Oxford, about the time of the Rebellion of 1745. Soon after its suppression, the irregularity of some young men gave offence to the court, in consequence of which a stigma was affixed to the vice chancellor, and some of the heads of houses, at the time Mason published his



his "Isis," an elegy, in which he adverts to the abovementioned circumstances. In answer to this poem, Warton's "Triumph of Isis" appeared. This work, at least, shews the readiness with which Warton could apply himself to the treatment of an occasional subject, and Mason readily yielded the palm for its superior excellence to his own poem. At several times, from March to July 1750, Mr. Warton contributed to "The Student," a monthly miscellany, published in Oxford, "A Panegyric on Oxford Ale,"—"The Progress of Discontent,"—"Morning," an ode.—"The Author confined to College," and a metrical version of the 39th chapter of Job. The "Panegyric on Oxford Ale" is inferior to Philips's "Splendid Shilling" only because it is an imitation of it: "The Progress of Discontent" is an exquisite picture of human life, exemplified in an individual instance. It may be said to be the "best imitation of Swift that has yet appeared." Of the version from Job it is but little to say, that it is nervous and spirited. The following anecdote will shew, that his talents were known and esteemed in college. In the common room it was a custom to elect a poet-laureat, whose duty was to celebrate, in a copy of English verses, a lady, likewise annually chosen, and distinguished by the title of lady-patroness, to which office Warton was selected in 1747 and 1748. His verses, still remaining in the common room, are written in an elegant and flowing style, and have that kind of merit which doubtless ensured them applause when they were written. He had, of course, before this period, taken the degree of A. B. In 1750 he became M. A. In 1751 he suc-

ceeded to a fellowship, and was thus placed in a situation easy, independent, and particularly congenial to his habits of retirement and study. In this year he published "Newmarket," a satire—"The Oxford Sausage"—an "Ode for Music"—and a copy of Latin hexameters on the death of Frederic prince of Wales. "Newmarket," the only satire which our poet has written, is remarkable for its biting sarcasm and manly indignation, and is, perhaps, not inferior to the best satirical compositions of Young or Pope. Of the "Ode for Music" little can be favourably said. The verses on the death of Frederic possess much fine poetical imagery. In 1753 he compiled the "Union, or select Scots and English Poems," among which are several of his own writing. About 1754 he drew up a body of statutes for the Radcliffe library. In the same year were published his "Observations on the Faerie Queene of Spenser," of which Dr. Johnson had a high opinion. Warton was peculiarly fitted for works of that description, from a natural turn to the study of romantic history and ancient poetry. He possesses the singular merit of having been the first to illustrate his authors by an examination of the works with which they had been principally conversant. His remarks on the stanza and versification of Spenser, on Spenser's imitation of Chaucer and Ariosto, and those which relate to the poem, considered by itself, display an elegant taste and a discriminative judgment; but its greatest merit consists in an illustration of the more obscure sources from which Spenser drew: its detection of the fabulous legends which he copied; its development of the reasons

reasons which induced the poet to adapt his plan to the extravagance of romance, rather than to the correct model of the classics; and its exposition and examination of that attachment to allegoric poetry which prevailed at and before the time of Spenser.

Ecclesiastical architecture constituted a favourite study of our author, on which subject he intended to have published\*. In 1757 he was elected professor of poetry, and, about the same time, contributed Nos. 33, 93, and 96 to the *Idler*; of the former number part has been quoted as the work of Johnson, by Dr. Parr. At that period a degree of friendship subsisted between Johnson and Warton, which lasted but a short time. Warton, it seems, esteemed his friend as a lexicographer and philosopher, but doubted his taste and classical knowledge; Johnson, in return, said that "Tom Warton was the only man of genius whom he knew without a heart," and spoke contemptuously of his poetry. About that time, Colman and Thornton invited Warton to engage in a periodical publication. He declined being a principal, but occasionally favoured their work, as he did the *Adventurer* and *World*, with gratuitous assistance. He afterwards wrote the inscription for Bonnel Thornton's monument in Westminster abbey. At that period also he published two small anonymous tracts; the first, "A Description of the City, College, and Cathedral of Winchester;" the other, "A Companion to the Guide, and a Guide to the Companion," being a complete supplement to all the ac-

counts of Oxford hitherto published; a burlesque of infinite jest and humour on Oxford guides and companions; it passed through several editions, and is now, as well as the former, extremely scarce.

During the time of Mr. Warton's holding the poetry professorship, he fulfilled the duties of his office by a constant recommendation of the elegance and simplicity of the classic poets. This was the grand object of his lectures, into which he introduced translations from the Greek Anthologies; a specimen of their merit is before the public, under the title "*De Poesi Bucolica Graecorum Dissertatio*," which was afterwards enlarged, and prefixed to his edition of Theocritus. In 1758 he published, anonymously, "*Inscriptionum Romanarum Metricarum Delectus*." This selection of Latin metrical inscriptions, principally sepulchral, are taken from Mazochius, Smetius, Gruter, &c. to which are added a few modern epigrams, namely, one by Dr. Jortin, and five by himself, on the model of the antique. The work deserves great credit, not only as the plan is, in some degree, original, and the epigrams are selected by himself from a farrago of uninteresting materials, but also on account of the judgment with which he discriminates between the flippancy and point of the modern epigrammatists of Martial's school, and the chastised and simple grace of the Greek, and earlier Latin, models. This work was, in 1766, followed by one of Greek inscriptions, being an edition of Cephalas's Anthology; the preface is written by our author, which, though

\* It was in the second edition of his "*Observations on the Faerie Queene*," that he introduced his celebrated note on the ecclesiastical architecture of England;—till that time it had been almost entirely neglected.



though chiefly narrative, is, however, elegant and perspicuous, distinguishing features of all his Latin compositions. To this book the sum of his praise has been already given, as he has added nothing to Reiske's but the preface. In 1771 the promised edition of Theocritus made its appearance; a publication distinguished for its correctness and splendour, and, perhaps, the best that has appeared from the Clarendon office. It was printed without accents, by the recommendation of the delegates of that press. It has been objected that, in this work, he has not sufficiently exerted his critical acumen in improving the text, yet has he elucidated his author by the aid of the scholiasts and other commentators, illustrated the allusions to the more obscure customs and mythology of the ancients, and shewn much taste in developing the beauty of his author, and comparing him with other poets; the prefixed dissertation is ingenious, and his reasons for preferring Theocritus to Virgil, as a pastoral poet, seem decisive.

Previously to this, in 1760, he wrote the life of sir Thomas Pope, the founder of his college, and of doctor Bathurst, its principal benefactor; but, as a biographer, he is not to be much celebrated. Sir Thomas Pope and doctor Bathurst were not of sufficient importance for narratives of their lives to excite general interest. Aware of this, Warton has endeavoured to supply the defect, by the interspersion of collateral matter. The life of Bathurst is diversified with anecdotes of several of his learned contemporaries; and that of Pope exhibits an interesting, and partly original, narrative of particulars, connected with the persecutions and private life of

queen Elizabeth, of whom the custody was committed to him by queen Mary; with a judicious summary of the state of learning about the time of the foundation of Trinity college; but such digressive merit, however amusing, detracts from the dignity and nature of biography, and sinks the object of the work into a mere appendage. In 1761 and 1762, he wrote, as poetry professor, verses, for the Oxford collection, on the death of George II. the marriage of the present king, and the birth of the prince of Wales; the verses on the king's marriage are elegant, and distinguished for their delicacy of compliment; though they have less poetical imagery than those on the death of the prince of Wales, and less dignity than those on the death of George II. To these last, it may be objected that they have not so much concern with the dead king, as with the patriot to whom they were addressed.

To the collection of 1761, he contributed the ode entitled the "Complaint of Cherwell." It is a pleasing pastoral, though it may not add much to his fame as a poet. In 1764 was published the "Oxford Sausage, or select Poetical Pieces written by the most celebrated Wits of the University of Oxford." Several of the poems and the humorous preface were written by Mr. Warton, to whom, likewise, the conduct of the work is attributed. In 1771 he was elected fellow of the antiquarian society, and in the same year instituted to the living of Kidlington, in Oxfordshire, on the presentation of George, earl of Litchfield, chancellor of the university, for whom he afterwards wrote an epitaph.

In 1774, his greatest and most important work appeared, "The History



History of English Poetry, from the Close of the 11th to the Commencement of the 18th Century, &c." In 1778, appeared the second volume, and the third in 1781, to which he prefixed an additional "Dissertation on the Gesta Romanorum;" the work was originally designed to have been comprised in three volumes, but an inaccurate estimation of the materials, compelled him to end the third volume, with a "General View and Character of the Poetry of Queen Elizabeth's Age," to which nothing has been since added, or even written, except eleven sheets, which were printed, but not published, and are, perhaps, not generally known to exist. A transcription of the first paragraph, which opens the scheme of that volume, may not be unacceptable. — "More poetry was written in the single reign of Elizabeth, than in the two preceding centuries. The same causes, among others already enumerated and explained, which called forth genius and imagination, such as the new sources of fiction opened by a study of the classics, a familiarity with the French, Italian, and Spanish writers, the growing elegancies of the English language, the diffusion of polished manners, the felicities of long peace and public prosperity, and a certain freedom and activity of

mind, which immediately followed the national emancipation from superstition, contributed also to produce innumerable compositions in poetry. In prosecuting my farther examination of the poetical annals of this reign, it therefore becomes necessary to reduce such a latitude of materials to some sort of methodical arrangement. On which account, I shall class and consider the poets of this reign under the general heads, or divisions of *satire*, *sonnet*, *pastoral*, and *miscellaneous poetry*. Spenser will stand alone, without a class, and without a rival."

Agreeably to the order of this division, the volume proceeds with an analysis of Bishop Hall's *Virgidemiarum*, and of Marston's *Scourge of Vilanie*, and other satires, and a comparison between the two authors, and breaks off abruptly in the midst of an account of the other satirists of the age. The copy right was, it seems, sold for 350*l*. and the impression consisted of 1250 copies. The idea of a work of this kind appears to have originated with Pope, who intended to "pen a discourse on the rise and progress of English poetry, as it came from the Provençal poets," and had classed the English poets, according to their several schools and successions, as appears from the list underneath.

ÆTÆA I.

Rymer, 2d part, page 65, 66, 67, 77.

Petrarch 78. Catal. of Provençals, (Poets.)

School of Provence. { Chaucer's Visions, Romaunt of the Rose,  
Pierce Plowman, Tales from Boccace,  
Gower.

|                     |                                                                                                                           |
|---------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| School of Chaucer.  | { Lydgate,<br>T. Occleve,<br>Walt. de Mapes,<br>Skelton.                                                                  |
| School of Petrarch. | { E. of Surry,<br>Sir Thomas Wyat,<br>Sir Philip Sidney,<br>G. Gascoyn, Translator of Ariosto's Com.                      |
| School of Dante.    | { Mirror of Magistrates,<br>Lord Buckhurst's Introduction, Gorboduck,<br>Original of Good Tragedy,<br>Seneca (his model.) |

## AERA II.

Spenser, Col. Clout, from the School of Ariosto and Petrarch, translated from Tasso.

|                                                |                                                                                                                                                                       |
|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| School of Spenser and<br>from Italian Sonnets. | { W. Brown's Pastorals,<br>Phineas Fletcher's Purple Iland, Alabaster,<br>Piscatory, ec.<br>S. Daniel,<br>Sir Walter Raleigh,<br>Milton's Juvenilia, Heath, Habinton. |
|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

|                           |                                           |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| Translators from Italian. | { Golding,<br>Ed. Fairfax,<br>Harrington. |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------------------|

|                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| School of Dante. | { Cowley, Davenant,<br>Michael Drayton,<br>Sir Thomas Overbury,<br>Randolph,<br>Sir John Davis,<br>Sir John Beaumont,<br>Cartwright,<br>Cleveland,<br>Crashaw,<br>Bishop Corbet,<br>Lord Falkland. |
|------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

|                                                                        |                                        |                      |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|----------------------|
| { Carew,<br>T. Carey,<br>G. Sandys,<br>in his Par. of Job.<br>Fairfax. | { in matter.<br>in versifi-<br>cation. | Models to<br>Waller. |
| { Sir John Mennis,<br>Thomas Baynal,                                   | { Originals of<br>Hudibras.            |                      |

The plan being seen by Gray, it suggested to him one of a similar kind, but considerably enlarged and modified; he designed to ascertain the origin of rhymes, and specimens, not only of the Provençal poetry (to which, alone, Pope seems to have adverted) but of the Scaldic, British, and Saxon, were to have been given; as, from all the different sources united, English poetry had its original; but the magnitude of the task, joined to a knowledge of Warton's similar design, induced Gray entirely to abandon it. Warton seems to have modelled, from a similar work, in Italian, entitled *L'Istoria della volgar Poesia scritta da Gio. Mario Crescimbeni*.

The History of English Poetry, is the most solid basis of our author's reputation. As one advantage of his plan was, that it marked the progress of our language, it may be doubted whether he ought not to have commenced his history at an earlier period. An enquiry into Saxon poetry, would not have been irrelevant to his subject. It has been observed, that his work is so dry and oppressive, as to subdue the eagerness of his readers, but it may be answered, that a work, abounding in disquisition, and replete with quotations, can hardly look for extensive popularity; but, being necessary to the main object, fixes the charge of dryness, rather on the subject than the author, who, conscious of its difficulties, has endeavoured to relieve the weight of his subject by occasional digression, such as the rise of the mysteries, in the 2d volume; and on Dante's *Inferno*, in the 3d. For his abilities as a historian, antiquary, and critic, I would refer to the character of Chaucer, in vol. I. and of lord Sur-

rey, in vol. 3; to the dissertations prefixed to the work; and to the surveys of the revival of learning, and of the poetry of queen Elizabeth's age, which respectively close the 2d and 3d volumes. In 1777, Mr. Warton published an 8vo. volume of his poems, consisting, principally, of unpublished pieces.

In the muniment-house of Winton college, is a most curious roll of W. of Wykeham's house-keeping expences, for the year 1394. It is 100 feet long and four broad, and, according to Mr. Warton, a most valuable record: he made an abstract of it, which he intended to publish. In 1782 or 1783, he published a history of Kiddington. It is an admirable specimen of parochial history. Without neglecting the natural productions and curiosities of the country, he unites with them other topics of interesting enquiry. The church and other remains of ancient architecture and sculpture; the division of property, and the families among whom it was distributed; the events and rude monuments which constitute the military history of the place, are, in their turn, noticed: on all which topics, but especially on the last, the particular information brought forward, is interwoven with some that is more general. In the same year, he engaged in the Chattertonian controversy, to which he had adverted in the 2d volume of his history, declaring himself of opinion, that the poems were spurious, and published a pamphlet, entitled "*An Enquiry into the Authenticity of the Poems attributed to Thomas Rowley*," confining his enquiry to the internal evidence of the poems. The arguments evince great perspicuity and discernment, and seem decisive against



against the antiquity of the poems in question. He now also published his verses on the painted window at New college. They are an admirable specimen of his excellence in this way, at the same time that he was qualified to discern and enjoy the, more chastised beauties of Grecian art. It is difficult to say which is preferable, the description of a gothic cathedral in the beginning of the poem, or that of New college window, in the last paragraph. In this year he was presented, by his college, to the donative of Hill Farrance, in Somersetshire; and, about the same time, chosen a member of the well known literary club. In 1785, he was elected Camden professor of history, and appointed to the laurel on the death of Whitehead. The Camden professorship of history, had been founded by the celebrated antiquarian of that name, in 1621, and such was the low state of learning in Oxford, at the time of its foundation, that the professor is required to lecture the bachelors of arts, and the students, in civil law, twice a week, in *Lucius Florus*, or some other of the more ancient and distinguished historians.

The office of poet laureat may acquire some credit, from being filled by a respectable character, but can confer none. Gray refused it, and Warton, himself, once disliked the threadbare task, though he afterwards accepted it, and has gained credit, by a happy selection and adaptation of collateral topics to a hackneyed argument.

The last work of any importance in which our author engaged, was an edition of the Juvenile Poems of Milton, with notes, critical, explanatory, and other illustrations.—

Bishop Newton, and the other commentators, who preceded Warton, traced Milton in his imitations of the Greek, Latin, and Italian poets; to which, indeed, they added Shakespeare, Spenser, and a few occasional passages from Chaucer; but they appear not to have been aware that, to a consummate knowledge of these authors, Milton united a no less intimate acquaintance with the authors of his own country. This circumstance seems to have been first noticed and acted on by Warton. To this mode of illustration he added another, equally new, but more difficult; it was the circumstances concerning Milton's early life, situations, friendships, and connexions, which were often so transiently or implicitly noticed as to need examination and enlargement. In this track he collected much information, and has not only illustrated the poems which were the immediate object of his researches, but has, at the same time, through them, given lights to the future biographer of Milton, and to the historian of the state of literature and manners during his time. He was about this time also engaged in preparing a new edition of his own poems. A considerable part of the impression was already finished, when he was taken off by a sudden and unexpected death. Until he reached his 62d year, he continued to enjoy vigorous and uninterrupted health. On being seized with the gout, he went to Bath, and flattered himself, on his return to college, that he was in a fair way of recovery; but on May 20, 1790, after passing a cheerful evening, in the common room, he was suddenly seized with a paralytic stroke, and died next day at 2 o'clock.

o'clock. On the 27th, his remains were interred in the college chapel, with the highest academical honours, being attended by the vice-chancellor, heads of houses, &c. &c. Over his grave, on a plain marble slab, is this epitaph :

Thomas Warton,  
S. T. B. & S. A. S.  
Hujus Collegii Socius,  
Ecclesiæ de Cuddington  
In Com. Oxon. Rector,  
Poeticæ iterum Prælector,  
Historicæ Prælector Camden,  
Poeta Laureatus,  
Obiit 21. Die Maii,  
Anno Domini 1790.  
Ætat. 63.

In his youth, Mr. Warton was eminently handsome; and even in the latter part of his life, when he grew large, he was remarkably well looking. His figure was not very prepossessing, and did not receive any great advantage from his dress, of which he was habitually negligent. The editor of the probationary odes describes him as a little, thick, squat, red-faced man, who had a hasty spasmodic mumbling method of speech; but this is probably a caricature, as may be that of Dr. Johnson, who compared his manner of speaking to the gobble of a turkey-cock. He is said to have been strongly attached to the church of England, in all the offices of her liturgy; and in his political opinions inclined to toryism. As a divine, he was, perhaps, not much distinguished. In his manners he was unaffected, and particularly pleased with the native simplicity of youth. Like most men of genius, our author had a serious cast of mind; yet, in his general intercourse, there was nothing gloomy, but every

thing cheerful. Indeed, before the fastidious and disputations, he would sit reserved; but when in company with persons of easy manners, no one seasoned his discourses with more wit, humour, and pleasantry.

He was fond of seeing and frequenting public sights, yet studied continually and regularly. His practice was to rise at a moderate hour, and to read and write much every day. His long vacations were usually spent with his brother, at Winchester. He was not, perhaps, of strong passions. Twice, indeed, in the course of his poems, he represents himself as being in love; but his sister, who was confidentially acquainted with him, could not discover the object of his passion, which possibly was but feigned. To all his relations he was most tenderly endeared, and entertained for them a reciprocal affection. Of his prose style, it may be said, that his expressions are select and forcible, and his sentences animated. He has frequent comparisons and allusions, which not only embellish his thoughts, but, at the same time, illustrate them. He abounds in figurative language, but without losing sight of simplicity; and is, perhaps, as much as any modern English author, remarkable for uniting, without affectation, and without an appearance of art or labour, the excellencies of a style at once perspicuous, ornamental, vigorous, and musical. In his versification, especially in the common English pentameter, he displays more strength than elegance. He seldom betrays weakness; but it may be doubted whether he be always graceful; though he have avowed the points and antitheses of Pope, like him he seems not to have known, or, at least,



least, not practised that harmony of period which results from natural and unaffected ease, the variety of pause, the mixture of simple and ornamented, of weaker and more nervous lines. He generally terminates the sense with a couplet, and rests his pauses on the even feet, most commonly on the 4th syllable, a practice grating to a musical ear. Throughout his pentameters, he has but one triplet, and scarcely an alexandrine. He seems injudiciously to have copied Dryden, in terminating a verse with a trisyllable, which will hardly bear the accent on the last syllable, and in making the verse so formed the leading verse of the couplet: as

“ Like Greece in science and in liberty.”

The same defect, as to the music of his versification, appears in his blank verse, in which the happiest occasional pause is on the eighth syllable; but which Warton has rarely adopted. In his earlier laureat odes the lines are often rugged, the construction harsh, and the rhymes awkwardly disposed; faults which he corrected as he advanced, till he at length attained a very great degree of lyrical harmony. These remarks on the defects of Warton's versification, must not, however, be understood as extending to the “Suicide,” or to his several odes in the eight-syllable verse, which are uniformly sweet. Yet it has been objected to him that the frequent mixture of regular trochaics of seven syllables, and iambics of eight, is a defect; but he has the authority of Milton and Gray, and, without reference to the interchange of measures in the Greek lyric poetry, it may be added, that, in our pentameter, which is strictly

an iambic measure, we not only admit spondaic, but dactylic, anapaestic, and trochaic feet. The cause of all which indulgencies may be found in the pleasure derived from variety. Alliteration recurs too frequently in Warton, which, probably, he adopted from Spenser. His phraseology has been objected to, and ridiculed, by Johnson, for a too frequent introduction of antiquated expressions; but if a poet cannot find, in common use, words, which will fully convey the image of his mind; or if words in common use do occur, but are destitute of poetical beauty; in either case a man must look farther, and invent or revive others; and he may surely as well revive those that are old, as invent new. Horace considered it as a natural event in the revolution of a language, that many obsolete terms would be restored to use, and he contends for the privilege. Yet, perhaps, it must be allowed, that antiquated expressions have been sometimes used by our poet where they were neither necessary to convey his meaning, nor conducive to perspicuity or elegance. In his humorous poems, he is sometimes successful in giving to a word a ludicrous signification, as “*material breakfast*.”

His diction is perpetually Miltonic, but it will be found, on examination, to be connected with sentiments and ideas different from those with which it is connected in his original, and to represent images of his own. On the whole, it may be said, that his language is select and poetical. His prevailing fault seems to be, that he sometimes aims too much at departing from common terms and formularies, and forgets that art loses its effect, unless concealed.



sealed. But though, in consequence of this, his style be sometimes stiff and constrained, and though it have now and then a redundant expression, it certainly merits the general commendation of perspicuity, elegance, and strength.

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character of George, Earl of Orford, from "*The Sportsman's Cabinet*."

IT is the distinguishing trait of genius to be enthusiastically bold, and daringly courageous. Nothing in art or science, nothing in mental, or even in manual labour, was ever achieved, of superior excellence, without that ardent zeal, that impetuous sense of eager avidity, which to the cold, inanimate, and unimpassioned, bears the appearance, and sometimes the unqualified accusation of insanity. When a monarch of this country once received the news of a most heroic action maintained against one of his fleets, and seemed considerably chagrined at the result; the then lord of the admiralty endeavoured to qualify and soften down the matter, by assuring the king that "the commander of the enemy's fleet was mad."—"Mad! would he were mad enough to bite one of my admirals."

Lord Orford had absolutely a phrenetic furor of this kind, in any thing he found himself disposed to undertake; it was a predominant trait in his character never to do any thing by halves, and coursing was his most prevalent passion beyond every other pleasurable consideration. In consequence of his most extensive property, and his extra-influence as lord-lieutenant of the county\*, he not only interested

numbers of opulent neighbours in the diversion, but, from the extent of his connexions, could command such an immensity of private quarters for his young greyhounds, and of making such occasional selections from which, that few, if any, beside himself could possess.

There were times when he was known to have fifty brace of greyhounds; and, as it was a fixed rule never to part from a single whelp till he had a fair and substantial trial of his speed, he had evident chances (beyond almost any other individual) of having, among so great a number, a collection of very superior dogs: but, so intent was he upon this peculiar object of attainment, that he went still farther in every possible direction to obtain perfection, and introduced every experimental cross from the English lurcher to the Italian greyhound. He had strongly indulged an idea of a successful cross with the bull-dog, which he could never be divested of, and after having persevered (in opposition to every opinion) most patiently for seven removes, he found himself in possession of the best greyhounds ever yet known; giving the small ear, the rat tail, and the skin almost without hair, together with that innate courage which the high-bred greyhound should possess, retaining which, instinctively, he would rather die than relinquish the chase.

One defect only this cross is admitted to have, which the poacher would rather know to be a truth, than the fair sportsman would come willingly forward to demonstrate. To the former it is a fact pretty well known, that no dog has the sense of smelling in a more exquisite degree than the bull-dog; and, as they run mute, they, under certain

crosses,

\* Of Norfolk.

crosses, best answer the midnight purposes of the poacher in driving hares into the wire or net. Greyhounds bred from this cross have, therefore, some tendency to run by the nose, which, if not immediately checked by the master, they will continue for miles, and become very destructive to the game in the neighbourhood where they are kept, if not under confinement or restraint.

Having necessarily adverted to the father of modern coursing, some distinguishing traits of his character (replete with anecdote) can prove no deviation from the descriptive variety previously promised in the course of this work. No man ever sacrificed so much time, or so much property to practical or speculative sporting as the late earl of Orford; whose eccentricities are too firmly indented upon "the tablet of memory," ever to be obliterated from the diversified rays of retrospection. Incessantly engaged in the pursuit of sport and new inventions, he introduced more whimsicalities, more experimental genius, and enthusiastic zeal, than any man ever did before him, or, most probably, any other man may ever attempt to do again.

Amongst his experiments of fancy was a determination to drive four red deer (stags) in a phæton, instead of horses, and these he had reduced to perfect discipline for his excursions and short journies upon the road; but, unfortunately, as he was one day driving to Newmarket, their ears were accidentally saluted with the cry of a pack of hounds, who soon after crossing the road in the rear, immediately caught scent of the "four in hand," and commenced a new kind of chace with "breast high" alacrity. The novelty of this scene was rich beyond description; in vain

did his lordship exert all his charioteering skill—in vain did his well-trained grooms energetically endeavour to ride before them; reins, trammels, and the weight of the carriage were of no effect; off they went, with the celerity of a whirlwind, and this modern Phæton, in the midst of his electrical vibrations of fear, bid fair to experience the fate of his name-sake. Luckily, however, his lordship had been accustomed to drive this Hudibrastic set of "fiery-eyed" steeds to the Ram Inn, at Newmarket, which was most happily at hand, and to this his lordship's fervent prayers and ejaculations had been ardently directed; into the yard they suddenly bounded, to the dismay of ostlers and stable-boys, who seemed to have lost every faculty upon the occasion. Here they were luckily overpowered, and the stags, the phæton, and his lordship, were all instantaneously huddled together in a large barn just as the hounds appeared in full cry at the gate.

This singular circumstance, although most luckily attended with no accident, effectually cured his lordship's passion of deer-driving; but his invincible zeal for coursing, and his undiminished rage for its improvement, remained with him to the last. No day was too long, or any weather too severe for him; those who have ever seen him, can never forget the extreme laughable singularity of his appearance. Mounted on a stump of a pyc-balled pony (as uniformly broad as he was long) in a full suit of black, without either great coat or gloves; his hands and face crimsoned with cold, and in a fierce cocked hat, facing every wind that blew; and while his gamekeepers were shrinking from the sand-



sand-gathering blasts of Norfolk, on he rode, like old Lear, regardless of the elements.

“Blow, wind, and crack your cheeks !  
rage ! blow

You cataracts, and hurricanes, spout  
Till you have drench'd our steeples,  
drown'd the cocks !”

For, innately warm with the predominance of his passion for sport, he set at defiance storms of every description.

At a particular period of his life, when

“The springs of nature rose above their level,”

there was a necessity for some degree of medical coercion to bring them again within the bounds of prudent regulation. During this scene of unavoidable suspension from his favourite pursuits, the extreme attention shewn to him by a person who regulated his domestic concerns, so much influenced his nicer sensations, that he dedicated to her the most tender and grateful affection during her life. The circumstance of her death (though by no means young or handsome) so much affected his lordship, that the nerves before unstrung, again gave way, and the former malady returned with increasing violence. He was, at this time, confined to his chamber, with an attendant necessary to the disordered state of his mind ; but, with all that latent artifice for which objects of this description are so remarkable, he contrived, by some plausible pretext, to get his keeper out of the room, instantly jumped out of the window, ran to the stables, and saddled his pye-balled poney, at the very time he well knew the grooms and stable-attendants were all engaged.

On that day his favourite bitch, old

Czarina, was to run a match of much magnitude ; the gamekeepers had already taken her to the field, where a large party were assembled, equally lamenting the absence of his lordship, and the cause by which his presence was prevented. When, at the very moment of mutual regret and condolence, who should appear, at full speed, on the pye-balled poney, but lord Orford himself.

His presence all bosoms appeared to dismay,

His friends stood in silence and fear :

But none had power to restrain him ; all attempts and entreaties were in vain ; the match he was determined to see ; and no persuasions whatever could influence him to the contrary. Finding no endeavours could divert him from the ecstatic expectation he had formed ; the greyhounds were started, and Czarina won ; during the course, no human power or exertion could prevent him from riding after the dogs, more particularly as his favourite bitch displayed her superiority in every stroke : when, in the moment of the highest exultation, and the eagerness of his triumph, unfortunately falling from his poney, and pitching upon his head (whether occasioned by apoplexy, or such contusion upon the skull as instantly affected the brain), he almost immediately expired, to the inexpressible grief of those who surrounded him at the last moment of his life ; individually convinced, that coursing was the predominant idea.

“Still liv'd the ruling passion strong in death.”

A man of more simple manners, more liberal constructions, or of a more courteous nature, never was known



known to constitute a part of benevolent and philanthropic society. All the urbanities of life were his, and he seemed, by nature, formed to attract the most grateful attention; generally acquainted as he was, from his rank, as well as from his sporting pursuits, with every condition of persons, from the prince to the peasant, his conversation was happily suited to each, and equally winning with them all.

The prince of Wales, when occasionally visiting his lordship on a shooting party, saw at no other place such a profusion of game of every description—such a display of attendant gamekeepers—such a noble, though plain hospitality, as at Houghton; and a park so curiously and infinitely stocked with every original, in beast and fowl of almost every country, from the African bull to the pelican of the wilderness. When an actor, a poet, or a hero dies, if his reputation be sufficient for the posthumous exultation, we must look in Westminster Abbey; if a great sportsman retires from the busy fashionable scene of life, his intrinsic worth can only be ascertained by a walk to Tattersal's.

In a short space of time after lord Orford's decease, his greyhounds, (with various other sporting appurtenances) came under the hammer of the auctioneer.

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*An Account of the Historian, Golam Hossein Khan, from Tennant's "Indian Recreations."*

**I**N giving an idea of the literature of India, I cannot omit mentioning Golam Hossein Khan, the late author of a work entitled, *Seir Mu-*

*takhareen*; or, *View of Modern Times*. This work is regarded as classical Persian in point of style; and contains a civil history of Hindostan, from the death of Aurengzebe to the year 1781. The biographical anecdotes found in this work, concerning many of our countrymen, who are still living, renders it peculiarly interesting; the details of the English conquests in India, and his strictures upon the British government in that country, convey the ideas of a native, of high character, upon subjects of the first importance. This work, though translated into something like English, by a renegade Frenchman, is but little known, even by Orientalists, except by name.

This Mogul nobleman was a partizan of the present emperor during his fallen fortunes; but, like the great Clarendon, he delivers his sentiments with spirit and impartiality; and with a force, clearness, and simplicity of style, rarely to be found in Asiatic authors, and which justly entitle him to pre-eminence among the historians of his country. The history of his life, given by himself, is prefixed to his volumes: some particulars of it I shall insert, for it must be interesting to know the history of an independent native, who has displayed so much penetration, sagacity and knowledge, respecting the conduct of the English in the government of his country.

"Golam Hossein Khan was born in Shah Jehanabad, in 1140 of the Hegira; and being related by his mother to Aliverdi Khan, the future nabob of Bengal, he repaired to that province with all his connexions. "Soon after our arrival in Moorshedabad," says he, "fortune be-

gan to favour our family. Aliverdi Khan was appointed governor of Patna, where my father accompanied him, and where our family have lived to this day in affluence, dignity, and splendour: for the houses we bought, and the lands we acquired by purchase, gift or otherwise, during the administration of Aliverdi are, to this day, in our possession. In the year 1188, I was induced, unfortunately, to become security, to a considerable amount, for a zemindar, who already owed me the highest obligations, and from whom I little expected such a return, and so much perfidy as I met with. In consequence of this misconduct, I was called upon by the English government, to pay 60,000 rupees on his account, which was the sum for which I had become bound. This demand coming on me unexpectedly, I was obliged to sell my jewels and plate, to the amount of 31,000 rupees, and to make up the balance by borrowing it from the banker. In this way I saved myself from the severity with which I should have been treated by the government to whom the money was due; and from the still more unfeeling rigor of the aumils, muttsudies, and other revenue officers, who seemed to wait with a malicious eye for the signal from government to seize my whole property. I was obliged to put into the banker's hands, as a security for the money I had borrowed, the portion of land I possessed, and to endeavour to procure subsistence by some other means. But I was unable to get any employment, notwithstanding all the interest, and all the enquiries which my friends made in my behalf. At last it pleased fortune

to give me a friend in general Goddard a man of merit so conspicuous as to need no praise, and whose kindness and generosity to me, as well as to many of my countrymen, entitle him to my lasting gratitude. Such a character is not often met with among the English in Hindostan.

He was, about this time, appointed resident at Chunarghur; soon after which, he came to Azimabad, (Patna) where he made some stay. Being an old acquaintance, I went to see him. He had the kindness to enquire about my affairs, and he heard, with cordial concern, the calamity which had befallen them. "I am truly sorry," said he, "to hear what has happened; but as I see no likelihood of your getting employment here, you had better come along with me, and we shall live upon what we can get." I cheerfully accepted of the proposal, looking upon it, as one of the secret resources which Providence had kept in store for me. I accordingly got myself ready, and accompanied him to Chunar. But, on general Goddard's arrival there, he found that the situation to which he was appointed, was, in point of emolument, much below what he had reason to expect, and, indeed, scarcely sufficient to defray his necessary expences. This circumstance disabled him from assisting me as he wished; but he committed to my care, whatever concerned the revenue matters of that town. He allotted also, for my accommodation, an excellent house, which had been fitted up for himself; and sent his own boats to bring my wife and family. When they arrived, he gave them a pension of 300 rupees a month. After behaving to me in this very handsome manner



manner; it was natural in him to receive my visits with that particular distinction which he shewed me."

"I have already observed, that general Goddard's income, at Chunar, was much below his expenditure: in consequence of this, he now determined to relinquish his situation, and get permission to enter into the service of Azof ud Dowlah, having heard that that prince, dissatisfied with his old troops, had dismissed them, and intended to raise a new army, the discipline of which he wished to commit to the charge of an English officer of rank. My friend conceived, that such an employment would be more suitable to his turn of mind, than the station he held at Chunar; and that it would likewise prove more profitable, both to himself and me. But as he had no acquaintance with Mr. Bristow, who was then minister at Lucknow, he did not think it proper to make any personal application to him on the subject. On his asking my opinion of the matter, I proposed that he should give me a letter to another Englishman, a friend of Mr. Bristow's, to whom, by that means, I should find a ready introduction; and thereby, be able to sound him in regard to the object in view, without mentioning his name. Of this he approved; and, giving to me the letter to the gentleman at Lucknow, he wished me a successful journey."

After, however, obtaining the consent of Mr. Bristow to this measure, all the views of the general and Golam were defeated, by the appointment of Mr. Middleton, as resident, in the room of Mr. Bristow. Though this was an intimate acquaintance of the general,

from whose friendship he expected much, he totally disapproved of the measure. On the failure of this scheme, and the appointment of general Goddard to join the army in the Deccan, all connexion between him and our author was broken off. At a more early period of his life, he had been employed in the courts of Aliverdi Khan, and that of his nephews, in consequential situations; and, after having received various disappointments and reverses of fortune, he settled, at last, at Patna, where, on a sum of money left by his friends, he was enabled to support his family comfortably. It was there, also, that, during a period of quiet and retirement, he tells us he composed the *Seir Mutakhareen*. In the same city, in the earlier part of his life, he witnessed the massacre of the English, a cruelty which he reprobated, but which he could not prevent. He conferred, however, some obligations on Mr. Fullarton, the only person who escaped from that bloody catastrophe.

The military and civil transactions of his time, which occupy the most considerable part of these volumes, have not precluded the author inserting large biographical anecdotes, which impart greater variety and interest to his work. He has spoken frequently of the character of authors, and discussed the merits of their writings; in this, however, his candour and benevolence of mind appear to far greater advantage than his literary attainments. From the praises which he bestows on the contemptible reveries of fanatics, we can draw no favourable opinion of Mogul literature at this period; nor does it appear, that in any æra of the empire, they



they ever rose above the humblest mediocrity.

When travelling in pursuit of business, he frequently stepped aside, to visit what he terms the abodes of learned men; and as often as he speaks of character, it is generally from personal observation and acquaintance. In his journey from Chunar to Lucknow, mentioned above, he went by way of Juanpore, and stopped there for some days; because, to use his own words, "he understood it was become the residence of the illustrious and venerable Seid Mahmed Askhessy, of whom he had heard so much." "I sent to desire leave to pay him a respectful visit. Being admitted to his presence, I spent two hours with him. His conversation delighted me even beyond what I expected; it was replete with the many excellencies for which he was celebrated; and I took my leave of him, fully satisfied, that fame, in her encomiums, had fallen short of what I had seen and heard. To this day I remember his venerable aspect, and enchanting conversation; and they have made such an impression on my mind, that I must suspend the narrative of my own actions, to give the reader a glimpse of the talents and virtues which adorned that distinguished man.

"He was of a family of Seids, that ranked for many ages amongst the most respectable of that sect, in the city of Juanpore."

This Seid, of virtuous disposition and fine genius, wrote a book of practical morality, all the rules of which he extracted from his own practice; so that this book was a commentary on his life. Very different this from the generality of

moralists, whose principles and practice are completely at variance; who preach up the utility of moral conduct, yet lead a life of sin.

"His speech was such, that it seemed to flow from the fountain of wisdom; and his advices and counsels were so many remedies against sickness and sorrow of heart!

"He possessed a very extensive knowledge, graced with so much modesty, that he instructed all who conversed with him, without making them feel their own inferiority. He lived upon a small income, without a wish to increase it.

"It is true, he was not regularly initiated in the sciences; but the richness of his mind, and the strength of his judgment, amply supplied that want. By the force of his own genius, he had become a repository of all the arts and sciences, practical as well as abstract. No wonder, then, that his house was resorted to by all the learned persons of that city and neighbourhood, and by numbers who travelled thither from distant countries, being learned themselves, or possessing a love of knowledge.

"The natural turn of his mind was to candour and modesty; so that he was as forward to acknowledge the merit of others, as he was studious to conceal his own. He gave his time to reading lectures, which is the noblest of all occupations—the noblest and most pleasing thing of all being to bring to light the treasures of hidden knowledge. Whenever any one, in his presence, introduced a discourse in dispraise of a man's character, either directly or indirectly, he had too much politeness to stop and reprimand him, but he would, with great address, and peculiar felicity, turn

turn the discourse to another subject, without giving the speaker the smallest offence. This venerable man died at the age of seventy."

In this strain does this amiable writer criticise his contemporary authors; men far inferior to himself, either in judgment, knowledge of the world, or even literature.—Perhaps it may be owing to this candour, and mildness of disposition, that he has treated some parts of the misconduct of the English, as magistrates, with so lenient a hand. He deems their conduct meritorious, upon the whole, and their government advantageous; though the Mahomedans of rank, whom it has displaced from all the more lucrative official situations, are, perhaps, the only class of men whose circumstances it has injured. One disadvantage arising from our situation in India, he has seen and laments, which arises from the temporary residence of individuals in the country, and the proportionably small interest they can feel in its welfare.—Men, he observes, who leave their native country with the sole view of acquiring an independency, and then to return to it, can have little inducement to confer upon their temporary residence any permanent improvements. The meritorious business of planting topes, digging wells, making roads, and various employments suitable for the wealthy part of the community, individuals will seldom undertake in a country which they hope soon to leave.—As the Europeans, according to our system, have not been allowed to colonize in India, there can be no doubt of the justice of Golam Hossain's remarks on this particular.—Of injustice and corruption, as

judges, he entirely acquits our countrymen; and of cruelty and oppression, as rulers, he brings not the slightest imputation: from his intimate acquaintance with this subject, and his bias, if he felt any, being wholly against us, we may applaud our countrymen, for having obtained this honourable testimony of their character. From want of knowledge in the language, which frequently has happened to junior servants, he does accuse them sometimes of suffering themselves to be imposed upon by their banyans and sircars; nor does he conceal that injustice is sometimes committed through their interference. Persian writings and books are not committed to the press, and disseminated by publication, as in Europe. This author's manuscripts, for many years, were handed about privately among the natives: he could, therefore, have no fear of giving offence to the English, by what he brought forward. This is, indeed, apparent, from many strictures he has written abundantly severe; nor does there seem any intention to please, by flattery, in a work that was never submitted to the perusal of the English: the praises of general Goddard, and of many other individuals to be found in these volumes, are no exception to this remark, since they are evidently the effusions of sincerity and gratitude; and some of them, as that of Mr. Fullarton, were written long after the parties concerned had left the country.—Without having any knowledge of civil liberty in the abstract, this author possessed the fullest enjoyment of it; and, from this circumstance, his testimony has become of so great importance.



*Customs and Manners of the Tartar Inhabitants of the Crimea, from second Vol. of Professor Pallas' Travels.*

THE Tartar inhabitants of the Crimea may be divided into three classes. The first includes the Nagays, of whom I have spoken in the preceding volume of these travels, pp. 531, and following; as also those Nagays, who, being a remnant of the Tartars of the Kuban, were taken prisoners in the Turkish fort of Anape, and, to the number of 4,500, carried into the Crimea, where they were dispersed among the nobility for their maintenance; but afterwards, by order of the court, they were considered as subjects, and still dwell in their own permanent villages, having acquired opulence by rearing of cattle and cultivating lands, from which they are enabled to pay high rents to their landlords. All these Nagays are, as their features evince, the unmixed descendants of the Mongolian tribe, who formed the bulk of the army of Tshingis-khan, which invaded Russia and the Crimea.

The second class consists of those Tartars represented in plate 20, who inhabit the heaths or steppes as far as the mountains, especially on the north side; and who, in the district of Perekop, where they are still unmixed, retain many traces of the Mongolian countenance, with a thinly scattered beard: they devote themselves to the rearing of cattle to a greater extent than the mountaineers, but are, at the same time, husbandmen, though they pay no attention to gardening. In situations destitute of stone, they build,

like the inhabitants of Bucharia, with unbaked bricks of clay, and make use of dried dung for fuel, of which they prepare large quantities, and pile it up in the same manner as turf, to serve them during the winter. Nearer to the mountains, these Tartars, as well as the nobles, are more intermixed with the Turkish race, and exhibit few of the Kalmuk-Mongolian features: this observation also applies to the Crimean nobility; in whom those peculiarities are almost entirely obliterated.

To the third class belong the inhabitants of the southern vallies, bounded by the mountains; a mixed race, which seems to have originated from the remnants of various nations, crowded together in these regions at the conquest of the Crimea, by the armies of the Mongolian leaders; and which, in part, (as has already been stated) display a very singular countenance, with a stronger beard, but lighter hair; the other Tartars not considering them as true descendants of their race, but giving them the contemptuous name of Tat\*. They are also, by their costume, remarkably distinguished from the common Tartars of the heaths, though the dress and veils of the women are alike. Their houses, or huts, are partly formed under ground, being generally constructed against the steep precipices of mountains, one half excavated from the earth or rock, and only the front raised with rough stones, having at the same time a flat roof covered with earth. There are among them skilful vine-dressers and gardeners, but they are too idle to undertake new plantations, availing themselves only of those left by their predecessors, especially

\* From the Turkish word Mur-tat, which signifies a renegade.



especially the industrious Greeks : hence very few young trees are seen in their gardens. They also grow flax and tobacco, which, as objects of culture, are unknown to the Tartars of the heaths : with proper encouragement, they might probably be induced to cultivate the vine, and attend to the production of silk.— On the whole, they are at present unprofitable and unworthy inhabitants of those paradisaical vallies, in which they have always shewn themselves the first and most ready to revolt against the Russian government. These thoughtless people even destroy the forests on the mountains in the most effectual manner, partly by their indiscriminate felling of trees, and partly by their numerous herds of goats. In the last war with Turkey, they were all ordered to dwell at the distance of ten versts from the coast, in order to avoid the danger arising from their acting as spies and traitors : it would, indeed, be for the general good, to remove them entirely from these vallies, into the interior of the country ; at the same time peopling the former with industrious settlers, who would contribute to the prosperity of the empire, by the cultivation of wine, oil, silk, and cotton ; which will never be attempted by the present inactive possessors.

In the costume of the Tartars inhabiting the plains there is some variety. Young persons, especially those of noble or wealthy families, dress nearly in the Circassian, Polish, or Kozak fashion, with short, or slit sleeves in the upper garment. The nobility of more advanced age wear, like the common Tartars, unslit sleeves ; and old men suffer the whole beard to

grow ; whereas the young and middle-aged have only whiskers. Their legs and feet are dressed either in half-boots of Morocco or other leather, or they use stockings of the same material, especially in the towns ; over these are worn slippers, or clogs, for walking abroad ; and in dirty weather, a kind of stilt-shoes. Their heads are uniformly shaved, or, at least, the hair is cut away very short, which they cover with a high cap, quilted at the top with cotton, and generally green, being edged with black or grey lamb's skin. This cap is never moved by way of compliment : the clergy and the aged wear under it the fez, or a red, woven calotte.— Those who have performed a pilgrimage to Mecca, are distinguished by a white handkerchief round the edge of their cap, such being the mark of a hadshi. There are also in the Crimea some emirs, who wear the green fillet round their heads. Among the young nobility, however, Circassian caps are the most common head-dress.

The physiognomy of the true Tauridan Tartars bears great resemblance to that of the Turks and Europeans. There are handsome, tall, robust people among them, and few are inclined to corpulency : their complexion is rather fair, and they have black or dark brown hair. The boys and youth have mostly a pleasing and delicate countenance ; to which circumstance, together with the restraints imposed on women, may, perhaps, be attributed the odious propensities prevailing here, as well as in Turkey and Persia.

The dress of the Tartar women is very different from that of the Nagays :

Nagays: they are, in general, of low stature, owing, probably, to their confined treatment in early life; though the features are tolerably handsome. Young women wear wide drawers; a shift reaching to their ancles, divided before, and drawn together at the neck; a gown, open in front, made of striped silk, with long sleeves, and adorned with broad trimmings, embroidered with gold. They have also an upper garment of some appropriate colour, with short thick Turkish sleeves, edged with ermine fur, or gold lace. Both girls and married women fasten their gowns with a heavy cincture or girdle, having in front two large buckles, like those made by the Armenians and Jews, of embossed or filigree work, and which were once in fashion among the Russian ladies at Petersburg and Moscow. Their hair is braided behind in as many loose tresses as it will afford, and is covered either with a small red cap, or fez, especially during childhood, or with a handkerchief crossed under the chin. Their fingers are adorned with rings, and the nails of their hands and feet tinged with Kna, (*Lawsonia*) which is imported

from Constantinople, and is sometimes mixed with vitriol, to render the colour browner, and more permanent, as it will thus continue about two months. But paint is rarely employed by young females.

Married women cut off their hair obliquely over their eyes, and leave two locks also cut transversely, hanging down their cheeks; they likewise bind a long narrow strip of cloth round the head, within the ends of which they confine the rest of the hair, and turn it up from behind, braiding it in two large tresses. Like the Persians, they die their hair of a reddish brown with kna. Their under garment is more open below, but in other respects similar to that of the unmarried, as are their upper dress and girdle. They paint their faces red with cochineal, or other drugs, and white with an oxyd of tin, called aklyk, which they carefully prepare over a dung-fire, in small earthen pipkins.\* They also dye the white of the eye blue, with a finely pulverized preparation of copper (*Masetash*) brought from Constantinople; and, by a particular process,† change the colour of their eye-brows and hair to a shining black;

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\* In order to compose the fashionable greyish-white Tartar cosmetic, the women first heat a pot covered with clay, in a strong dung fire, till it is glowing hot. The vessel being thus prepared, is placed, with the opening sideways, in another dung fire, which they accumulate round it; then bars of tin are thrown in, and the opening is closed with an iron cover, till the metal is melted. Next, the lid is removed, and the tin is continually stirred with an iron spatula: when it is perfectly fused, they add some sheep's tallow, with a small piece of lead and Cyprus soap, which must be burnt on the tin till they disappear. The operator continues to stir the mass till the metal gradually becomes calcined; after which it is sifted and sold. This cosmetic imparts a pale white hue, nearly resembling the natural colour of the skin.

† Twenty-five of the best galls (*Balamut*) are boiled in oil, then dried, and reduced to a fine powder; to which are added, three drachms of green vitriol, one of cream of tartar, one of indigo, and a tea-cupful of kna, or *lawsonia alcaanna*. The four first-mentioned ingredients are well agitated with two pounds of water; and



black, which is retained for several months. At weddings, or on other solemn occasions, the wealthy farther ornament their faces with flowers of gold leaf; colour their hands and feet as far as the wrist and ankle, of an orange hue, with *kna*, and destroy all the hairs on the body with a mixture of orpiment and lime.

The women, both married and single, wear yellow half boots or stockings of Morocco leather (*Terluk*), or socks; for walking they use red slippers with thick soles, and in dirty weather, put on stilt shoes, like the Circassian females. Abroad they wear a kind of undress gown (*Feredshé*) of a loose texture, manufactured by themselves of white wool, and called *Chirka*; next they wrap several coloured Turkish or white cotton handkerchiefs round their head, which they tie under the chin, and over all this throw a white linen cloth, reaching half way down the arms, drawing it over the face with the right hand, so that their black eyes alone are visible. Independently of this mummery, they evade, as much as possible, the company of men; and, when they accidentally meet a man in the streets, a false modesty enjoins the woman to avert her face, or turn towards the wall.

The nobility and the priesthood are highly respected among the Crimean Tartars; and, in former times, were often able to make a formidable resistance to the khan, and even

to affect his deposition. The khan was always chosen from the family of the Ghireis: I am, however, by no means convinced, that they sprang from a direct descendant of Tshingis-khan. From this family, (of which there is no male branch now remaining in the Crimea, though there are several in the Turkish empire) were also uniformly chosen the Kalga-sultan, and Nuraddin-sultan, who are the persons next in rank to the khan. The Tshobanghirei are the only descendants of a collateral branch of the Ghireis in Crim Tartary; who, at the request made by one of the former khans to the sultan of Constantinople, were excluded from the right of succession, which was formerly granted to their own family.

The food of the Crimean Tartars is rather artificial for so unpolished a nation. When the higher classes give entertainments, numerous simple and made dishes are set out, beside a desert of fruit. Among the most esteemed delicacies, are forced-meat balls, wrapped in green vine or sorrel leaves,\* and called *sarma*; various fruits, as cucumbers, quinces, or apples, filled with minced meat, *dolma*; stuffed cucumbers, dishes of melons, *badiilshan*, and *hibiscus esculentus*, or *bamia*, prepared in various ways with spices or saffron; all of which are served up with rice; also *pelaw*, or rice, boiled in meat broth till it becomes dry; fat mutton and lamb, both boiled, and roasted, &c. &c. Colt's flesh

and then the powder of *kna* is gradually mixed with them, so as to form a paste. With this composition the hair is carefully anointed, so that the skin may not be blackened; and a kerchief is tied round it during the night. The next morning the hair is washed.

\* A dish of vegetables, much used in the Crimea, is made with the large leaved sorrel, or *aat-kulak*, which is the patience dock, or *rumex patientia*; and also with the acetous garden sorrel, that occasionally grows on the mountains.



flesh is likewise considered as a dainty, but horse flesh is more commonly eaten by the Nagays, who are still attached to their ancient custom. The Tartars rarely kill horned cattle; mutton and goat's flesh constitute the food of the common people, especially in the country, together with preparations of milk and eggs; butter (which they churn and preserve in the dry stomachs of oxen); a kind of pelaw, made either of dried or bruised unripe wheat, and which they call bulgur; and lastly, their bread is generally composed of mixed grain.\* Their ordinary beverage is made by tritulating and dissolving cheese in water; the former of which is called yasma, being prepared from coagulated milk, or yugurt; but the fashionable intoxicating drink is an ill tasted and very strong beer, or husa, brewed of ground millet. Many persons also drink a spirituous liquor, arraki, which the Tartar mountaineers distil from various kinds of fruit, particularly plums. It is also extracted from sloes, dog berries, elder berries, and wild grapes, but never from the common cherry. They likewise boil the expressed juice of apples and pears into a kind of marmalade, bekness, of the consistence of a syrup, or that of grapes into nardenk, as it is called; the latter preparation is a favourite delicacy, and eagerly purchased by the Tartars of the Steppes: hence great quantities of it are imported in deal casks from Anatolia, at a very cheap rate, for the purpose of converting into brandy.

In consequence of their temperate, simple, and careless mode of living; the warm clothing which they wear throughout the summer; and the little fatigue they undergo, the Tartars are subject to few diseases; and are, in general, exempt from the severe intermittent and bilious remittent fevers, which commonly attack and prove fatal to foreigners and new settlers in the Crimea. Many natives arrive at a vigorous old age; nor do any disorders prevail among them, except the itch, arising from sloth or infection, and the rheumatic complaints; the latter may be attributed to their apartments being too much exposed to the current of air, having wooden lattices instead of windows, and large open chimnies. The chambers of the opulent are furnished with elevated divans, but those of the common people are supplied with mattresses and cushions stuffed with cotton, and which are disposed on the floor around the room, close to the walls; they are used both as seats and couches, and are infested with fleas, bugs, and other vermin. The true leprosy, which the Ural-Kozaks term the Crimean disease, never occurs in Crim Tartary.

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*Character, Habits, and Manners of the Maroons, from Dallas' History of that People.*

IT is not to be doubted that the climate of the mountains of Jamaica, which is seldom less than ten degrees cooler than the low lands of the island, the mode of life of the

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inhabitants

\* Tshavdar is the name given by the Tartars to a mixture of rye and wheat; and tshalmalyk is a compound of rye and barley, and occasionally also of wheat, which kinds of grain they sow in a mixed state.

inhabitants; the constant exercise of their limbs in ascending and descending, and their custom of exploring the vast mountains and precipices of the interior of the country, in pursuit of the wild boar, contribute to produce the strength and symmetry in which the Maroons of Trelawny-Town, and Accompong-Town, who were the same race of men, far excelled the other negroes of every description in the island. In character, language, and manners, they nearly resembled those negroes, on the estates of the planters, that were descended from the same race of Africans, but displayed a striking distinction in their personal appearance, being blacker, taller, and in every respect handsomer; for such of them as had remained in slavery, had intermixed with Eboe negroes, and others, imported from countries to the southward of the coast of Africa, people of yellow complexions, with compressed features, and thick lips, who were in every respect inferior to themselves.

In their person and carriage, the Maroons were erect and lofty, indicating a consciousness of superiority; vigour appeared upon their muscles, and their motions displayed agility. Their eyes were quick, wild, and fiery, the white of them appearing a little reddened; owing, perhaps, to the greenness of the wood they burned in their houses, with the smoke of which they must have been affected. They possessed most, if not all of the senses in a superior degree. They were accustomed, from habit, to discover, in the woods, objects which white people, of the best sight, could not distinguish; and their hearing was so wonderfully quick, that it enabled them to elude the most active pur-

suers; they were seldom surprised. They communicated with one another by means of horns; and when these could scarcely be heard by other people, they distinguished the orders that the sounds conveyed. It is very remarkable, that the Maroons had a particular call upon the horn for each individual, by which he was summoned from a distance as easily as he would have been spoken to by name, had he been near. It appears wonderful, at first, that a single horn should be able to express such a number of names; but, on reflection, it is not more wonderful than the variety of changes of which a dozen bells are susceptible, or the multiplicity of words that are formed by the combination of twenty-six letters. Allowing that the horn admits a less variation of tones than the chimes of twelve bells, it has a greater advantage in one respect for conveying particular ideas, from being capable of varying the duration of sound, which bells are not; so that, besides numerical combination of monotonous notes, it can adopt all the modulation of concatenated measure, and the poetical feet might be so associated as to transmit a great variety of ideas. But to return to the Maroons:—It has been said that their sense of smelling is obtuse, and their taste depraved. With respect to the former, I have heard, on the contrary, that their scent is extremely prompt, and that they have been known to trace parties of runaway negroes to a great distance, by the smell of their firewood; and as to the latter, they are, like other negroes, fond of savory dishes, jirked hog, and ringtail pigeons, delicacies unknown to an European table, but which a Quin himself would



would not hesitate to name among the first dainties of the epicurean list. I know not whence the word *jirked* is derived, but it signifies cutting or scoring internally: the flesh of the wild hog, which is then smoaked and otherwise prepared in a manner that gives it a very fine flavour. The taste is a sense more peculiarly dependent upon social habits than any of the rest; we soon learn to relish the viands agreeable to those about us in the earlier part of life, and to eat and drink as our parents and friends do. The want of a refined palate would not be surprising among a set of uncivilised Africans, but it would be surprising to find them preferring wine to rum, when we recollect that they are accustomed to the latter from their infancy, and that they know nothing of the former; that fermented liquors are insipid to the palate used to distilled ones, and that one might as well expect a London drayman to prefer pale small beer to brown stout. I remember once offering a white man, in Jamaica, his choice of wine or rum, having, at the time, no brandy drawn; he chose the latter, with this answer: "Oh! sir, any thing that bites the throat."

The Maroons, in general, speak, like most of the other negroes in the island, a peculiar dialect of English, corrupted with African words; and certainly understand our language sufficiently well to have received instruction in it. I cannot be of opinion, that a sincere and fervent endeavour to introduce christianity among them, would have failed. It is true, that a prejudice in favour of the magic of Obeah prevailed among them, as among other negroes; but it is no less true, that the influence

of this prejudice operated differently, according to the strength of their understanding and experience. The greatest dupes to it were the most ignorant; and it was a generally received opinion, that the charm of Obeah could have no power over any negro who had been baptized: not but that the weaker ones, whether Maroons or others, dreaded the arts of Obeah, even after baptism. Minds forming this estimate of christianity, could not but be prepared to embrace its soothing doctrines; and it must always be lamented, that no attempts were ever made to introduce our religion among the black people in the colonies. I mean to resume this subject when I come to speak of the present state of Jamaica; and shall here only observe, that the superstition of Obeah would have vanished before the power of christianity, and that no other power is likely to eradicate it. The Maroons continued to believe, like their forefathers, that Accompong was the god of the heavens, the creator of all things, and a deity of infinite goodness: but they neither offered sacrifices to him, nor had any mode of worship.

It is not to be supposed that an illiterate body of people, among whom ambition was unknown, and who spent their lives chiefly in hunting, raising provisions, and traversing the roads in pursuit of runaways, would attend to nice regulations for their internal government. There was no public revenue to manage, no army to maintain, though the whole formed a military body, under appointed officers: right and wrong were supposed to be understood, without being defined. The town consisted of a certain number



of families collected together under a chief; and among them, resided a superintendent and four other white men; as appointed by the colonial legislature. Subject to the laws made for them in their relative situation; as dependent on the government of the island, they were, in other respects, at liberty to pursue the dictates of their own minds, and they consequently followed the customs of their fathers. All their disputes were subject to the determination of their chiefs, to whom they looked up with implicit confidence, and whom they usually obeyed without argument. The superintendent, likewise, took an active part in adjusting their altercations, which chiefly arose from their propensity to gaming, as they would play for considerable sums of money; and from drunkenness, of which they were frequently guilty. We have seen, in the treaty with Cudjoe, the succession of chiefs that were then named, after whom, the power of appointment returned to the governor. The commission, accordingly, continued to be filled up as vacancies occurred, and the successors of Cudjoe maintained a degree of influence and authority equal to his own. Till the death of Furry, who built the new town, and went to reside in it with a certain number of the Maroons, they were governed in a very despotic manner by their chiefs and some of their older captains. The last of these chief Maroons, was named Montague, whom I shall have occasion to mention again, in treating of the causes of the rebellion of 1795.

The duties of the superintendent consisted in maintaining a friendly correspondence between the Maroons and the inhabitants of the

island, preserving peace in their settlements, preventing the concourse of slaves in the towns, and sending parties out on duty. By his office, he was empowered to hold a court with four Maroons, to try those who disobeyed orders, excited or joined in tumults, departed from the towns without leave, or staid out longer than permitted; and to award punishments, not extending to life, limb, or transportation. He was bound to reside in his town, from which he was never to be absent longer than a fortnight, without the governor's leave; and, every three months, he was to make a return, on oath, to the governor, of the number residing in his town, how many were able to bear arms, how many unfit for duty, the number of women and children, their increase or decrease, the condition of the superintendent's house, and the state of the roads. On failure of his duty, the superintendent was subject to a court martial, and liable to be broke. There was a superintendent in each town, having a salary of 200*l.* and he had under him four white men, at 60*l.* a year each.

After the treaty with Cudjoe, the Maroons became the subject of successive laws, consisting of regulations respecting runaways, trials, punishments, making roads, and a variety of minute affairs. Being careless whether they brought in a runaway alive, or only his head, a law was passed, with great policy, allowing, besides the usual reward, mile money, for every runaway produced alive. Inveigling slaves and harbouring runaways, were punishable by transportation: that is, the offender was sold to foreigners on other islands, or on the continent

of America. Though a concourse of slaves in their towns was forbidden, the Maroons might have dances among themselves whenever they pleased, and, provided the dance were in the day time, with a small number of slaves. They were not to quit their town without leave; and, if they staid seven days beyond the time allowed them, they were liable to be taken up and sent home for trial. They were not permitted to purchase or possess slaves. No party, in pursuit of runaways, was to consist of more than twelve men, including officers, except on particular occasions; or to go without written orders from the superintendant, nor were the party to remain out more than twenty days. No Maroons were to be employed by any white person without a written agreement; and debts due to or from them, were to be determined by two magistrates in a summary way. Their persons were protected from whipping, or other ill-treatment.

They were bound to repair roads leading to their town once a year, on being ordered by the superintendant, for which they were to be paid. Lastly, there was a law which, in consideration of their increasing population, gave them liberty of relinquishing their rights as Maroons, and residing in any other part of the island, except the Maroon towns, no longer subject to the superintendant, but enjoying the privileges of free people. In which case, they were bound to enlist in the militia.

To some of these laws very little attention was paid. The Maroons bought slaves without any notice being taken of it. Parties of them

were suffered to wander about the island, and many of them formed temporary connexions with the female slaves on the different plantations in the country. Whole families of them left their towns, and were permitted to establish themselves on the back settlements of the planters, without complying with the forms required by the law respecting such removals, from which consequences resulted, which we shall hereafter have to observe. From the neglect of this law, it is evident that it was not passed with a view of encouraging the Maroons to disperse and lose the existence of a distinct community, which it has been imagined would have been beneficial to the island\*, but merely to give them room, their limits becoming unequal to their increase. Whether their extermination, as a distinct body, would have been beneficial, is highly problematical. The war of 1795 would not have taken place; but who can say what other communities of the slaves might have been formed in the woods and mountains, and what other wars might have been the consequence? It is very probable, that the assemblages of fugitives would have been formed in the woody and almost inaccessible retreats of the country, had it not been for the frequent scouring of the woods by the Maroons, in search of runaway negroes. These assemblages would, in time, have formed new Maroon bodies, as difficult to be subdued as the former; and so far more dangerous than the original Maroons were in their outset, that their connexion with the slaves, would have been more general. It is very well known, that notwithstanding the

vigilance



vigilance and activity with which fugitives were pursued by the Maroons, a small body of them did actually establish themselves in the mountains, where they had raised huts, and made provision grounds, on which some had lived for upwards of twenty years. This body, called the Congo Settlement, was discovered in the late war by a party of Maroons crossing the country, and was dispersed, some of the negroes returning to the estates to which they formerly belonged, and others surrendering with the Maroons at the termination of the war.

That the Maroons had proved themselves a useful body, cannot be denied. Besides their utility in preventing assemblages of fugitives, they had been active in the suppression of rebellion; in which it was affirmed, by one of their superintendents\*, of whose character you will presently hear more, that they stood forth with a determined spirit against the insurgents; and, in the conflicts of the year 1760, lost several of their people. In the year 1766, they were no less active, as I have been assured by a gentleman who was an eye-witness of their service†, having been one of a party that went against a body of Coromantees, who had taken arms in the parish of Westmoreland, massacring all the white people they met with. A short engagement took place in the mountains; and the rebels, imagining the party, some of whom were covered by the trees, much larger than it was, retreated farther into the woods. Their assailants having endured excessive

fatigue, were unable to pursue them, but happened to fall in with a body of Maroons, who, being hog-hunting in the vicinity, had not heard of the insurrection. They were soon collected, and being apprised of the danger that threatened the country, hastened towards the spot where the engagement had taken place, fell in with the party who had come out against the rebels, and found them so exhausted and crippled, by their forced marches through the woods, that all they could do, was to shew the Maroons the track the rebels had taken in their retreat. They went forward with the greatest alacrity, and before sun-set, killed and took two thirds of the number of the negroes, and dispersed the rest, whom, in the course of a few days more, they brought in. The conduct of the Maroons was highly applauded by the commander‡ of the little party, and he and his followers received the thanks of the house of assembly. On slighter occasions, likewise, when small bodies of slaves have committed outrages, the Maroons exerted themselves successfully; and it is but common justice to say, that they were ever ready to support the government whenever it was necessary. They assembled for the purpose of assisting to repel the invasion of the island, which, in the year 1779, and 1780, was threatened by the count D'Estaing, who was prevented by admiral Rodney from forming a junction of the French with the Spanish forces collected at St. Domingo, for a descent on Jamaica. Prejudice frequently warps truth without

\* Major James.

† Mr. Quarrell, the gentleman alluded to in the preface and to whom these letters are dedicated.

‡ Mr. Goodin.



without intention, and even without knowing that it does so; I therefore, the more readily record these facts, as they shew that the Maroons, however culpable in their rebellion, or however true the stories respecting the ferocity and backwardness of some tribes of them, were, in general, of use to the inhabitants of the island, and prompt in their services on public occasions.

Agriculture, among the Maroons, was a very simple science. They had few wants, and the supply of them required neither great knowledge nor much labour. They placed a considerable dependence on hunting, and on their rewards for taking fugitives; but they did not, therefore, entirely neglect the cultivation of land, and were by no means so averse from the toil it demands, as they have been represented. Many of them were negligent of the more certain modes of labour, for they were strangers to the passions which stimulate superfluous industry: but none could be said to be indolent, for their lives were passed in unusual personal exertions, which, as I before observed, conducted to their strength and symmetry. A provident disposition was spreading itself among them: they began to feel the advantages afforded by money, and large parties of them, of their own accord, frequently hired themselves to the planters and new settlers, to clear and plant large tracts of land for certain wages\*, and several families of them, as I have already observed, settled by sufferance, on back

lands, which they cultivated for themselves.

Their provision grounds consisted of a considerable tract of unequal land, from which was produced a stock not only sufficient for their own use, but so superabundant, as to enable them to supply the neighbouring settlements. Plantain, corn, or maize, yams, cocoas, toyaus, and, in short, all the nutritious roots that thrive in tropical soils, were cultivated in their grounds. In their gardens grew most of the culinary vegetables, and they were not without some fine fruits: for though to these, in general, the soil of their mountains was unfavourable, being either moist or clayey, yet they had some valuable fruit trees, among which the avocado, or alligator pear, ranked foremost. Mammées, and other wild but delicious fruits, were at their hand, and pine-apples grew in their hedges. They bred cattle and hogs, and raised a great quantity of fowls. When to this domestic provision of good and wholesome food, we add the luxuries afforded by the woods, the wild boar, ring-tail pigeons, and other wild birds; and the land-crab, which some esteem the greatest dainty in the West Indies, we may doubt whether the palate of Apicius would not have received higher gratification in Trelawny town than at Rome.

It has been said, that the Maroons let their provision grounds, both those belonging to themselves, and those they held on sufferance, go to ruin, and trespassed on the provision grounds of the settlers in the mountains.

\* This may appear favourable to the system proposed, of cultivating Trinidad with free negroes; but let it be recollected, that the Maroons were a small body, and that power remained with the whites, which, in a general freedom, would not be the case.

mountains. I am informed that the fact was otherwise, that those of the settlers were insufficient, their negroes being employed in different labour, and that they purchased the superabundance of the Maroons. Their grounds, after the corn was cut down, might, for a length of time, appear to the eye in a ruinous state; while, under the surface, a large stock of nutritive roots were growing to maturity. These roots were their surest support, at the period when a scarcity was most to be apprehended, after a long continued succession of dry weather. In the course of time, these patches of land were cleared and replanted, and they again gradually assumed the appearance of being neglected; it is no wonder, therefore, that the eye of a casual visitor should have been deceived, and that he should have been led to declare "that he perceived no vestige of culture:" but I cannot so well account for his asserting "that the Maroons supplied themselves from the plantations of the whites, by purchase or theft\*," as I have the best authority for what I have affirmed, respecting the superabundance disposed of by the people of Trelawney town.

The women chiefly were employed in the cultivation of their grounds; but this they did not account an imposition upon them by the men. We are not to imagine that what would be real cruelty in a refined state of society, is cruelty, or even hardship, in a rough and unpolished people, among whom, every individual depends upon his own exertions for his support. In what country on the globe is it, that, in the class of mankind doomed to labour, we shall not find tribes, the women of

which participate the toils of the men? Is it France? Is it England? If the Maroon women were employed in burning trees and in tillage, the men, besides hunting and pursuing runaways, were employed in fencing the grounds, building and repairing houses, attending to their cattle and horses, of which they had about 200 head, and carrying on their petty commerce. They were none of them mechanics; all their knowledge of that kind was confined to the art of erecting a house and repairing a gun.

Their traffic consisted in the disposal of the increase of their stock of all kinds, their jirked hog, and superfluous provisions, which enable them to purchase other commodities, and to put money by. They made a considerable profit by manufacturing tobacco. They bought the leaf of the plant on the estates within the distance of twenty or thirty miles, which their women and children assisted them in carrying home, each loaded with a weight proportioned to the strength of the carrier. The purchase was put into bags, which were made by knitting the fibres of the trumpe-tree, and mahoe bark, the ends of which were contracted into a bandage that went round the forehead, and served as a stay to the load, which rested on the back. The leaves were dried and prepared for use by the men, who twisted them into a kind of rope, of about the third of an inch in diameter, which they rolled up in balls, and carried out in the same manner to the different estates for sale.

The maroon marriages, or contracts of cohabitation, were attended with no religious or juridical ceremonies;



ceremonies; the consent of the woman to live with the man being sufficient. That being obtained, gifts of clothes and trinkets were made to the bride; and frequently the bridegroom received presents of hogs, fowls, and other things, from the relations of the woman, to whom, in case of a separation, they were to be returned. A plurality of wives was allowed. A man might have as many as he could maintain; but very few had more than two. and most of them confined themselves to one. It was very expensive to have several wives; for the husband, on making a present to one, was obliged to make an equal gift to each of the others. Each wife lived in turn with her husband two days, during which time the others cultivated their grounds, or carried their provisions to market; the property of each was distinct from that of the others, but the husband shared with all. The children of the different women were to be noticed by their father only on the days when their respective mothers sojourned with him. A breach of this decorum would have inflamed the injured mother with jealousy; a passion, however, in every respect confined to the temporary dame, for to the others all the extra-gallantry of the man was a matter of indifference. If the men sometimes behaved with brutality to their wives or children, it was generally the effect of intoxication. It has been asserted, that they regarded their wives as so many beasts of burden, and felt no more concern at the loss of one of them, than a white

planter would have felt at the loss of a bullock."\* Without saying how far this observation may be applicable to other people, I will here introduce an anecdote, though rather out of time, which will elucidate the point. In the course of an attempt that was made to convert the Maroons to christianity, which will appear in its proper place, polygamy was considered, and the Maroon told that, as a christain, he could not have more than one wife. Having been attached to two for some time, and having children by both—"Top, massa governor," said he, "top lilly bit—you say me mus forsake my wife."—"Only one of them."—"Which dat one? Jesus Christ say so? Gar a'mighty say so? No, no, massa; Gar o' mighty good; he no tell somebody he mus forsake him wife and children. Somebody no wicked for forsake his wife! No, massa, dis here talk no do for we."—In other language thus: "Stay sir," said the maroon, "stay a little. You tell me that I must forsake my wife."—"Only one of them."—"And which shall that be? Does Jesus Christ say so? Does God say so? No, no, sir; God is good, and allows no one to forsake his wife and children. He who forsakes his wife must be a wicked man. This is a doctrine, sir, not suited to us."†

However, these people were certainly in a state far removed from civilization, and I do not doubt that their passions might have, occasionally, instigated them to violences that were savage: yet that at any time

\* Edwards.

† No reader, of common understanding, will see in this any argument against the conversion of the negroes to christianity. It must take place gradually; and I mean, when I come to that head, to shew that the work may be best attempted first among the Maroons remaining in Jamaica.



time they would kill their children by dashing them against rocks,\* I cannot but think an assertion without proof. The murderer would have been brought to condign punishment by the superintendant, who, so far from thinking it prudent to keep his distance, would have instantly seized the wretch. I speak particularly of Trelawney Town, the superintendant of which had been long resident there, and whose character, we shall presently see, fully refutes the charge of dastardly prudence.

Instances of revenge arising from jealousy seldom occurred among the Maroons. Like their African progenitors, they parted with their wives for incontinency, without inflicting severer punishments. In Africa the man had the power of selling the adultress. The younger females were not, generally, votresses of Diana. When a girl was of an age to become a wife, the parents killed a hog, and made a feast, to which the neighbours were invited. Plenty of good things were provided; nor was rum spared by the elders, while the younger people danced. Each of the party put a small piece of money in the girl's mouth, generally a quarter of a dollar; but the parent's piece was frequently gold. Although this feast was intended by the family as a signal to the young men for making an offer, the girl herself usually preferred a state of celibacy for some years after it was known, that she had killed a hog.

When gentlemen, through curiosity, visited the town, which was very rarely the case, they were hos-

pitably and respectfully entertained. The visitors could not expect to meet in the houses such convenient articles of furniture as they were accustomed to at home. Some of the principal men furnished a table with a clean damask cloth, on which they placed the various dainties I have already mentioned. Several small articles of silver plate were used. Sometimes they produced malt liquor and wine, and always rum. While the company were at dinner, the captain, or whoever might be the entertainer, appeared in his best cloaths: if a chief, he wore a kind of regimentals, perhaps some old military coat finely laced, which had been given to him by a gentleman, whose name he had assumed: † with this he wore a ruffled shirt, linen waistcoat and trowsers, and a laced hat. He did not presume to eat with his company, or to sit at the table with them, but took his seat at a respectful distance, and conversed occasionally on being addressed. The beds with which they provided their guests were not of feathers, but of wholesome fine-picked corn trash, with clean sheets. There was seldom occasion for musquito nets, the houses being very rarely infested with those venomous gnats, that prove such pests in the low lands. The Maroons produced candles for the use of their visitors, but, at other times, a large fire at the door sufficed them for light. They are accused of a practice of prostituting their daughters, by force, to their guests, but the fact is, that compulsion was not necessary; and, if ever it was used, would their more civilized

\* Edwards.

† The Maroon names would appear extraordinary to a reader ignorant of the Maroon custom of adopting the names of the gentlemen of the island. It was universally practised among them.

civilized visitors be exempt from a share of the crime? Would not such an act of wanton brutality rebound infinitely more upon them than upon those who were considered so much their inferior in every respect? But thus it is, that when men are intent on arguments to depreciate a cause, they run beyond their object, and prove too much for the side they maintain. Let me not commit the same fault: I am not the apologist of this body of people; it is to be regretted that among them, as among other negroes, the young women had no scruples in offering themselves to white men, in order to procure dress and finery. Although they were naturally attached to lovers of their own complexion, who participated their favours, even when kept by the former in a state of ease and comparative splendour. Would I could say that the shocking offers with which these black fathers are charged, were confined to their complexions! Would to God I could say that, in religion and in morals, a great example was set by those who boast a fair skin, and pass with the title of christians.

The funerals of the Maroons were much the same as those of other negroes. Deaths were not more frequent among them than elsewhere. Although they seldom had recourse to the aid of medicine. Not that they were averse from it, for, if an opportunity offered, they readily applied to the plantation doctors, and sometimes they took simple herbs prescribed to them by their old women. It was their custom to sing over the dead previous to burial; and, inclosing the body in a wooden coffin, they interred it in some part of their inclosure.

I have already given you a de-

scription of their mode of carrying on war, and of the nature of their cockpits, which it was necessary for me to do, to enable you to understand the contest maintained with the original Maroons under Cudjoe: I have, therefore, before I conclude, to recal to your mind, that, in the course of this letter, I have principally had in view the people of Trelawney town; that body, of whose rebellion I mean to give you some account in my next. The difference between the inhabitants of the various towns is not very great. Those of the windward, or eastern part of the island, are rather more civilized. Those of Accompong are in every respect the same as the people of Trelawney town, being only a part of them who had followed Accompong, the brother of Cudjoe, to settle in the town called after him. But neither the Accompongs, nor any other of the Maroon bodies, could be induced to join in the rebellion of those of Trelawney town. On the contrary, they condemned it severely, and manifested their displeasure at it, by reviling the messengers that had been sent to them.

In closing this letter, let me observe, that the population of the Maroons in general had rapidly increased. The number that surrendered in the years 1738 and 1739, did not amount to 600; in 1770, they consisted of 885, men, women, and children; in the year 1773, they were 1028; and in the year 1788, had increased to about 1400.

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*Description of the Manners and Habits of the Spanish Chasseurs, in the Island of Cuba, with an Account of the Blood Hound: from Dallas's History of the Maroons.*



THE commissioner\* every where met with the greatest hospitality, and received the politest attentions from the most respectable families. He was particularly obliged to an English Guinea merchant, named Allwood, residing at the Havana, through whose influence with persons of the highest rank and appointments, he had great advantages, many interesting themselves in promoting his views. One of them, Don Manuel de Seias, the alcade provinciale, commanded about six and thirty chasseurs, who were in the king's pay. The employment of these is to traverse the country, for the purpose of pursuing and taking up all persons guilty of murder, and other offences, in which they seldom fail of success, no activity on the part of the offenders being able to elude their pursuit.—An extraordinary instance occurred about a month before the commissioner arrived at the Havana. A fleet from Jamaica, under convoy to Great Britain, passing through the gulph of Mexico, beat up on the north side of Cuba. One of the ships, manned with foreigners, chiefly renegado Spaniards, being a dull sailer, and consequently lagging astern, standing in with the land at night, was run on shore; the captain, officers, and the few British hands on board murdered, and the vessel plundered by the Spanish renegadoes. The part of the coast on which the vessel was stranded, being wild and unfrequented, the assassins retired with their booty to the mountains, intending to penetrate through the woods, to some remote settlements on the south side, where they hoped to secure themselves, and elude all pursuit. Early intelligence of the crime, how-

ever, had been conveyed to the Havana, and the assassins were pursued by a detachment of twelve chasseurs del Rey, with their dogs. In a few days they were all brought in and executed. The head and right arm of each were suspended in frames, not unlike parrot cages, which were hung on various gibbets, at the port and other conspicuous places on the coast, near the entrance of the harbour.

The dogs carried out by the chasseurs del Rey are perfectly broken in; that is to say, they will not kill the object they pursue, unless resisted. On coming up with a fugitive, they bark at him till he stops, they then couch near him, terrifying him with a ferocious growling if he stirs. In this position they continue barking, to give notice to the chasseurs, who come up and secure their prisoner. Each chasseur, though he can hunt only with two dogs properly, is obliged to have three, which he maintains at his own cost, and that at no small expence. These people live with their dogs, from which they are inseparable. At home the dogs are kept chained, and when walking with their masters, are never unmuzzled, or let out of ropes, but for attack. They are constantly accompanied with one or two small dogs called finders, whose scent is very keen, and always sure of hitting off a track.—Dogs and bitches hunt equally well, and the chasseurs rear no more than will supply the number required. This breed of dogs, indeed, is not so prolific as the common kinds, though infinitely stronger and hardier. The animal is the size of a very large hound, with ears erect, which are usually cropped at the points; the nose more pointed, but widening

\* Sent from Jamaica to Cuba to procure blood hounds.



ing very much towards the after-part of the jaw: his coat, or skin, is much harder than that of most dogs, and so must be the whole structure of the body, as the severe beatings he undergoes in training would kill any other species of dog. There are some, but not many, of a more obtuse nose, and which are rather squarer set. These, it may be presumed, have been crossed by the mastiff; but if, by this, the bulk has been a little increased, it has added nothing to the strength, height, beauty, or agility of the native breed.

The chasseur has no other weapon than a long strait muschet, or cou-teau, longer than a dragoon's sword, and twice as thick, something like a flat iron bar, sharpened at the lower end, of which about eighteen inches are as sharp as a razor. The point is not unlike the old Roman sword: the steel of them is excellent, and made at Guanabacoa, about three miles from the Havanna. The handle of the muschet is without a guard, but scoloped to admit the fingers, and suit the grasp. These men, as we have seen, are under an officer of high rank; the alcade provinciale, and receive a good pay from the government, besides private rewards for particular and extraordinary services. They are a very hardy, brave, and desperate set of people, scrupulously honest, and remarkably faithful.

A body of men of the same description and character reside at Busucal, within the marquis's jurisdiction. These are not in the king's pay, but are chiefly employed, like the Maroons in Jamaica, in scouring the mountains of this extensive country, to take runaways, for which they have a fixed

reward, and to attack all bodies of negroes collected for hostile purposes, which is sometimes occasioned by the rigour exercised on the Spanish plantations: for, although in other employments, and particularly in domestic service, the slaves are treated kindly, and live a very easy life, it must be owned that the state of slavery on the settlements is not unattended with severity. The greatest commotions, however, have been occasioned by Spanish piety. Many of the largest and best sugar estates in the island of Cuba belong to the different ecclesiastical orders, who are the most rapacious of planters. Under the mask of discouraging a vicious intercourse with the sexes, some of them religiously resolved to purchase only male negroes; a devout austerity imposed upon the poor fellows, which, would the good fathers candidly confess it, would appear to originate in the temporal policy of *Quærenda pecunia primum est*, it being thought that men can do more work than women. Deprived of connexions resulting from one of the chief laws of nature, and driven to desperation, the unhappy negroes, not unlike the first Romans, have been known to fly to neighbouring estates, seize on the women, and carry them off to the mountains. There, in order to secure and defend themselves, they fell upon some Spaniards, killed them, and thus procuring a few fire arms, lances, and cutlasses, attempted to make a resistance against the laws, but in vain; a few of the Besucal people, with their dogs, have always proved an overmatch for them.

The activity of the chasseurs no negro on earth can elude; and such is their temperance, that, with a few

ounces of salt for each, they can support themselves for whole months on the vegetable and farinaceous foods afforded by the woods. They drink nothing stronger than water, with which, when at a distance from springs, they are copiously supplied by the wild pine, by the black and grape withes, which are about two inches in diameter, and the roots of the cotton tree. Of the last, six feet junked off the smaller part of the root, where it tapers to the thickness of a man's thigh, will yield several gallons of water. In the greatest drought these resources seldom fail. For the wild pine they are obliged to climb trees; but that they do almost with the velocity of a monkey. This plant takes root on the body of a tree; and the leaves of it are so formed as to catch the rain, and conduct it to a reservoir at the base, where being never exposed to the sun, it is found delightfully fresh and cool. But the easiest method of obtaining water in the woods, and with less delay on a march, is from the black and grape withes: it is done with greater expedition than drinking at a spring. The chasseur catches a pendent withe, which, with his muschet, he divides about two feet from the ground, and applies the end of the withe, as it hangs, to his mouth, or to his dog's, who indicates his thirst: he then cuts the withe off, about six feet higher, keeping the upper end elevated, when the air being admitted above, he receives, through the porous fibres of it, near a quart of delightful cold water. With respect to animal food, if any of them happen to desire it; they find no difficulty in obtaining it. The little finder, if set on, but not otherwise,

will soon bay one of the wild hogs, with which the woods abound; the animal, retreating for shelter to the trunk of a tree, is immediately transfix'd with a lance. The men cure as much of the flesh as they think they will have occasion for, by scoring it internally to the skin, sprinkling it with salt, and smoking it; over the smoke they throw some aromatic leaves, which not only add to its flavour, but assist in preserving it. The meat thus cured will keep for months, and is esteemed a very great dainty by the most refined epicures. It is, in fact, like the jirked hog, already mentioned in the account of the Maroon mode of life. The part of the hog not preserved, is given to the dogs. The pursuit of the game is entirely the province of the finder; the larger dogs, from their training, would pass a hog without notice; were one of them to bark at a hog, he would be severely punished. The chasseurs beat their dogs most unmercifully, using the flat sides of their heavy muschets. When they are going out on service, the large chains in which they are kept at home are taken off, and a light, but well twisted, cotton rope substituted, to which the muzzle and collar, joined together, are attached at one end, while the other is fixed to the belt of the chasseur; who, when a pursuit is to be made, slips them off, securing them round his waist with the rope to which they are tied, draws his muschet, and pushes forward nearly as fast as his dogs; for the latter are impeded by the underwood, and are sometimes so entangled as to require the assistance of their masters to cut their way through the difficulty which obstructs their proceeding. The greatest privation



privation felt by a *chasseur* in service is, the want of a *segar*, which he must not use in the woods, where the scent, from the freshness of the trees and stillness of the air, continues long suspended, and is gradually spread in the atmosphere, by which the company could not but be betrayed, in spite of the great silence which they observe on their marches. At other times the *segar* is hardly ever out of their mouths.

I must now complete your idea of a Spanish *chasseur*, by giving you a description of his dress. You may imagine it will be brief, for the wearer is not a man of fashion, and he lives beneath a vertical sun. A check shirt, open at the collar, so as to expose the neck, from which hangs a small crucifix; a wide pair of trowsers, also check; a straw hat, or rather one manufactured of the morass thatch, divided into small filaments, seven or eight inches in the rim, with a shallow round crown, and very light; add his belt and sword, already described, and a pair of untanned leather shoes. Into this dress, put a man with a Spanish countenance, swarthy but animated, a person above the middle size, thin, but not meagre: to his belt affix the cotton ropes, and imagine them attached by collars round the necks of his dogs, and you will have a finished picture of him.

Besides his untanned shoe, the *chasseur* often contrives, in the woods, a curious defence for his feet, which is greatly preferable. Having skinned the thighs and hocks of the wild hog, he thrusts his foot into the raw hide as far as he can force it, then cuts a small slip at the instep, and, with his knife, takes off the superfluous skin behind, adapting the remainder to his ankle and the lower part of his leg. The pliant hide takes the shape of a close short half-boot, fitting like a glove on the foot, with a lengthened useless projection beyond the toe, something resembling the modern fashion of our beaux. This contrivance will last a march of weeks or months; but once taken off, the skin dries, shrivels, and becomes useless. There are *porco zopatos* made of dried hides that reach to the calf of the leg; but they are wide, hard, and not pliant to the feet.

The Besucal *chasseurs* had not above seventy dogs properly broke; the others, of which they had many, though of the same breed, will kill the object they pursue: they fly at the throat, or other part of a man, and never quit their hold, till they are cut in two. These dogs, however, are seldom, if ever, carried out till perfectly trained.



# NATURAL HISTORY.

*On the Wax Tree of Louisiana and Pennsylvania, by Charles Louis Cadet, of the College of Pharmacy, from the Annales De Chimie.*

A MULTITUDE of plants, as the *croton sebiferum*, the *tomex sebesera*, *lourcero*, the poplar, the alder, the pine, yield by decoction, a concrete inflammable matter, more or less resembling tallow or wax; that is to say, a fixed oil, saturated with oxygen. The light down, which is called the flower of fruits, and which silvers the surface of plums and other smooth-skinned fruits, is a wax, as M. Proust has demonstrated. But the tree, which affords this substance in the greatest abundance, that which on more than one account deserves the attention of agriculturists, chemists, physicians, and commercial men, is the *myrica cerifera*, or wax tree.

We find, in the History of the Academy of Sciences for the years 1722, and 1725, M. Alexandre, a surgeon and correspondent of M. Mairan's, had observed, in Louisiana, a tree of the height of a cherry tree, having the appearance of a myrtle, and nearly the same smell, bearing a berry of the size of a coriander seed. These berries, of an ash-grey

colour, contained, he said, a small, hard, round kernel, covered with a glossy wax, which is separated by boiling the berries in water. This wax is drier and more friable than the common wax. The natives of the country make candles of it. M. Alexandre added, "this berry is commonly charged with a beautiful lake colour, and stains the fingers if merely squeezed between them, but only at a particular time of the year."

M. Alexandre likewise discovered, that the liquor in which the berries have been boiled, when poured away and evaporated to the consistence of an extract, having previously skimmed off the wax, was capable of stopping the most violent dysenteries.

The useful properties belonging to this tree, should induce scientific men to make enquiries, for the purpose of discovering what varieties there are of this vegetable, and what care is requisite for its cultivation. It appears to have been considered a long time as merely an object of curiosity.

Linnaeus, in his System of Vegetables, mentions only the Virginia wax tree, *myrica cerifera*, with lanceolated, or rather dentated, leaves, with a stem like a tree.

I wrote to M. Ventenat, requesting

questing him to inform me whether there are several species of it: he was so obliging as to answer me that Ayton distinguished two, namely:—

1. The *myrica cerifera angustifolia*, which is a native of Louisiana. This is a delicate tree, is reared with difficulty in our green-houses; its seed is smaller than that of the other.

2. The *myrica cerifera latifolia*, which grows in Pennsylvania, Carolina, and Virginia; it is not so high as the other, and thrives perfectly well in France.

Both of these *myricæ* are cultivated in the museum of plants, and in the garden of Messrs. Cels and Lemonier. M. Michault admits a third species of *myrica cerifera*, which he calls *dwarf wax tree*. M. Ventenat thinks that wax may be obtained from all the *myricæ*.

The authors who have treated of these trees, at some length, are Marshall, translated by Leserme, Lepage, Duprat, and Toscan, librarian of the Museum of Natural History. A memoir inserted by the latter in his work entitled, *L'Ami de la Nature*, describes the manner in which the vegetable wax is obtained in the colonies.

“Towards the end of autumn,” says he, “when the berries are ripe, a man quits his house, with his family, and betakes himself to some island, or spot on the sea-coast, where the wax trees grow in abundance. He carries with him pots for boiling the berries, and a hatchet for building a cabin to shelter him during his residence there, which usually continues three or four weeks; he then fells trees, and constructs a hut, whilst his children gather the berries. A tree tolera-

bly productive, yields about seven pounds. When a sufficient quantity of berries is collected, the family employs itself in extracting the wax. A certain portion of the berries is put into the pot, and a sufficient quantity of water is poured on them until it rises about six inches above them. The whole is boiled, and the berries are stirred and pressed, from time to time, against the sides of the vessel, that the wax may be the more easily detached. Soon after it is seen floating on the surface in the form of grease, which is collected with a spoon, and is strained through a coarse cloth, to separate any impurities that may be mixed with it. When no more wax is detached, the berries are taken out with a ladle, and fresh ones are put into the same water, observing to renew it entirely at the 2nd or 3rd time, and even to add boiling water in proportion as it evaporates, that the operation may not be impeded. When a certain quantity of wax has been thus collected, it is put to drain on a piece of linen, in order to separate from it the water with which it is still mixed. It is then dried and melted, strained a second time to render it perfectly pure, and is made into cakes. Four pounds of berries yield about a pound of wax: that which is first detached is generally yellow; but in the latter boilings, the pellicle with which the stone of the berry is covered gives it a green tinge.”

Kalm, the traveller, in speaking of vegetable wax, says, that in the country where the wax tree grows, they make excellent soap of it, which washes linen exquisitely white.

Such was the knowledge we possessed of the *myricæ*, or, at least, no other observation had been publish-



ed relative to it, to my knowledge, when a naturalist gave me half a kilo-gramme of the vegetable wax of Louisiana. I was curious to make a comparative analysis with it and bees wax; but before I undertook it, I wished to make myself acquainted with the tree and berry of the myrica. I saw that precious vegetable in the garden of plants, and I wrote to M. Deshayes, a studious botanist, who prosecutes the culture of the myrica pensylvania; at Rambouillet, requesting him to give me some details concerning it; he had the complaisance to answer me, and to send me some of the berries, which I immediately examined.

This berry is about the size of a pepper corn; its surface, when ripe and fresh, is white, having small black asperities, which give it a wrinkled appearance: when rubbed in the hands, it makes them greasy and unctuous. If one of these small berries is rubbed hard, a matter is shelled off, apparently of a starchy nature, and mixed with small round brown grains like fine gun-powder. The stone, which is left bare, has a very thick ligneous shell, and contains a kernel of the dicotyledon kind. By rubbing a handful of the berries on a hair sieve, I have obtained a grey dust, in which the eye can distinguish, without the assistance of a magnifier, the small brown grains above-mentioned, in the midst of a white powder.

I put this dust into alcohol, which, with a gentle heat, dissolved all the white part, and left the black powder, which I collected separate. Water poured on this solution with alcohol, formed a precipitate, that rose and floated on the surface. I melted it, and obtained a yellowish wax, similar to that from Louisiana,

which had been sent me. This experiment is a sufficient proof that the wax of the myrica is the white gritty matter that envelops the berry.

The black powder which I had separated, appeared to me to contain a colouring principle, and I was in hopes of discovering in it the beautiful lake mentioned by M. Alexandre. Under this idea, I triturated this powder, and boiled it in a solution of acid sulphat of alumine; I was greatly astonished upon obtaining a liquor scarcely coloured at all, and in which the alumine, precipitated by an alkali, was only slightly tinged.

I took another part of this black triturated powder, and put it to steep in alcohol; I soon obtained a dye of the colour of wine lees; I heated it, and it became as red as a strong quinquina or cachou liquor. This result made me imagine, that the colouring principle was resinous; but, upon adding water, I saw no signs of a precipitate.

I poured into this liquor, water charged with sulphat of alumine; a slight precipitation ensued; a solution of sulphat of iron instantly turned it into ink.

What then is this colouring astringent principle, which is soluble only in alcohol, is not precipitated by water, and has so little attraction for alumine? To discover this, would require a series of experiments, which the want of materials prevented me from undertaking. The astringent matter, noticed by M. Alexandre, must exist in the decoction of the whole berries. To ascertain this fact, I boiled some berries in a silver saucepan; the decoction, on which floated a small quantity of wax, was of a greenish colour; its taste was slightly astringent,



gent, and it precipitated ferruginous solutions of a black colour. I heated it in a very clean iron vessel, and it quickly turned black. To discover whether this property was owing to gallic acid alone, or to the tanning principle, I mixed a small quantity of the decoction with a solution of glue, and no precipitate was formed.

It is, therefore, to the considerable quantity of gallic acid contained by the berries of the *myrica*, that the property of curing dysenteries, which its extract possesses, is owing; on this account, I think, that the leaves and bark of the tree would furnish an extract still more astringent than the berries. The examination of the wax presents more interesting results: whether this wax be extracted by the decoction of the berries, or by the solution of the white dust in alcohol, precipitated by water, this melted wax is always of a yellow colour, inclining to green. Its consistence is harder than that of bees wax; it is dry, so friable as to be reduced to a powder; in short, it is evidently more highly oxygenated than the wax prepared by bees. Candles made of the wax of the *myrica*, give a white flame, a clear light, no smoke, do not run, and exhale, if fresh, a balsamic odour, which the inhabitants of Louisiana consider extremely salubrious for the sick. When distilled in a retort, this wax passes over in great part like butter. That portion is whiter than it was; but it loses its consistence, and has only that of tallow. Another portion is decomposed, furnishes a small quantity of water, sebatic acid, and empyreumatic oil; much carbonated hydrogen gas, and carbonic acid gas, is disengaged; a

black bitumen, resembling charcoal, is left in the retort: common wax acts in the same manner in distillation.

I have said above that alcohol dissolved the wax of the *myrica*; but ether dissolves it much better, and it separates itself in the form of stalagmites in the evaporation of the liquid. Neither the one nor the other takes away its colour. If this wax is boiled in weak sulphuric acid, it becomes rather whiter; but there is no perceptible combination of the acid with it. Yellow bees wax, treated in the same way, does not change its colour. Oxygenated muriatic acid perfectly bleaches both kinds of wax. Vegetable wax, however, retains its colour with most obstinacy.

Vegetable wax dissolves in ammonia: the solution assumes a brown colour; part of the wax turns to soap. Volatile alkali has much less action on bees wax. Both kinds of wax, stirred violently in a boiling solution of caustic pot-ash, become white, and form a real soap, as Kalm the traveller has observed.

The whiteness which the wax acquires in this saponification, is not a new phenomenon. M. Chaptal, in his process for bleaching, by the vapour of alkaline leys, has proved that the colouring matter of vegetables yields to the action of alkalis. Some chemists attribute this effect to the direct combination of soda or pot-ash with the coloured extractive part; a combination which brings it into nearly a saponaceous state, and renders it soluble.

I imagine that, in this operation, the alkali exercises on the oil or on the wax a double attraction, at first direct with the constituent principles of the oil, afterwards predisposing

posing and favouring the combination of the atmospheric oxygen with oil or wax. I know not whether any person had the idea before me, but it was given me by the observation of what passes in the decomposition of soap by an acid: the oil is always concrete, and more oxygenated than it was before. It would be interesting for the theory of chemistry to make soap, if possible, in a close apparatus, in which the air might be examined after the experiment, or in the different gases which contain no oxygen.

In decomposing the soap of myrica, a white wax is obtained, but in a particular state which does not admit of its being employed for our purposes.

Litharge, or semi-vitreous oxyd of lead, dissolves very well in melted Louisiana wax; it forms a very hard mass, but the consistence of which may be diminished at pleasure, by the addition of a small quantity of oil. If, as there is reason to suppose, the wax of the myrica retains a portion of the astringent principle obtained by the decoction of the berries, the physicians will, perhaps, discover useful properties in topical applications composed of this wax.

Upon a retrospect of the preceding facts, it will appear that the myrica may be rendered extremely useful to the arts. The wax which it yields is in sufficient quantity to compensate amply the care and expence of cultivation, since a tree in full bearing produces six or seven pounds of berries, from which may be extracted a fourth of that weight of wax. This wax is of a quality superior to that of bees' wax.

The astringent principle of the myrica, extracted on a large scale, might be very useful either in medi-

cine or the arts: it might, in some measure, be substituted instead of the gallnuts, in dyeing-houses, in the manufacture of hats, and even in tanning certain kinds of leather.—The colouring principle appears sufficiently solid to deserve some attention; and, if it be true that a beautiful lake has been made from it in Louisiana, why cannot we likewise succeed in rendering it useful for painting; and when this wax becomes so common as to be sold at a low price, of what advantage will it not be for making soap?

The art for bleaching this wax requires a more perfect investigation for operating on a large scale, and with economy. Two agents offer themselves to manufacturers: sulphuric acid and oxygenated muriatic acid. But, as the wax does not sink in these liquids, means must be employed for increasing the contact, either by putting the wax in shavings, and sprinkling it with oxygenated muriatic acid, or by enclosing it in the same envelop in casks through which oxygenated muriatic gas may be passed.

I shall propose a third, which promises a more expeditious effect. The wax, divided into very small pieces, is laid in strata in a cask, together with muriate of lime: they are thus disposed layer by layer, and left some time in contact, in a dry state. The salt is afterwards decomposed with water acidulated with sulphuric acid, taking care to pour on the water at different intervals, till no more muriatic gas be perceptibly disengaged; then a considerable quantity of water must be added, and the mixture must be stirred with a stick. In standing, the insoluble sulphur of lime is precipitated, and the bleached wax



wax floats on the surface. It is then washed, and melted in a balnea mariae.

I shall conclude this memoir with notices relative to the cultivation of the myrica pensylvania. M. Deshayes, to whom I am indebted for the opportunity of making my experiments, has for several years turned his attention to the wax tree at Rambouillet. He writes me as follows on this subject.

“The myrica latifolia (Ayton) is perfectly at home here; the soil, which is sandy and blackish loam, is exactly adapted to it: we have here sixteen productive wax trees. Their height is four, five, and six feet. There is one male tree of seven feet. The berries are abundant almost every year; I say almost, because in some years there is a failure. In general they are very fine in the English part of the garden, which is allotted to these plants.

“Their culture requires no particular attention: the numerous shoots from the foot of the large trees are every year taken off, and planted in some other place, at the distance of a metre from each other.”

The berries may be sown in spring, in beds, and afterwards transplanted; but this method is the longest. The myrica will thrive every where in a light and rather humid soil. How many provinces are there into which this useful branch of agriculture might be introduced, and where lands almost totally waste, might be turned to advantage!

What benefits may not agriculture in general expect from such an acquisition, since the myrica has

long flourished even in the arid sands of Prussia!

The French government has already given encouragement to this branch of industry, by ordering plantations of the myrica. At Orleans and at Rambouillet there are two shrubberies of wax trees, containing above four hundred plants. Too much publicity cannot be given to circumstances like these; nothing is more tardily propagated than useful plants. A sterile, but picturesque tree, an agreeable flower, are soon adopted by fashion. They ornament the parterres of our modern Luculluses, and the apartments of our Phrynes, whilst the indefatigable friends of agriculture vainly attempt to enrich our fields with a new grass, or to fill our granaries with nourishing vegetable productions.

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*Description of the Secretary Falcon\*, from Bingley's Animal Biography.*

IN its external appearance, this bird (though, in an artificial system, it is with propriety arranged immediately after the vultures) resembles, in some respects, both the eagle and the crane, two birds much unlike each other; having the head of the former, and somewhat the form of the body of the latter.—When standing erect, it is full three feet from the top of the head to the ground. The bill is black, sharp, and crooked, like that of an eagle. The cere is white, and round the eyes is a place bare of feathers, and of a deep orange colour. The upper eye-lids are beset with strong bristles, like eye-lashes. Its general

\* Synonyms.—*Falco Serpentarius*, Linn.—*Secrétaire*, Sonnerat.—*Secretary Vulture*, Lath.—*Secretary*, Kerr.—*Lathani's Sin*. Vol. i. tab. 2.



ral colour is a blueish ash colour, and the ends of the wings, the thighs, and vent, are blackish. The tail is somewhat ash coloured, except at the end, which, for above an inch, is black, and then tipped with white: the two middle feathers are as long again as any of the rest. The legs are long, brown, and stouter than those of a heron: the claws are shortish, but crooked, and of a black colour. From the back of the head spring several long dark coloured feathers, that hang loose behind like a pendent crest, which the bird can erect or depress at pleasure. "The Dutch," says Le Vaillant, "gave it the name of Secretary, on account of the bunch of quills behind its head; for, in Holland, clerks, when interrupted in their writing, stick their pen in their hair, behind their right ear; and to this the tuft of the bird was thought to bear some resemblance\*.

This bird is found in the interior parts of Africa, Asia, and the Philippine islands. The Hottentots, at the Cape of Good Hope, know it by a name that signifies the serpent eater; and it would almost seem that nature had principally destined it for the purpose of confining within due bounds the race of serpents, which is very extensive in all the countries that it inhabits.

The mode in which it seizes these dangerous creatures is very peculiar. When it approaches them, it is always careful to carry the point of one of its wings forwards, in order to parry off their venomous bites; sometimes it finds an opportunity of spurning and treading upon its antagonist, or else of taking it on its pinions, and throwing it into the air.

When, by this proceeding, it has at length wearied out its adversary, and rendered it almost senseless, it then kills and swallows it at leisure, without danger†.

M. Le Vaillant tells us, that he was witness to an engagement between the secretary falcon and a serpent. The battle was obstinate, and conducted with equal address on both sides. But the serpent at length feeling the inferiority of his strength, employed, in his attempt to flee and regain his hole, all that cunning which is attributed to the tribe; while the bird, apparently guessing his design, stopped him on a sudden, and cut off his retreat, by placing herself before him at a single leap. On whatever side the reptile endeavoured to make his escape, his enemy still appeared before him.—Then uniting at once both bravery and cunning, he erected himself boldly, to intimidate the bird; and hissing dreadfully, displayed his menacing throat, inflamed eyes, and a head swelled with rage and venom.

Sometimes this threatening appearance produced a momentary suspension of hostilities; but the bird soon returned to the charge, and, covering her body with one of her wings, as a buckler, struck her enemy with the bony protuberances of the other. I saw him at last stagger and fall: the conqueror then fell upon him to dispatch him, and with one stroke of her beak laid open his skull.

At this instant M. Le Vaillant fired at and killed her. In her craw he found, on dissection, eleven pretty large lizards, three serpents, as long as his arm, eleven small tortoises,

\* New Travels, ii. 244.—Latham, i. 20.

† Sparrman.

toises, most of which were about two inches in diameter; and a number of locusts and other insects, most of which were sufficiently whole to be worth preserving, and adding to his collection. He observed too, that, in addition to this mass of food, the craw contained a sort of ball, as large as the egg of a goose, formed of the vertebrae of serpents and lizards, shells of different tortoises, and wings, claws, and shields of different kinds of beetles. This indigestible mass, when it was become sufficiently large, the secretary would, no doubt, vomit up, like other birds of prey\*.

Dr. Solander says, he has seen one of these birds take up a snake, a small tortoise, or other reptile, in its claw, and dash it with such violence against the ground, that the victim immediately died; if, however, this did not happen to be the case, he tells us that the operation was repeated till it was killed, after which it was eaten.

The secretary is easily tamed, and when domesticated, will eat any kind of food, either dressed or raw. If well fed, it not only lives on amicable terms with poultry, but, if it sees any quarrel, will even run to part the combatants, and restore order. It is true, if pinched with hunger, it will take care of itself, and, fall, without scruple, on the ducklings and chickens. But this abuse of confidence, if it may be so termed, is but the effect of imperious want, and the pure and simple exercise of that necessity which rigorously devotes one half of what has

breath to satisfy the appetite of the other.

Tame secretaries were seen by M. Le Vaillant in several of the plantations at the Cape. He says they commonly lay two or three white eggs, nearly as large as those of a goose. The young remain a long time in the nest, because their legs being long and slender, they cannot easily support themselves. Even at the age of four months they may be seen to walk resting on the heel, which gives them a very awkward appearance†. But when they are seven months old, and have attained their full growth and size, they display much grace and ease in their motions, which well accord with their stately figure‡.

However shrewd and cunning this bird may be in its general conduct, yet M. de Buffon seems to have attributed to it a much greater degree of intelligence than is really its due: "When a painter, says he, (quoting a letter of the viscount de Querboënt) was employed in drawing one of these birds, it drew near him, looked attentively upon his paper, stretched out its neck, and erected the feathers of its head, as if it admired its figure. It often came with its wings raised, and its head projected, to observe what he was doing. It also thus approached me two or three times when I was sitting at a table in its hut in order to describe it." This stretching out of its head, and erection of its crest, seems, however, to have arisen from nothing more than that love which almost all domesticated birds exhibit to have their heads

\* Le Vaillant's New Travels, ii. 246.

† Thunberg says, that they are not to be reared without great difficulty, as they are very apt to break their legs. Vol. i. p. 148.

‡ Le Vaillant. Vol. ii.



heads scratched. And these birds, when rendered familiar, are well known to approach every person who comes near, and to stretch out their necks by way of making known their desire.

It is not long that this singular bird has been known, even at the Cape; but when we consider its social and familiar dispositions, we are disposed to think that it would be adviseable to multiply the species, particularly in our colonies, for it is hardly enough to endure even European climates, where it might be serviceable in destroying, not only the pernicious reptiles, but rats and mice.

It is a very singular circumstance, that this bird strikes forwards with its legs, and not, like all others, backwards. The secretary falcons make a flat nest with twigs, not unlike that of some of the eagles, full three feet in diameter, and line it with wool and feathers. This is usually formed in some high tuft of trees, and is often so well concealed as not easily to be found.

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*Anecdote of the Common Buzzard\*,  
from the same.*

**T**HE buzzard is about twenty inches in length, and in breadth four feet and a half. Its bill is lead coloured. The upper parts of the body are dusky brown, and the lower pale, varied with brown. The wings and tail are marked with bars of a darker hue. The tail is greyish beneath, and tipped with a dusky white. The legs are yellowish, and the claws black. This well known

bird, is of a sedentary and indolent disposition: it continues perched for many hours upon a tree or eminence, from whence it darts upon such prey as comes in its reach. It feeds on birds, small quadrupeds, reptiles, and insects. Though possessed both of strength, agility, and weapons to defend itself, it is cowardly, inactive, and slothful: it will fly before a sparrow hawk, and, when overtaken, will suffer itself to be beaten, and even brought to the ground, without resistance†.

The ensuing anecdote, will shew that the buzzard may be so far tamed, as even to be rendered a faithful domestic. We shall recite it, verbatim, from the letter of the relater, M. Fontaine, a most intelligent naturalist.

“In 1763 (says this gentleman) buzzard was brought to me that had been taken in a snare; it was, at first, extremely savage, and even cruel. I undertook to tame it, and I succeeded, by leaving it to fast, and constraining it to come and eat out of my hand. By pursuing this plan, I brought it to be very familiar: and, after having shut it up about six weeks, I began to allow it a little liberty, taking the precaution, however, to tie both pinions of its wings. In this condition it walked out into my garden, and returned when I called it to feed. After some time, when I judged that I could trust to its fidelity, I removed the ligatures, and fastened a small bell, an inch and a half in diameter, above its talon, and also attached on the breast, a bit of copper, having my name engraven on it. I then gave it entire liberty, which it

\* Synonyms.—*Falco Buteo*, Linn.—*Busc*, Buff.—*Buzzard*, Penn.—*Common Buzzard*, Lath.—*Bew. Birds*, p. 15.—*Penn. Brit. Zool.* vol. i. tab. 25.

† Latham, i. 48.



it soon abused ; for it took wing, and flew as far as the forest of Belesme. I gave it up for lost ; but four hours after, I saw it rush into my hall, which was open, pursued by five other buzzards, who had constrained it to seek again its asylum.

“ After this adventure, it ever preserved its fidelity to me, coming, every night, to sleep on my window ; it grew so familiar, as to seem to take singular pleasure in my company. It attended constantly at dinner, sat on a corner of the table, and very often caressed me with its head and bill, emitting a weak sharp cry, which, however, it sometimes softened. It is true, that I alone had this privilege. It one day followed me when I was on horseback, more than two leagues, sailing above my head.

“ It had an aversion both to dogs and cats, nor was it, in the least, afraid of them ; it had often tough battles with them, but always came off victorious. I had four very strong cats, which I collected into my garden to my buzzard. I threw to them a bit of raw flesh ; the nimblest cat seized it, the rest pursued ; but the bird darted upon her body, bit her ears with his bill, and squeezed her sides with his talons, with such force, that the cat was obliged to relinquish her prize. Often another cat snatched it, the instant it dropped, but she suffered the same treatment, till the buzzard got entire possession of the plunder. He was so dextrous in his defence, that when he perceived himself assailed, at once, by the four cats, he took wing, and uttered a cry of exultation. At last, the cats, chagrined with their repeated disappointment, would no longer contend.

“ This buzzard had a singular antipathy ; he would not suffer a red cap on the head of any of the peasants, and so alert was he in whipping it off, that they found their heads bare without knowing what was become of their caps. He also snatched wigs without doing any injury, and he carried these caps and wigs to the tallest tree in a neighbouring park, which was the ordinary deposit of his booty.

“ He would not suffer any other bird of prey to enter his domain ; he attacked them very boldly, and put them to flight. He did no mischief in my court-yard ; and the poultry which, at first, dreaded him, grew insensibly reconciled to him. The chickens and ducklings received not the least harsh usage, and yet he bathed among the latter. But, what is singular, he was not gentle to my neighbour's poultry : and I was often obliged to publish that I would pay for the damages that he might occasion. However, he was often fired at, and he, at different times, received fifteen shots without suffering any fracture. But once, early in the morning, hovering over the skirts of a forest, he dared to attack a fox ; and the keeper, seeing him on the shoulders of the fox, fired two shots at him ; the fox was killed, and the buzzard had his wing broken ; yet, notwithstanding this fracture, he escaped from the keeper, and was lost seven days.

“ This man, having discovered, from the noise of the bell, that he was my bird, came next morning to inform me. I sent to make search near the spot, but the bird could not be found, nor did it return till seven days after. I had been used to call him every evening with a whistle, which he did not answer for six days ;

days; but, on the seventh, I heard a feeble cry at a distance, which I judged to be that of my buzzard. I repeated the whistle a second time, and heard the same cry. I went to the place from whence the sound came, and, at last, found my poor buzzard with his wing broken, who had travelled more than half a league on foot to regain his asylum, from which he was then distant about a hundred and twenty paces. Though he was extremely reduced, he gave me many caresses. It was six weeks before he was recruited, and his wounds were healed; after which he began to fly as before, and follow his old habits for about a year; he then disappeared for ever. I am convinced he was killed by accident, and that he would not have forsaken me from choice\*.”

The buzzard is one of the most common of the hawk kind that we have in this country. It breeds in large woods, and usually builds in an old crow's nest, which it enlarges, and lines it in the inside with wool and other soft materials. It feeds and tends its young, which are generally two or three in number, with great assiduity. Ray affirms, that if the female be killed during the time of incubation, the male buzzard will take the charge of them, and patiently rear the young till they are able to provide for themselves.

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*On the Culture of the Vine in Crim Turtary, from the 2d Volume of the Travels of Professor Pallas.*

THE grape is not only an indigenous production abounding in the mountainous parts of the Crimea, sometimes having oblong white berries, and sometimes small round black fruit; but it has also been planted in different vallies and districts from the remotest periods of antiquity. Strabo† mentions the culture of the vine near the Bosphorus, and the care taken to cover it with earth during the winter, or to bury its roots in the soil, in order to shelter them from the cold; as is still practised in the vicinity of the Alma and Katsha. It is certain that the Crimean peninsula is indebted to the Greeks for the culture of the vine; which was afterwards extended by the Genoese in the territories occupied by that enterprising people.

The manner in which this plant is propagated on the banks of the Alma, the Katsha, and the Belbek, has already been mentioned. I am convinced, and experience has proved, that it is useless to shelter vines from the cold during severe winters, as is practised in the vicinity of the above-named rivers, by accumulating earth round the crown of their roots. Such labour is not without some benefit; for not only the soil is thus more frequently stirred, and cleared from parasitic plants, but vegetation is likewise promoted; so that the leaves and blossoms, as well as the grapes, appear at an earlier period; in consequence of which the latter may be suffered to become more perfectly ripe during autumn. The method

\* Letter of M. Fontaine, cure de saint Pierre de Belesme, to the comte de Buffon.

† Lib. VII. “*In codum (Bosphori) trajectu ferunt, Neoptolemum Mithridatis legatum estate navali praelio, hyeme equestri pugna, barbaris superiorem discesisse. Sed et vites ajunt in Bosphoro sub hyemem defodi, multa ingesta terra.*”



method above alluded to (like that practised in Hungary) consists in training the vines in the manner of bushes with a stump above the root, so as to produce several prolific shoots: it is, doubtless, far more productive, but can only be pursued in the richest soils, and tends to exhaust the stocks in a shorter space of time. On account of their fertility, the vineyards of these regions are sold at high prices; though the wine is cheap, and the culture requires great labour: they are usually estimated, according to the number of fruit-bearing bushes, at one rouble each. The manner of planting the layers, on the banks of those rivers, is altogether different from that practised in the southern vallies. First, the land, in which such plantation is intended to be made, is prepared by the plough and spade: next a post with a point of iron or hard wood, is driven perpendicularly into the soil, to a sufficient depth; so that, when the layer is inserted, there may be from five to six knots under ground, and only two visible above the surface. The stake or piece of wood is now withdrawn, and a plant deposited in each hole; which is then filled up with loose mould, and afterwards with water, that remains there for a considerable time, owing to the compression of the earth, occasioned by forcing in the stake. According to the state of the weather, such are subsequently irrigated every third or fourth week till autumn, or until the layers have taken root. In the succeeding year the surrounding soil is dug up, and these new plantations are supplied with water from canals.

At Sudagh, and in the other southern vallies, the vine is planted either

according to the Greek mode, in small oblong trenches, in each of which two or three layers are deposited in opposite directions, small drains being cut from one to another for carrying off the water; or, long parallel trenches are dug, wherein the layers are obliquely arranged on both sides: the latter method has probably been introduced by the Genoese. The Tartars, however, seldom plant new vineyards, and their manner of cultivating the vine consists chiefly in making layers; in burying the old unproductive vine-stocks in deep pits, either in the middle or on the borders of the plantation; and in leaving a few good branches above ground, on which only two eyes are suffered to remain. When this operation is performed on the borders, with a view to extend the vineyard, it is denominated by the Greek word *Usatma*; and that executed in the centre, in order to fill up the vacant space, is termed *Katavolat*. There is, likewise, a third method of stocking old plantations, called *Doldurma*; it is effected by putting long twigs deeply into the soil, and separating them from the parent trunk, as soon as they have taken root. By such injudicious treatment, however, all the vines in the plantations on the southern shore are irregularly set; their roots promiscuously intertwining, not unlike espaliers, under ground. There are only a few foreign proprietors, who have lately applied themselves to the propagation of this useful shrub, by forming new plantations.

As the vine is never covered with soil, during the winter, in any of the southern vallies, where it receives no injury from the severest frosts, and as the Tartars stir the surrounding



surrounding earth only once in the spring, with clumsy spades, this branch of œconomy is attended with less expence than in other countries, but is at the same time less profitable. The latter circumstance must chiefly be attributed to the barrenness of the marly soil, especially at Sudagh; for that in the vale of Koos is not only richer, but also more productive. The inhabitants exert all their endeavours to assist nature, by forming canals, into which water is conducted from the springs and streams, for the purpose of copious irrigation both in the winter and in autumn, as well as in the spring, and immediately after the vine has flowered. These irrigations are so considerable, that the vineyards may be compared to fens. By such mismanagement, the quality of the grapes is greatly impaired; and expert vine-dressers water the plants only once in the winter, and in the spring; as, by neglecting those operations, the stock would neither shoot forth a sufficient portion of fertile wood for the succeeding year, nor even bear any fruit; nay, it would, perhaps, gradually wither. On account of the drought usually prevailing in summer, all the vineyards are planted uniformly in the vallies, where gutters can be employed for supplying them with water.

In the southern dales, the vine is trained as low as possible, so that only three eyes are left on its trunk in the spring, the rest being removed as superfluous: hence all the stocks are knotty, crooked, and lie on the ground, spread out in the form of a fan. Those who leave a greater number of eyes, with the view of obtaining a more abundant vintage, incur the risk of exhaust-

ing or spoiling their vines for several years; so that they would be obliged to saw off their trunks near the ground, or even to bury them entirely. After having attained the height of three feet six inches, they yield but little fruit, are exposed to storms, and require to be earthed up for their support. There are, however, some kinds of vines, which may be trained higher, for arbours and espaliers; nay, if newly planted vineyards were properly manured, several varieties would probably shoot up with greater luxuriance, produce stronger branches, and yield more profit. At the same time, healthier vine stocks might be obtained, than at present result from such frequent cuttings. On the other hand, this method would be more expensive than that now practised, on account of the stakes and lattices for espaliers, which would become necessary; nor would the grapes ripen so completely: for even the taller sorts mature more perfectly, and afford sweeter fruit when they are cropped, and, according to the custom of the country, supported only by the short trunks of the cornelian cherry-tree, or *Tshatall*; to the branches of which the vine shoots become spontaneously attached.

At Astrakhan, where the vine is buried with all its wood, it never flowers later than the 15th of May, unless the spring produce some rare exceptions: it is somewhat later on the banks of the Alma and Katsha, where it is simply overspread with earth which is removed in the vernal season. On the contrary, in the southern vallies, where the vine is never covered, the buds and flowers generally appear, at least fifteen days later: the grapes, likewise,

wise; do not ripen till the end of September; and, were it not for the fine long autumns peculiar to Crim Tartary, no good wine could be produced in that country. When, however, the plant germinates at an advanced period of the spring, it is attended with this advantage, that the shoots are never injured by the late frosts, which frequently occur in the vicinity of those rivers. Here the vintage is generally completed before it begins in the dales of Sudagh and Koos, where it usually takes place on the first of October, as, under the government of the khans, the third day of that month was the time formerly fixed by law, for commencing the vintage.

Some Tartars are acquainted with a mode of engrafting the vine termed *ashlama*. For this purpose, young layers, or stems not exceeding two inches in thickness, are selected and stripped for the length of a span beneath the uppermost knots, where they are sawn off, and the surface is smoothed with a knife: the stem is afterwards slit, and the cleft kept open by means of a wooden wedge. Two grafts, from eight to ten inches long, are next cut on both sides, for the length of an inch and a half, into a cuneiform shape, immediately below a knot, and are inserted in the cleft, so that the grafts cross each other on the external edge, where their bark comes into mutual contact. The stump is then tied with strong pack-thread; a piece of bark from the vine that has been cut is laid closely on the incision; a handful of dried leaves is now pressed upon it, and some moistened earth is spread over these in a similar manner, so as to cover two or three knots with mould, and to leave the

same number above its surface; weeping vines only, or such as are in full sap, are selected for grafting. Fifteen days after, when the buds begin to shoot, a full quart of water must be poured, every third day, over each stem, into a hole made for that purpose, till about the season when barley becomes ripe. The grafts, in general, shoot forth so vigorously in the first year, that, in the following spring, they will afford layers and yield fruit: thus excellent varieties of the vine, (not yet introduced into Crim Tartary), could be readily propagated, and bad stocks be improved. One man may engraft from fifty to sixty stems in the course of a day.

The vineyards occurring in the vallies, most favourable to this culture, such as those of Sudagh and Koos, are planted with several intermixed sorts of vines, which mostly produce white grapes; because these, probably, yield here a much stronger wine, and succeed better than the red sort. There is only one small spot in every Tartar vineyard containing some tall stems which bear red and white grapes; in several of them we observed a similar piece of ground, planted with vines, producing black fruit.

The most destructive enemy to the vine, in Crim-Tartary, is a small kind of caterpillar, peculiar to that country: as soon as the buds begin to open in the spring, it eats its way, especially into the fruit buds, and devours the germ of the grape. Two or three of these small worms, creeping from one germ to another, are sufficient to injure a whole vine in such a manner, that it bears no fruit, and produces not a single regular shoot during the succeeding year. I have



seen some vineyards at Sudagh, where these vermin have particularly multiplied for several years, so as completely to ruin, and strip them of their leaves. This diminutive caterpillar, with sixteen legs, which has hitherto remained a non-descript, commits its depredations towards the end of April, and in the month of May, especially in old vineyards. When full grown, it is half an inch in length, and of the thickness of a straw. Its head is black, projecting anteriorly, pointed at the fangs, and can be withdrawn under the first ring, which is scutiform, black, and edged in front with a yellowish white stripe. Below, its body is also yellowish white, and wrinkled; above, it is black, as far as the lateral margin, where this colour terminates. On each side is a row of pale red tubercles, with tufts of whitish hair; and along the back there are two similar rows with yellowish tufts. The caterpillar has rather a slow pace, spins from beneath, and in general fixes on the buds and most tender leaves, to which it firmly adheres. On being touched, it rolls itself together, though not very closely, and remains for some time in this position: it is uncommonly voracious. Previously to casting the skin, it draws a delicate web over its body upon a leaf. During the whole month of May, these vermin nibble, eat large holes through, nay, often totally devour the leaves; towards the end of that month, they gradually commence to spin, and to convert themselves into a chrysalis; from which, at the end of a few weeks, there issues a small moth,

entirely similar in form, and almost in size, to the female of the *Sphinx statice*, but of a blackish colour, with a faint lustre (*Aeneo-fusca*).

Next to this caterpillar, the smaller locust with rose-coloured wings, or *Gryllus italicus*, (which frequently commits depredations in Spain), has, for several years, been very destructive to the vineyards of Crim Tartary. This insect, indeed, appears annually on the dry eminences in the arid southern regions, from the European boundary, as far as the Irtysh, and the mountains of Alta; but it is only in particular years, that it multiplies in such numbers, as to become pernicious. After the severe winters of 1799, and 1800, these locusts became so numerous in the Crimea, that they traversed the air in prodigious swarms; and wherever they settled, they not only despoiled all the herbage and culinary plants of their verdure, but even stripped such trees as were agreeable to them, especially the vines, of all their foliage, and committed great ravages in the country. Their habits, respecting which Bowles relates many wonderful and true particulars, in his *Natural History of Spain*,\* are certainly very remarkable. In 1799, I had no opportunity of observing these vermin in the first period of their existence, with uninterrupted attention; nevertheless, they sufficiently distinguished themselves by the injury they occasioned in many districts, especially in the dry dales of Sudagh and Koos, where they caused extensive damage both in the reptile and in the winged state. In that year, they appeared chiefly

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\* Introduction à l'Histoire Naturelle et à la Géographie Physique de l'Espagne, traduite de l'Original Espagnol de Guill. Bowles par le Vicomte Flavigny. Paris. 1776. 8vo. pp. 249, and following.



in July and August, proceeding from the sea-coast into the valley; and where they found no weeds in the vineyards, they stripped all the vines of their leaves, especially along the borders of plantations, and in the direction taken by the swarm. The clusters of large, but unripe grapes, remained till the end of September, on these denuded vines, without increasing in size, filling with juice, or ripening; so that they were hard and green like pease, and thus afforded ocular demonstration of the detriment that must arise from the practice of plucking the leaves from vines, which is recommended by many cultivators.\* It was not till October, when the vines had again acquired leaves from the collateral buds, that they ripened though imperfectly, and afforded a bad acidulous must. In a winged state, these locusts at length devoured the foliage of the trees; and the *Fraxinus ornus*, or manna-ash, in particular, was every where seen stripped to its very summit; nor were orange and nut trees exempted from their depredations. On the eminences, where the soil was rather loose, they were observed in companies, depositing the eggs in holes, which they bored with their jagged posteriors, and which already afforded a bad omen for the ensuing year. Great numbers of them, however, were carried by northerly winds into the sea, where they perished, and were afterwards washed on shore in heaps.

The severe winter of 1799-1800, instead of diminishing these vermin, seemed rather to have favoured their propagation. In the beginning of May, the young brood appeared every where in large swarms, and especially in the southern vallies, at first taking their course towards the sea, but afterwards moving to and fro in various directions. Some of the swarms consisted of innumerable millions; and frequently, where they lodged, formed an entire black covering over the ground upwards of an hundred fathoms in length, and from forty to fifty in breadth. In serene warm weather, the locusts are in full motion in the morning, immediately after the evaporation of the dew; and, if no dew has fallen, they appear as soon as the sun imparts his genial warmth. At first, some are seen running about, like messengers, among the reposing swarms, which are lying partly compressed upon the ground at the side of small eminences, and partly attached to tall plants and shrubs. Shortly after, the whole body begins to move forward in one direction, and with little deviation. They resemble a swarm of ants, all taking the same course, at small distances, but without touching each other; they uniformly travel towards a certain region, as fast as a fly can run, and without leaping, unless pursued; in which case, indeed, they disperse, but soon collect and follow their former route. In this manner, they advance from morning

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\* The only work on the subject of gardening in which I find the plucking of the leaves reprobated, and their utility in nourishing and ripening the fruit, and perfecting the buds against the next year, properly inculcated, is "La Pratique du Jardinage, par M. l'Abbé Roger Chabot," Paris. 1770. 8vo. 11. partie. p. 656. a work that, on the whole, evinces great experience. The leaves are certainly the organs, by which plants not only imbibe moisture, but also decompose the air and inspire the requisite portion of caloric and oxygen.

till evening, without halting, frequently at the rate of one hundred fathoms and upwards in the course of a day. Although they prefer to march along high-roads, foot-paths, or open tracts; yet, when their progress is opposed by bushes, hedges, and ditches, they penetrate through them: their way can only be impeded by the waters of brooks or canals; as they are apparently terrified at every kind of moisture. Often, however, they endeavour to gain the opposite bank with the aid of overhanging boughs; and if the stalks of plants or shrubs be laid across the water, they pass in close columns over these temporary bridges; on which they seem to rest, and enjoy the refreshing coolness. Towards sun set, the whole swarm gradually collect in parties, and creep up the plants, or encamp on slight eminences. Woe, then, to the vineyards in which such swarm settles for the night; and if the following day should happen to be cold, cloudy, or rainy, (in which weather they never travel), they not only consume all the weeds and vine leaves in it, but frequently, when the weeds do not supply them with sufficient nutriment and exercise, they completely strip the bark and buds off the young twigs; so that these shoots remain, throughout the summer, as white as chalk and full of sap, without producing fresh foliage. The same fate awaits those places on which they settle for the purpose of casting their skins. It is a remarkable circumstance, that, while the vine blossoms continue closed, the insect does not attack them; but, as soon as they are blown, it devours the whole of them in the most rapacious manner, the stalk only being spared. The

plants, which they formerly consumed with the greatest avidity, were those chiefly occurring in vineyards; such as the *Carduus tataricus*, *Salvia nemorosa*, *Millefolium*, *Melilotus Cerinthe*; the fetid and poisonous *Conium maculatum*, which does not prove fatal to them; the *Asparagus volubilis*, *Ebulus*, *Coronilla varia*, and *Valentina*; various kinds of *Geranium*, *Linum* and *Inula centaurea solstitialis*, and all bitter vegetables. On the other hand, they did not prey upon any kinds of grasses; some species of grain were also exempt from their depredations, especially millet; as well as sedge, which is the favourite food of the great erratic locust; together with the *Aristolochia clematitis*, that also luxuriantly grows in the vineyards; the *Clematis vitalba*, the different *Euphorbia*, *Rumex patientia*, *Mentha silvestris*, *Artemisia maritima*, *Contra*, *Pontica*, and *Austriaca*; the rough *Echia*; all the species of the *Atriplex* and *Salsola*, the *Stellera passerina*, the milky *Sonchus*, *Chondrilla*, and *Prenanthes*, *Rhus cotinus*, and *Coriaria*. After having consumed every other vegetable, they attack the caper buds, the *Beta cycla*, and the various *Euphorbia*; to the latter of which it must probably be ascribed that many insects (while they were casting their skins for the last time), in the year above alluded to, firmly attached themselves to the stalks of tall plants, and even to trees, where they ultimately perished.

Among the innumerable swarms of the young brood of the *Gryllus italicus*, which has a blackish appearance, the larger larvae of that species, as well as of the *Gryllus cærulescens*, were seen but thinly interspersed during their march.

Various



Various particular locusts, without wings, such as the *Gryllus verrucivorus*, *Viridissimus*, and some others, had also increased in the last year far beyond their ordinary numbers; but they did not travel in company with the former, though they likewise greatly damaged the vineyards, and often bit off the stalks of the grapes. It was remarkable, that in the same years when these vermin became so numerous, the large erratic locust, from the banks of the Dniepr, together with the small locust, also overspread the whole government of New Russia, and a part of Little Russia, in countless swarms; they did not, however, visit the Crimea.

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*The Hindoo Method of cultivating the Sugar Cane. From Tennant's "Indian Recreations."*

DR. ROXBURGH, whose pursuits after botanical knowledge are now so well known, has given an ample account of this branch of Indian husbandry; and in the district where he resided little can be added to his remarks in elucidating the present practice.

"Among the natives of India," he observes, "the transitions from one stage of improvement to another are so exceedingly slow, as scarce to deserve the name, except it be the few who have benefited by the example of Europeans. They naturally possess a strong disinclination to depart from the beaten path established from time immemorial; however, when they see a certain prospect of gain, with little additional trouble, they have frequently been known to adopt our practices. We ourselves ought now ge-

nerally to keep in view, and to instil into their minds this maxim, that every new proposition, merely on account of its novelty, must not be rejected, otherwise our knowledge would no longer be progressive, and every kind of improvement must cease.

"At a period, like the present, when the importation of East India has become so much an object of importance to Britain, in consequence of the present state of some of the best of the West India sugar islands, every inquiry that may tend to open new sources from whence that wholesome commodity may be procured, at the cheapest rate, is of national importance.

"I believe there are few districts in the company's extensive dominions where there will not be found large tracts of land fit for the culture of the sugar cane: yet I know, from experience, the introduction of a new branch of agriculture, among the natives, to be attended with infinite trouble; therefore, where we find a province or district, in which the culture of the cane, and the working of sugar has been in practice from time immemorial, there we may expect, without much exertion, to be able to increase the culture, and improve, if necessary, the quality.

"In the northern provinces, as well as in Bengal, Codapah, &c. large quantities of sugar and jagary are made: it is only in the Rajamundry and Ganjam districts of these northern parts, where the cane is cultivated for making sugars. I will confine my observations to the first, where I have resided between ten and eleven years.

"This branch of agriculture, in the above-mentioned Sircar, is chief-



ly carried on in the Peddapore, and Pettapore, along the banks of the Elyseram river, which, though small, has a constant flow of water in it the whole year round, sufficiently large, not only to water the sugar plantations during the dryest seasons, but also a great variety of other productions; such as paddy, ginger, turmeric, yams, chillies. This stream of water, during the dryest season, renders the lands adjoining, I presume, more fertile than almost any other in India, and particularly fit for the growth of the sugar cane.

In these two zemindaries, from 350 to 700 *Vissums*; or from 700 to 1400 acres of land, (the vissum being two acres), is annually employed for rearing the sugar cane, more or less, according to the demand for sugar: for they could, and would with pleasure, if they were certain of a market, grow and manufacture more than ten times the usual quantity. It is very profitable; and there is abundance of very proper land; all they want is a certain market for their sugar.

Besides the above mentioned, a third more may be made on the Delta of Godavery.

From the same spot they do not attempt to raise a second crop, oftener than every third or fourth year. The cane impoverishes it so much, that it must rest, or be employed during the two or three intermediate years, for the growth of such plants as are found to improve the soil, of which the Indian farmer is a perfect judge. They find the leguminous tribe the best for that purpose.

The method of cultivating the cane, and manufacturing the sugar by the natives, hereabouts, is like all their other works, exceedingly simple. The whole apparatus, a few

pair of bullocks excepted, does not amount to more than fifteen or twenty pagodas; as many thousand pounds is generally, I believe, necessary to set out the West India planter.

The soil that suits the cane best, in this climate, is a rich vegetable earth, which, on exposure to the air, crumbles down into a very fine mould: it is also necessary for it to be of such a level as allows it to be watered from the river, by simply damming it up, which almost the whole land adjoining to this river admits of, and yet so high, as to be easily drained during heavy rains.

Such a soil, and in such a situation, having been well meliorated, by various crops of leguminous plants, or fallowing for two or three years, is slightly manured, or has had cattle pent upon it. A favourite manure with the Hindoo farmer is, the rotten straw of the green and black pesseloo. During the months of April and May, it is repeatedly stirred with the common Hindoo plough, which soon brings this rich loose soil into very excellent order. About the end of May or beginning of June, the rains usually set in, by frequent heavy showers. Now is the time to plant the cane: but should the rains hold back, the prepared field is watered by flooding from the river, and when perfectly wet is like soft mud, whether from the rain, or from the river, the cane is planted.

The method is most simple: labourers with baskets, of the cuttings, with one or two joints each, arrange themselves along one side of the field; they walk side by side in as straight a line as their eye or judgment enables them, dropping the sets at the distance of about  
eighteen

eighteen inches in the rows, and four feet asunder from row to row; other labourers follow, and, with the foot, press the set about two inches in the soft mud-like soil: this, with a sweep or two with the sole of the foot, they most easily and readily cover: nothing more is done, if the weather is moderately showery; till the young shoots are some two or three inches high; the earth is then loosened a few inches around them, with a small weeding iron, something like a carpenter's chisel: should the season prove dry, the field is occasionally watered from the river, continuing to weed, and to keep the earth loose about the stools.

In August, two or three months from the time of planting, small trenches are cut through the field, at short distances, and so contrived as to drain off the water, should the season prove too wet for the canes, which is frequently the case, and would render their juices weak and unprofitable; the farmer, therefore, never fails to have his field plentifully and judiciously intersected with drains, while the cane is small, and before the time of the violent rains. Should the season prove too dry, these drains serve to conduct the water from the river, through the field, and also to carry off what does not soak into the earth in a few hours; for, say they, if water is permitted to remain upon the field for a greater length of time, the cane would suffer by it, so that they reckon these drains indispensibly necessary; and, on their being well-contrived, depends, in a great measure, their future hopes of profit. Immediately after the field is trenched, the canes are all propped; this is an operation I do not remember

to have seen mentioned by any writer on the subject, and is, perhaps, peculiar to these parts. It is done as follows: The canes are now about three feet high, and generally from three to six from each set that has taken root, and from what we may call the stool; the lower leaves of each cane are first carefully wrapt up round it, so as to cover it completely in every part; a small strong bamboo, eight or ten feet long, is then stuck into the earth in the middle of each stool, and the canes are tied to it; this secures them in an erect position, and gives the air free access round every part. As the canes advance in size, they continue wrapping them round with the lower leaves, as they begin to wither, and to tie them to the prop bamboos higher up, during which time, if the weather is wet, they keep the trenches open; and if a drought prevails, they water them occasionally from the river, cleaning and loosening the ground every five or six weeks. Tying the leaves so carefully round the cane, they say, prevents them from cracking and splitting with the sun, helps to render the juice richer, and prevents their branching out round the sides; it is certain that you never see a branchy cane here.

In January and February the canes are ready to cut, which is about nine months from the time of planting; of course I need not describe it. Their height when standing in the field, will now be from eight to ten feet, foliage included; and the naked cane from an inch to an inch and a quarter in diameter.

A mill or two, or even more, according to the size of the field, is erected, when wanted, in the open



air; generally under the shade of large mango trees, of which there are great abundance hereabouts. The mill is small, exceedingly simple, and at the same time efficacious. The juice, as fast as expressed, is received into common earthen pots, strained, and put into boilers, which are, in general, of an oval form, composed of ill-made thick plates, of country iron, rivetted. These boilers hold from eighty to one hundred gallons; in each they put from twenty-four to thirty gallons of the strained juice: the boiler is placed over a draft furnace, which makes the fire burn with great violence, being supplied with a strong draught of air through a large subterranean passage, which also serves for an ash-pit. At first the fire is moderate, but as the scum is taken off, a point they are not very nice about in these parts, as they look to quantity more than quality, the fire is by degrees increased, so as to make the liquor boil very smartly; nothing whatever is added to make the scum to rise, or the sugar to train, except when the planter wants a small quantity for his own or a friend's use; in this case he adds ten or twelve pints of sweet milk to every twenty-four or thirty gallons, or each boiler of juice, which no doubt improves the quality of the sugar; the scum, with this addition, comes up more abundantly, and is more carefully removed.

This liquor is never here removed into a second boiler, but is in the same boiled down to a proper consistence, which they guess by the eye, and by the touch; the fire is then withdrawn, and, in the same vessel, allowed to cool a little. When it becomes pretty thick, they stir it about with stirring sticks, till it

begins to take the form of sugar; it is then taken out and put upon mats, made of the leaves of the palmira tree, (*Borassus flabelliformis*), when the stirring is continued till it is cold: it is then put up in pots, baskets, &c. till a merchant appears to buy it.

The Hindoo name of this sugar is Pansadurry; its colour is fairer than most of the raw sugars made in our West India islands; but it is of a clammy unctuous nature, absorbing much moisture in wet weather, sometimes sufficient to melt a great deal of it, if not carefully stowed in some dry place, where smoke has access to it.

Many of the planters prefer that sort of sugar which they call Bellum, and Europeans Jagary, because it keeps well during the wet weather, if laid up in a dry place. It generally bears a lower price; yet, they say, this disadvantage is often overbalanced, by their being able to keep it, with only a trifling wastage, till a market occurs—for the farmer has often to wait for a market for his sugar; besides, canes of inferior quality answer for jagary, when unfit for sugar.

The process for making jagary differs from those above described, in having a quantity of quick lime thrown into the boiler, with the cane juice, about a spoonful and a half for every six or seven gallons of the juice. Here they do not remove the scum, but let it mix with the liquor; and when of a proper consistence, about four or five ounces of Gengeley (oil of *Sesamum orientale*) are added to each boiler of liquor, now ready to be removed from the fire; these are well mixed, and then poured into shallow pits dug in the ground. They are generally



rally about three feet long, half a foot broad, and three inches deep, with a mat spread at the bottom, which is slightly strewed with quick lime. In a short time the liquor incorporates into a thick solid mass; these large cakes they wrap in dry leaves, and lay by for sale.

Their jagary is of a darker colour than the sugar, and contains more impurities, owing to the careless manner they prepare it, by allowing all the scum to incorporate with the liquor.

The half vissum, or one acre of sugar cane, in a tolerable season, yields about ten candy of sugar, or rather more, if made into jagary: each candy weighs about five hundred pounds, and is worth, on the spot, from sixteen to twenty-four rupees. In the West Indies, so far as my information goes, the cane yields from fourteen to twenty hundred weight of their raw sugar, worth, on the island, about twenty pounds of their currency. Here the produce is more than double; but, on account of its inferior quality, and the low price it bears on the spot, the produce does not yield a great deal more money than in the West Indies. However, as the labour is incomparably cheaper, the Indian planter must make much larger profits.

The situation of all the lands hereabouts is exactly alike, being in the middle of an extensive plain adjoining the river: the soil is also much alike, so that the produce is nearly equal in all, when no unfavourable circumstances happen.—The same result is farther established by the quantity of sugar a measure of juice will yield. Here it is almost always, except in a very

rainy season, or in lodged or wormy canes, about one sixth part; or six pounds of juice yield one pound of sugar. In Jamaica, Mr. Beckford says, that, on an average, eighteen hundred gallons of juice may be reckoned to yield an hogshead of sugar, or sixteen hundred weight, that is, one of sugar to eight of juice. This proves our juice to be one fourth richer than theirs.

From the above calculation, it is evident that all the lands in this neighbourhood are better adapted to this culture than the lands of Jamaica; for here they not only yield a larger crop of canes, but the juice is also richer; and were our planters here to bring the molasses into account, employed in the West Indies for the distillation of rum, their profits would be still greater. At present this refuse is given to cattle, or carried away by labourers, for whatever they think proper. It is thus productive of more real benefit than if converted into ardent spirits. The natives, in other parts of India, are, however, well acquainted with the method of making both rum and arrack, nor have they learned this pernicious process from Europeans, as some have supposed.

In this country, the canes, while growing, are subject to fewer accidents than in the West Indies. I will mention them briefly.

1. A very hot season is the worst; it injures the canes greatly, rendering them of a reddish colour, yielding a poor, unprofitable juice: here they reckon the small, heavy, pale yellow cane the best.

2. Storms, unless they are very violent, do no great harm, because the canes are propped; however, if they are once laid down, they become

come branchy and thin, yielding a poor watery juice ; and to this they are sometimes liable.

3. The worm is another evil which generally visits them every few years : a beetle deposits its egg in the young cane. The grubs of these remain in the plant, living on its medullary parts, till they are metamorphosed into the pupa state. Sometimes this evil is so great, as to injure a sixth or an eighth part of a field ; but what is worse, the disease is commonly general where it happens, few fields escaping.

4. The flower is the last accident they reckon upon, although it scarcely deserves the name ; for it rarely happens, and never but to a very small portion of some few fields.

Those canes that flower have very little juice left, and it is by no means so sweet as the rest.

The lands occupied with the sugar cane in the zemindaries of Peddapore and Pettapore, exclusive of those islands formed by the mouths of the Godavery, amount to five hundred and fifty vissums, or eleven hundred acres, and their annual produce is forty-four hundred weight per acre : their whole produce will, therefore, be twenty-se-

ven hundred hogsheads, of eighteen hundred weight each, or about one fourth part of the produce of the island of Jamaica. It is acknowledged by all, that this quantity might be increased to any extent, with advantage to the zemindar, the farmer, and government. This observation applies with double force to the upper provinces on the Ganges, as far as Rohilcund, where the sugar lands are of indefinite extent, and where, with a culture infinitely less perfect than that above described, great quantities of sugar and jagary are already made by the natives.

All that seems necessary in these immense tracts, is to open a market to the ryut, and secure to him a strict agreement to his lease with the zemindar.

Transgressions in this point are the great bar to Indian husbandry ; for, in a good season, the zemindar raises his demands, and makes the farmers of all denominations pay, probably, a fourth more than the rent agreed on. Custom has rendered this iniquity common, and the farmer has no idea of obtaining redress of an evil, which to him appears as irremediable as the ravages of the elements.

USEFUL

# USEFUL PROJECTS.

*List of Patents for new Inventions,  
&c. granted in the Year 1803.*

**R**OBERT Wilson, of the parish of St. Saviour, Southwark, Surry, plaisterer; for an apparatus for the purpose of stopping ungovernable horses. Dated January 20.

Joseph Jacob, of Greek-street, of the parish of St. Ann, Soho, Middlesex, coachmaker; for a metal box for the axle-trees of wheels, carriages, mills, engines, and machines. Dated January 20.

George Matcham, of the city of Bath, esquire; for a principle or mechanical power for raising weights, in preventing ships from sinking, in raising ships when sunk, in rendering ships, which are disproportioned to shallow water, capable of entering rivers, passing bars or shoals, or otherwise moving in shallow water; and for a variety of other useful purposes. Dated January 29.

Edward Stephens, of the city of Dublin, for a furnace stove, or fire place, which can conveniently be applied to the burning of limestone, at the same time that it is used for the heating of all manner of corn-kilns, evaporating stoves, and drying houses. Dated January 29.

James Gayleard, of New Bond-street, Middlesex, staymaker; for long stays, short stays, and corsetts, on an improved construction.—Dated February 1.

Stephen Hooper, of Walworth, Surry; for machines, or machinery, upon improved principles, and methods of using the same, for the purpose of cleaning creeks, bars of harbours, and preventing bars from making. Dated February 5.

William Henry Clayfield, of the city of Bristol, wine merchant; for a method of reducing and extracting lead, and other metals, from a compound substance commonly known by the name of regulus. Dated February 10.

Timothy Cobb, of Banbury, Oxfordshire, woollen manufacturer; for improvements in the manufacturing a certain kind of piece goods, called shag, or plush. Dated February 21.

Jonathan Woodhouse, of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicestershire, engineer; for a method of forming a cast iron rail, or plate, which may be used in making iron rail roads, or ways, for the working and running of waggons, carts, drays, and other carriages, on public and other roads, and also a new method of fixing, fastening, and securing, such cast iron rail or plate on such roads. Dated February 28.

Robert Kirwood, of Edinburgh, engraver and copper plate printer; for improvements on the copper plate printing press. Dated February 28.

Thomas Johnson, of Bradbury, Cheshire, weaver; for a method of preparing



preparing and dressing cotton warp. Dated February 28.

Robert Mason, of Cumberland-street, Portsea, Hampshire, gentleman; for improvements on a common waggon, whereby the same may be separated, and used as two carts, which he denominates the "Patent Hampshire waggon." Dated February 28.

Benjamin Haden, of the parish of Sedgley, Staffordshire, bagging weaver; for an improvement in the manufacture of bagging, for packing of nails and other purposes. Dated February 28.

Barker Chifney, of London, gentleman; for improvements in the manufacturing and preparing roofing slates, and in laying the same. Dated March 8.

James Bennet, of Oldham-street, Manchester, Lancashire, manufacturer; for a method of felting woollen cloth, and also of felting cloth manufactured of sheep's wool, and other combined materials. Dated March 10.

Samuel Miller, of the parish of St. Pancras, Middlesex, engineer; for his improved method of applying the repelling or repulsive force of nature, in order to give a stronger impulse to any substance or body in motion, as well as to destroy the bad effects of its baneful activity. Dated March 16.

Edward Shorter, of New Crane, Wapping, Middlesex, mechanic; for an apparatus for working of pumps. Dated March 21.

Robert Clark, of Fitzroy-place, Middlesex, instrument maker; for improvements in the construction of a truss, to be worn in the case of rupture. Dated March 23.

Deers Egg, of the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, Middlesex,

gunmaker; for improvement upon fire arms. Dated March 23.

William Bainbridge, of Little Queen-street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, Middlesex, musician; for improvements on the flagelet or English flute. Dated April 1.

William Boond, of Manchester, Lancashire, cotton manufacturer; for a new invented manufacture of mixed and coloured cotton velvets, velveteens, velverets, thicksets, cords, and other cotton piece goods, commonly called fustians. Dated April 5.

Richard Francis Hawkins, of Woolwich, Kent, gent. for a method of applying a certain power to the working of ships and other windlasses, ship and other winches, cranes and other purposes, to which the same hath never been employed. Dated April 5.

John Leach, of Merton abbey, Surry, calico printer; for improvements on steam engine boilers, which improvements are applicable to boilers in general. Dated April 7.

Daniel Paulin Davis, of Bloomsbury-square, Middlesex; for a method of cleansing and sweeping chimnies. Dated April 11.

John Todd, of Bolton, Lancashire, cotton spinner; for a method of weaving and manufacturing woollen cotton, linen, silk, and worsted cloth or stuffs; and also certain improvements on, and additions to the machines used in weaving, by means of looms wrought by water, steam-engines, or any other power. Dated April 14.

William Horrocks, of Stockport, Cheshire, cotton manufacturer; for improvements on the loom for weaving of cotton, and other goods, by steam or water. Dated April 20.

Samuel

Samuel Day, of Charter-house, Hinton, Somersetshire, esq. for an engine or time piece, which he denominates, "The Watchman's Nomenclatory and Labourer's Regulator." Dated April 20.

James Hall, of Mellor, in the parish of Glossop, Derbyshire, weaver; for improvements upon looms. Dated April 27.

Elizabeth Bell, of Hampstead, Middlesex, spinster; for a method of sweeping chimnies, and of constructing them in such a manner, as to lessen the danger and inconvenience from fire and smoke. Dated May 10.

George Beaumont, of South Cross-land, near Huddersfield, Yorkshire, and Walter Beaumont, of the same place, manufacturers of woollen goods; for a mixture to be used in the preparation of sheep or lambs wool, for various purposes. Dated May 17.

Joshua Green, of Banbury, Oxfordshire, manufacturer; for a method of manufacturing corded and ribbed shags or plushes, composed of different materials, on a principle entirely new. Dated May 17.

James Roche, of King-street, Holborn, Middlesex, gent. for a medicine for the cure of the whooping cough. Dated May 23.

Chester Gould, of Red Lion-street, Clerkenwell, Middlesex; for a glass on a new principle, to be used by mariners at sea, instead of the common sand glasses when heaving the log, for the purpose of ascertaining the ship's rate of sailing; and also for other uses, either on land or at sea. Dated May 28.

Thomas Fulcher, the elder, of Ipswich, Suffolk, surveyor and builder; for a water-proof composition, in imitation of Portland

stone, for stuccoing and washing new and old stone, and brick buildings; and for cementing the joints, and tucking and pointing all stone and brick works that require proof against water and damp. Dated May 28.

John Gamble, of Leicester-square, Middlesex, gent. for improvements on and additions to a machine for making paper in single sheets without seams or joinings. Dated June 7.

John Randall Peckham, of White Lyon-street, Clerkenwell, Middlesex, watchmaker; for improvements on a lock to a musket, fuzee, carbine, fowling-piece, or pistol. Dated June 10.

James Fussell, of Mills, Somersetshire, iron manufacturer; for a method of working water-wheels for raising of water, and, in a great measure, preventing water-wheels from being flooded, and other useful purposes. Dated June 14.

John Wood, of Manchester, Lancashire, machine-maker; for improvements upon machines for spinning and reeling of cotton. Dated June 14.

James Thomson, of the city of Edinburgh, bell-hanger; for improvements in the hanging of bells, window-curtains, window and other blinds. Dated June 14.

John Harriott, of Wapping, Middlesex, and Edmund Cobb Hurry, of Gosport, Southampton, esqrs. and William Crispin, of Gosport aforesaid, shipwright; for a method of making and working windlasses. Dated June 14.

Thomas Newstead, of Kingston-upon-Hull, Yorkshire, chemist; for a method of preparing barrilla and kelp, and the neutral salts obtained therefrom. Dated June 18.

Peter



Peter Storck, of John-street, Tottenham-court-road, Middlesex, baker; for a substitute for brewer's yeast, which may be made and used in all weathers and climates. Dated June 21.

Thomas Brown, of Alnwick, Northumberland, whitesmith; for a machine for the cutting of tobacco, tallow for tallow-chandlers and soap-boilers; and also for the cutting of turnips, cabbages, carrots, and other kind of roots, for the feeding of cattle. Dated June 21.

Joseph Everett, of Salisbury, Wiltshire, clothier; for an article manufactured of different materials, and wove in a peculiar manner, so as to give it an appearance of velvet, which he denominates "Salisbury Angola Moleskin." Dated June 28.

George Woods, of Barbican, in the city of London, gent, for a method of constructing harps, harpsichords, piano-fortes, violins, guitars, and other stringed musical instruments. Dated June 28.

Archibald earl of Dundonald; for a method of treating or preparing hemp and flax, so as materially to aid the operation of the tools called hackles, in the division of the fibres, and which is likewise attended with other advantages. Dated June 28.

Edward Warner, the younger, of Little New-street, in the city of London, brass-founder, for an improvement upon the air-lamp, the properties whereof consist in reflecting a more general and stronger light by means of certain valves, and a newly-constructed burner. Dated June 29.

James Roberts, of Abbotston Farm, Southampton, yeoman, and George Cathery, of New Alresford, in the same county, gent. for a method of completely and effectually

eradicating smut from wheat; and that wheat, when cleansed by their invention, will produce flour of as good quality and value as flour made from wheat of the best growth. Dated July 6.

Joseph Manton, of Davies-street, Berkley-square, in the parish of St. George, Hanover-square, Middlesex, gun-maker; for a hammer, upon a new construction, for the locks of all kinds of fowling-pieces and small arms. Dated July 6.

James Stuart, of London-street, in the parish of St. Dunstan, Stepney, Middlesex; for a method to strengthen ships or floating vessels. Dated July 27.

John Norton, of Roll's-buildings, Fetter-lane, Fleet-street, London, mathematical instrument-maker; for an improvement in the construction of a water-mill. Dated July 28.

Thomas Kentish, of Baker-street North, Portman-square, Middlesex, esq. for a dewick, for the purpose of more expeditiously, with less labour, and at less expence than heretofore, loading and unloading ships and vessels, removing heavy bodies in any direction, and which is also applicable to other useful purposes. Dated July 29.

Arthur Woolf, of Wood-street, Spa-fields, Middlesex, engineer; for an improved apparatus for converting water or other liquid, into vapour or steam, for the working of steam-engines, for the heating of water or other liquid employed in brewing, distilling, dying, bleaching, tanning, and other processes connected with arts and manufactures; calculated also to make a stronger extract than can be obtained by the processes commonly in use from a given quantity of any vegetable or other



other substance from which extracts are or may be made without the danger of burning, scorching, or singeing, such vegetable or other substance, and applicable to various other processes. Dated July 29.

Laver Oliver, of Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk; upholder and cabinet-maker; for dining, card, pembroke, and other tables, upon an improved construction. Dated August 3.

James Hall, of Mellor, in the parish of Glossop, Derbyshire, weaver; for an improvement to the loom, whereby a new and cheap method of perpetually taking away the articles woven therein, as they are woven, is effected. Dated August 3.

Francis Godbold, of Craven-street, Westminster, dice-maker; for new invented dice. Dated August 3.

John Edwards, of Vine-street, Lambeth, Surry, engineer; for improvements in distilling, rectifying, and dyeing, whereby the same will be considerably accelerated, and the consumption of fuel will be materially reduced. Dated August 3.

Bryan Donkin, of Dartford, Kent, mill-wright; for a mode of producing a rotatory motion applicable to useful purposes. Dated August 3.

Michael Logan, of Paradise-street, in the parish of St. Mary, Rotherhithe, Surry, engineer; for a conservative lock for the use of inland or canal navigation. Dated August 5.

Cathcart Dempster, of St. Andrew's, North Britain, gent. for improvements in the manufacture of canvas or strong cloths, of vegetable

materials, for sails, tents, packages, and other useful purposes. Dated August 30.

Chester Gould, of Red Lion-street, Clerkenwell, Middlesex, gent.; for an hydrometer on a new principle, for the purpose of ascertaining the strength of spirits, and determining the specific gravity of fluids. Dated September 3.

John Isaac Hawkins, late of Borden-ton, in the United States of America, now residing in King-street, Clerkenwell,\* Middlesex, Merchant; for machinery and methods for writing, painting, drawing, ruling lines, and other things; and for applying part of the aforesaid machinery to other purposes. Dated September 24.

Robert Ransome, of Ipswich, Suffolk, iron-founder, being one of the people called Quakers; for a method of making and tempering cast-iron plough shares, and other articles of cast-iron for agricultural uses. Dated September 24.

Robert Atkins, of Fenchurch-street, in the city of London, mathematical instrument maker; for improvements in the construction of hydrometers, for ascertaining the strength of spirituous liquors; and a sliding rule of correction for temperature to the hydrometer, and various improvements thereof. Dated October 31.

Edward Thomason, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, button and toy-manufacturer; for a new mode of making hearth-brushes. Dated October 31.

Booth Hodgetts, of Dudley, in the county of Worcester, nail-ironmonger; for machinery for rolling iron  
for

\* We are requested to state that Mr. Hawkins has since removed to No. 21 Pall Mall, where he exhibits the above invention.

for shanks, and for forming the same into shanks for nails. Dated November 8.

Richard Younger, of Pittman's-buildings, Old-street, in the county of Middlesex, gent.; for an improved method of extracting worts from malt, barley, and other grains and substances. Dated November 12.

William Freemantle, of Bunhill-row, in the parish of St. Luke, Old-street, in the county of Middlesex, watchmaker; for improvements in the construction of steam engines. Dated November 17.

James Bevans, of Castle-street, City-road, in the county of Middlesex, carpenter, being one of the society of the people called Quakers; for methods of applying machinery for the purposes of more expeditiously striking or sticking mouldings, and for rabbetting, ploughing, or grooving, fluting, and excavating wood, in every manner, now usually performed by any kind of plane. Dated November 19.

George Penton, of New-street-square, in the city of London, brass-founder; for an improvement on lamps, commonly called Argand's lamps. Dated November 19.

James Sturman Searles, of Little Alie-street, Goodman's-fields, in the parish of St. Mary, Whitechapel, in the county of Middlesex, gun-maker, for an improvement or improvements to be applied to any kind of fire-arms or defensive instruments. Dated December 3.

Charles Wyatt, of New Bridge-street, in the city of London, merchant; for a new-invented process of purifying ardent spirits. Dated December 21.

Robert Cross, of Quakers Brook within Houghton, in the county of

Lancaster, tanner, and Thomas Southworth, of Houghton, aforesaid cotton-manufacturer; for their new-invented mode of heating such pans, vats, cisterns, and other vessels, as are required to be heated by fire, and used for working steam-engines, and in the businesses of callico-printer, dyer, brewer, paper-maker, bleacher, salt-maker, tanner, and other such like trades; by which invention much expence will be saved, not only in the fuel to be used in the heating of such vessels, but also in constructing the vessels themselves. Dated December 31.

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*Particulars relative to the Construction of, and Benefits received from, sundry Life Boats, built by Mr. Henry Greathead, or under his Direction, in and since the Year 1789.*

*Account of the South Shields Life Boat.*

FROM the declaration of sir Cuthbert Heron, bart. of South Shields, it appears, that when the Adventure was wrecked in 1789, on the Herd Sands, he offered a reward for any seaman to go off to save the men's lives, which was refused; and that the greatest part of the crew of the Adventure perished within 300 yards of the shore, and in sight of a multitude of spectators. The gentlemen of South Shields immediately met and offered a reward to any person who would give in a plan of a boat, which should be approved, for the preservation of men's lives. Mr. Greathead gave in a plan, which met with approbation: a committee was formed, and a subscription raised for the building of a boat



a boat upon that plan. After it was built, it was with some difficulty that the sailors were induced to go off in her; but, in consequence of a reward offered, they went off, and brought the crew of a stranded vessel on shore. Since which time the boat has been readily manned, and no lives lost (except in the instances of the crew trusting to their own boats); and, in his opinion, if Mr. Greathead's boat had existed at the time of the wreck of the *Adventure*, the crew would have been saved.

From other accounts it appears, that, in the year 1791, the crew of a brig, belonging to *Sunderland*, and laden from the westward, were preserved by this life-boat, the vessel at the same time breaking to pieces by the force of the sea.

On January 1st, 1795, the ship *Parthenius*, of *Newcastle*, was driven on the *Herd Sands*, and the life boat went to her assistance, when the sea breaking over the ship, as the boat was ranging alongside, the boat was so violently shaken that her bottom was hanging loose; under these circumstances, she went three times off to the ship, without being affected by the water in her.

In the latter part of the year 1796, a sloop, belonging to Mr. *Brymer*, from *Scotland*, laden with bale goods, was wrecked on the *Herd Sands*; the crew and passengers were taken out by the life-boat; the vessel went to pieces at the time the boat was employed, the goods were scattered on the sand, and part of them lost.

In the same year, a vessel, named the *Countess of Errol*, was driven on the *Herd Sands*, and the crew saved by the life-boat.

October 15, 1797, the sloop

called *Fruit of Friends*, from *Leith*, coming to *South Shields*, was driven on the *Herd Sands*. One part of the passengers, in attempting to come on shore in the ship's-boat, was unfortunately drowned; the other part was brought on shore safe by the life-boat.

The account of captain *William Carter*, of *Newcastle*, states, that, on the 28th November, 1797, the ship *Planter*, of *London*, was driven on shore near *Tynemouth-Bar*, by the violence of a gale; the life-boat came out, and took fifteen persons from the ship, which the boat had scarcely quitted before the ship went to pieces; and that without the boat they must all have inevitably perished, as the wreck came on shore soon after the life-boat. He conceived that no boat of a common construction could have given relief at that time. The ships *Gateshead*, and *Mary*, of *Newcastle*, the *Beaver*, of *North Shields*, and a sloop, were in the same situation with the *Planter*. The crew of the *Gateshead*, nine in number, took to their own boat, which sunk, and seven of them were lost; the other two saved themselves by ropes thrown from the *Mary*. After the life-boat had landed the crew of the *Planter*, she went off successively to the other vessels, and brought the whole of the crews safe to shore, together with the two persons who had escaped from the boat of the *Gateshead*.

Mr. *Carter* adds, that he has seen the life-boat go to the assistance of other vessels, at different times, and she ever succeeded in bringing the crews safe to shore; that he had several times observed her come on shore full of water, and always safe.



*Account of the Northumberland  
Life-Boat.*

The Northumberland life-boat, so called from being built at the expence of his grace the duke of Northumberland, and presented by him to North Shields, was first employed in November, 1798, when she went off to the ship *Edinburgh*, of Kincardine, which was seen to go upon the Herd Sands, about a mile and a half from the shore. Ralph Hillery, one of the seamen who went out in the life-boat to her assistance, relates that she was brought to an anchor before the life-boat got to her; that the ship continued to strike the ground so heavily, that she could not have held together ten minutes longer, had not the life-boat arrived; they made her cut her cable, and then took seven men out of her, and brought them on shore; that the sea was, at that time, so monstrously high, that no other boat whatever could have lived in it. He stated, that in the event of the life-boat filling, she would continue upright and would not founder, as boats of common construction do; that he has seen her go off scores of times, and never saw her fail in bringing off such of the crews as staid by their ships.

It also saved (as appears from other accounts) the crew of the brig *Clio*, of Sunderland, when she struck upon the rocks, called the Black Middens, on the north side of the entrance of Tynemouth haven.

October 25, 1799, the ship *Quintillian*, from St. Petersburg, drove on the Herd Sands, from the force of the sea-wind at N. E. knocked her rudder off, and was much da-

maged; but the crew were brought on shore by the life-boat. The great utility of this life-boat is also confirmed by many other recent circumstances: One among which is that of the ship *Sally*, of Sunderland, which, in taking the harbour of Tynemouth, on December 25, 1801, at night, struck on the bar: the crew were brought on shore by the life-boat, but the ship was driven among the rocks.

On the 22d of January, 1802, in a heavy gale of wind from the N. N. W. the ship *Thomas and Alice*, in attempting the harbour of South Shields, was driven on the Herd Sand: the Northumberland life-boat went to her assistance; took, as was supposed, all the people out, and pulled away from the ship to make the harbour, when they were waved to return by a man who had been below deck. On taking this man out, they encountered a violent gust of wind, under the quarter of the ship; the ship, at the same time, drove among the breakers; and, entangling the boat with her, broke most of the oars on that side of the boat next the ship, and filled the boat with water. By the shock, several oars were knocked out of the hands of the rowers, and that of the steersman. In this situation, the steersman quickly replaced his oar from one of those left in the boat, and swept the boat before the sea, filled with water inside, as high as the midship gunwhale: the boat was steered, in this situation, before the wind and sea, a distance far exceeding a mile, and landed twenty-one men, including the boat's crew, without any accident but being wet.

Mr. Hinderwell, of Scarborough, communicated, in a letter to Mr. Greathead,

Greathead, the following account of the Scarborough life-boat.

The life-boat at Scarborough, which was built without the least deviation from the model and the plan which you sent here at my request, has even exceeded the most sanguine expectations; and I have now received experimental conviction of its great ability in cases of shipwreck, and of its perfect safety in the most agitated sea. Local prejudices will ever exist against novel inventions, however excellent may be the principles of their construction; and there were some, at this place, who disputed the performance of the life-boat, until a circumstance lately happened, which brought it to the test of experience, and removed every shadow of objection, even from the most prejudiced minds.

On Monday the 2d of November, we were visited with a most tremendous storm from the eastward, and I scarcely ever remember seeing a more mountainous sea. The Aurora, of Newcastle, in approaching the harbour, was driven ashore to the southward; and, as she was in the most imminent danger, the life boat was immediately launched to her assistance. The place where the ship lay, was exposed to the whole force of the sea, and she was surrounded with broken water, which dashed over the decks with considerable violence. In such a perilous situation the life boat adventured, and proceeded through the breach of the sea, rising on the summit of the waves without shipping any water, except a little from the spray. On going upon the lee-quarter of the vessel, they were endangered by the main-boom, which had broken loose, and was driving about with great force. This com-

pelled them to go alongside, and they instantly took out four of the crew; but the sea which broke over the decks, having nearly filled the boat with water, they were induced to put off for a moment, when seeing three boys; (the remainder of the crew) clinging to the rigging, and in danger of perishing, they immediately returned, and took them into the boat, and brought the whole to land in safety. By means of the life-boat, built from your plan, and the exertions of the boatmen, seven men and boys were thus saved to their country and their friends, and preserved from the inevitable destruction, which otherwise awaited them. The boat was not in the least affected by the water which broke into her when alongside of the vessel; and, indeed, the boatmen thought it rendered her more steady in the sea. I must also add, that it was the general opinion, that no other boat of the common construction could have possibly performed this service; and the fishermen, though very adventurous, declared they would not have made the attempt in their own boats.

We have appointed a crew of fishermen to manage the boat, under the direction of the committee; and the men are so much satisfied with the performance of the boat, and so confident in her safety, that they are emboldened to adventure upon the most dangerous occasion.

By other accounts, furnished to the society, it appears that the Scarborough life-boat, on the 21st of November, 1801, was the means of saving a sloop belonging to Sunderland, and her crew, consisting of three men and boys: also, the Experiment, of London, her cargo and crew, consisting of eight men and



boys, when in a distressed and perilous situation, on the 22d of January last, which facts are attested by eleven owners of ships resident in Scarborough.

In the course of the last twelve months, several ships and vessels, which have not been included in the above accounts, have been driven on shore in bad weather, and got off again afterwards; the crews have been saved by being taken out by the life-boat, whereas, if they had remained on board, they must have perished, the sea making a passage over them.

*Observations on the Culture and Growth of Oak Timber, by the Rev. Richard Yates, F. A. S. from the Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.*

*(The Silver Medal was voted to the Author of this Communication.)*

TO expatiate upon the vast importance of increasing the growth of oak timber, seems unnecessary. The national advantages resulting from this source, appear to be, in general, well understood; and yet the cultivation and management of this most useful plant, has not hitherto obtained that degree of attention which it most certainly merits.

Entirely to obviate, or even in some measure to remove or lessen, the obstacles that still continue to impede the planting of oaks, would, therefore, be rendering an essential service to the nation. The desire of accomplishing so beneficial a purpose, has induced the judicious and public spirited conductors of the society of arts, to propose a pre-

mium for "ascertaining the best method of raising oaks;" in consequence of which, this paper is submitted to their candid consideration. And as the statements here made are founded upon a sedulous and active experience of fifty years, it is presumed the spirit and meaning of the society's proposal may have been observed, although it has not been possible (in this instance), literally to fulfil its terms; at least the very intention of promoting and forwarding the views of so enlightened, and highly useful a society, may, it is hoped, be accepted as an apology for calling their attention to these observations.

It forms no part of the present design to enter minutely into the various causes that continue to operate in obstructing the cultivation of the oak; as there is one of peculiar magnitude, the consequences of which are highly detrimental and injurious, and which it is, therefore, the principal object of this paper to remove.

An opinion is generally prevalent, that the oak is particularly slow in its growth, and requires a great number of years before it affords any advantage. This idea, too often, deters from planting, on account of the very great length of time it is supposed the land must be occupied before any return of valuable produce can be obtained from it, after a considerable expence may have been incurred in forming plantations.

This opinion, I consider as entirely founded in error, and to have taken its rise, in a great measure, from the want of proper management, that has hitherto commonly prevailed in the raising of oaks; and in this paper, I shall endeavour, strongly,



strongly, to state, that the oak may be rendered very rapid in its growth, and that, consequently, land may be employed to great advantage in its cultivation; as a very considerable and profitable produce may, in a much shorter time than is generally supposed, be derived from proper parts of an estate thus employed.

Oak timber in this country, for the most part, appears in trees of a considerable extent of head, but seldom more than twenty or thirty feet in stem; and this, in many instances, the growth of a century. Now, by the course of management here proposed, it is conceived that trees, of at least double this magnitude, may be obtained in half that time.

It is not my intention to attempt a proof of this proposition by theoretical deductions, but to appeal for its confirmation to the indubitable test of fact, which, from the event of repeated trials, impresses a conviction that experience will be found to support and establish it in the most unequivocal manner.

It would be easy to enlarge much on the various qualities of soil, the nature and process of vegetation, and the peculiar properties of the oak; but as these topics may be found amply and judiciously discussed in many other authors, who have expressly treated on these subjects, I shall decline all such speculations; and, with the hope of being more essentially useful, shall confine myself to a statement as simple and practicable as possible.

The oak, in the progress of its growth, spreads numerous roots near the surface of the ground, and in an horizontal direction; these assist in supporting and preserving the tree in its position, but seem to

contribute very little to its increase in magnitude. The oak appears to derive its chief nutriment and strength from a root which always descends at a right angle to the horizon, and is called the tap root. The first thing, therefore, to be observed is, that, upon a judicious attention to this peculiarity, the planters success principally depends; and the neglect of this care is the constant source of error and disappointment. In all climates, and upon all soils, to preserve this tap root from injury, and as much as possible to assist its growth, is a general, and, indeed, the most essential principle in the cultivation of oak. With a due regard to this circumstance, the management of a plantation may be resolved into the three following practical directions:

Previously to planting the acorns, loosen the earth intended for their reception by deep trenching.

Never transplant, or in any way disturb, the saplings intended for timber. And

Keep the plant carefully pruned, till arrived at a proper height.

More fully to elucidate the subject, and to prevent the possibility of misapprehension, it may be proper to give a more detailed statement.

In determining on a spot to form a plantation of oaks for timber, it must always be recollected that the plants are to remain without removal in their first situation: the clearing and fencing may then be attended to as usual; and in the course of the winter, from September to March, the particular spots intended for the reception of the acorns, may be prepared for that purpose, by digging a trench about three feet

in width, and from three to six feet in depth, according to the closeness and tenacity of the soil. If grass ground, the first spit should be placed at the bottom of the trench; and, if more than one trench be necessary, they should be prepared in the same manner, preserving a distance of ten yards between each, if it be intended to employ the intermediate space in underwood, or for any other purpose.

Having made a careful selection of acorns that are perfectly sound, and in good preservation, they are to be planted about the middle of March. Draw a drill in the centre of the trench, two inches in depth, if the soil be heavy and loamy, but three inches in a light and sandy earth; in this plant the acorns two inches asunder, and cover them carefully with mould. When the plants appear, they must be weeded by hand in the rows, and the earth of the trench round them cleaned with a hoe, once a month, during the summer. In October inspect the rows and thin them, by pulling up every other plant: attention will, of course, be paid to remove the weak and crooked plants, and leave those that are tallest and straightest. On the second year, the operation of thinning must be repeated at the same time, and in the same manner; and, should any of the remaining plants have made side shoots, stronger than the general character, they must be smoothly cut off with a sharp knife, close to the leading stem. On the third year, the thinning is repeated, and the general pruning commenced, by cutting off close to the leading stem, all the side shoots of the first year; thus leaving the branches of two years to form the head of the fol-

lowing year. The removal of every alternate plant must be continued yearly, till the trees are about thirty feet apart, at which distance they may remain for timber. The pruning is to be continued, by removing, every year, very smooth and close to the main stem, one year's growth of side branches, till the plants are arrived at a stem forty, fifty, or sixty feet, and they may then be permitted to run to head without farther pruning.

The particular arrangement here recommended, may be varied according to any peculiarities of situation, regard being constantly had to the general and most important principle of loosening the ground (very deep) previously to planting the acorns. By this mode of culture, oaks may be raised in almost any soil; but, where it is possible, a loam or marl is always to be chosen. Oaks thrive much the best in such earth, and when assisted by deep trenching and judicious pruning, attain, in a few years, to an immense size.

Those who have been accustomed to notice the slow growth and stunted appearance of oak trees, when denied the assistance of art, and left to themselves in the common way, would observe, with astonishment, the vigorous and rapid increase of plants under the management now pointed out.

The plants thinned out the first three or four years, though not fit to be depended upon for timber, as transplanting generally injures very materially the future growth, may be replanted in the intermediate spaces, between the rows, for the purpose of being afterwards removed; or they may be usefully placed in hedges, or other spare and  
unoccupied



unoccupied spots of ground. They should be headed down at the time of transplanting, as this operation assists the process of nature, in reproducing or remedying any injury the tap root may have received from the removal, and, if proper attention be given to loosen the soil for their reception, and pruning them as they advance, in most instances an adequate profit will be derived from the labour bestowed upon them. After a few years, the produce of the timber plantation will be found very advantageous. The young trees that are to be removed yearly, will always find a ready market for a variety of purposes, unnecessary here to enumerate. In addition to these advantages, if by this treatment of deep trenching previously to planting, and annual careful pruning during the growth, timber can be produced in about fifty years, of equal quality, and much superior in size, to that which has been above one hundred years growing under improper management, or without the assistance of cultivation; it will, doubtless, be allowed, that a most beneficial, if not absolutely the best possible method of "raising oaks," is here pointed out and ascertained.

This method of cultivation may, perhaps, be thought to occasion so much expence in manual labour, as to prevent its being generally adopted: it might, perhaps, be sufficient to observe, that if the work be conducted with judgment and economy, the future produce will afford ample returns for all necessary expenditure: it should also be recollected, that the previous preparation of the ground, and the subsequent pruning of the plants, are both to be performed at that season

of the year, when a scarcity of work will enable the planter to obtain assistance upon easier terms; with this additional advantage also, of providing employment for the labourer at those times, when the general state of agricultural business renders it difficult for him to find maintenance for himself and family without charitable relief.

In 1750, at Ingestrie, in Staffordshire, the seat of lord Chetwynd, some plantations were formed and managed, in a great measure, according to the principles here stated, and the growth of the plants was so uncommonly rapid and so extraordinary, that it could not but attract the notice of all concerned in the conduct of them. The attention to the subject then excited has been the occasion and ground of all the observations and experiments made from that time to the present, the result of which is given in this paper.

The extensive plantations of the late lord Denbigh, at Newnham Paddox, in Warwickshire, are well known and much admired. The whole has been conducted with great judgment. About a square acre has been employed in raising oaks upon a plan nearly similar to that now proposed, and affords the best and most convincing proof of the superior utility and efficacy of such management. Had the noble earl been now living, I should have been enabled to have laid before the society some more detailed particulars: that, however, is now impossible; this paper, therefore, in its present state, may, perhaps, be thought not altogether unworthy of notice, as tending to forward the liberal designs of the society, and contributing to the advantage of the public,



public, the author conceiving that the best method of raising oaks is ascertained and stated in it.

Should the society be in any degree inclined to join in this sentiment, it may, perhaps, induce them to make some alteration in the terms of their proposal; as, according to the statement made in this paper, and, indeed, from what may be seen in every part of the kingdom in the character and appearance of oaks growing without cultivation, it seems ascertained that "acorns set with the spade or dibble, without digging or tillage," can never be depended on to form good timber; and, even in the most favourable circumstances of this case, the growth will be exceedingly slow and precarious. The same may be said of "young plants, previously raised in nurseries and transplanted;" for if the tap root be cut, broken, or in any degree injured, which, in transplanting, it is almost impossible to avoid, that plant will seldom become a vigorous and flourishing tree. To form a course of experiments on such a plant as the oak, is not a very easy matter. To fulfil, explicitly, the conditions of the society would require a great length of time, and would be attended with considerable expence, from which future candidates may, in a great measure, be exonerated. The raising, even one acre, in the manner here ascertained, might be productive of great pecuniary advantage, if the facts and experience detailed in this paper are permitted to prove the inutility of the other two methods, and consequently to remove the necessity of employing so much ground upon them, at an expence they will never repay.

*Account of Experiments, shewing that violent Conflagrations may be extinguished by very small Quantities of Water, by Means of a Portable Hand Engine, by M. Van Marum, from the "Annales De Chimie."*

A SWEDE, named Van Aken, nine years ago, publicly shewed at Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Berlin, that he could very expeditiously extinguish fires by a small quantity of a liquor, denominated anti-incendiary, and which he, for some time, kept secret. Having seen, in the journals, that M. Van Aken had repeated his experiments with great success at Berlin, in the presence of some of the members of the academy of sciences, I wrote to the celebrated M. Klapproth, requesting him to communicate to me the composition of M. Van Aken's anti-incendiary liquor, if he were acquainted with it, with the intention of ascertaining the merit of the invention by an experiment on a large scale. For this purpose, as soon as M. Klapproth had communicated to me the method of preparing it, I caused a quantity to be made under my own inspection. It consists of a solution of 40lbs. of sulphate of iron and 30lbs. of sulphate of alumine, mixed with 20lbs. of red oxyd of iron (colcothar) and 200lbs. of clay. I then began to make comparative experiments, by setting fire to two masses of combustibles, equal in every respect, and, by extinguishing one of them, with Van Aken's liquid, and the other with common water. I was surprised to see, in several trials, that by using the two liquids in the same manner, the fire was always  
more

more expeditiously extinguished by water than by the anti-incendiary liquor; but I observed, at the same time, that a very small quantity of water, when properly directed, extinguished an extremely violent conflagration. My first experiments on this subject, led me to make others, on a larger scale; I shall take notice only of the latter.

I took two barrels which had contained pitch, and the inside of which, was still covered with that inflammable substance. I took out the top and bottom of each, and, to give increased power to the flames, I altered them to a conical figure, twenty inches in diameter at the upper end, and sixteen inches at the other. This I placed on an iron frame, about three inches from the ground, that a free current of air, rising through the barrel, might render the flame as fierce as possible. I put a fresh covering of pitch over the inside of each barrel, and, by means of shavings, set fire to them one after the other. I began to extinguish the fire when most violent. For this purpose, I employed an iron ladle, containing two ounces of water, and provided with a very long handle, as the heat of the fire kept me at the distance of four or five feet. I carefully poured the water out of the ladle in very small streams over the inside of the barrel, applying it to the edge, and moving it along the edge, according as the flames ceased. In this manner the first ladle full put out nearly half of the fire; and what remained was extinguished by the second, applied in the same way.

The uncommon success of this experiment, induced me to repeat it in the presence of several persons; and by practice in the economical

employment of water, I have more than once been able to extinguish a pitched barrel, in a state of the most complete conflagration, by a single ladle full, consisting of two ounces of water.

It must at first appear surprising, that so small a quantity of water can extinguish such a violent fire.—But the reason will easily be conceived, upon reflecting, that the flame of any burning substance must cease, according to the well-known principles and experiments, as soon as any cause prevents the atmospheric air from touching its surface: thus, when a small quantity of water is thrown upon a body in a state of violent conflagration, this water is at first partly reduced to vapour, which, rising from the surface of the burning substance, repels the atmospheric air, and consequently represses the flame, which, for the same reason, cannot again appear whilst the production of the vapour continues.

From these experiments, it appears that the art of extinguishing a violent conflagration, with very little water, consists in throwing it where the fire is most powerful, so that the production of vapour from the water, by which the flames are smothered, may be as abundant as possible; and in proceeding to throw the water on the nearest inflamed part, as soon as the fire ceases in that where you began, till you have gone over all the burning parts as expeditiously as possible.—In thus regularly following the flames with the water, they may be every where extinguished, before the part where you began has entirely lost, by evaporation, the water with which it was wetted, which is frequently necessary, to prevent the



the parts from taking fire again: after the flames of a burning body are extinguished, it cannot again take fire, for the abovementioned reason, till all the water thrown upon it be evaporated.

Being convinced, by these experiments, that very little water may suffice for extinguishing ordinary conflagrations, particularly at their commencement, I have endeavoured to convince many of my fellow-citizens of it, by repeating the experiments just described; and I have advised the procuring of small portable engines, to be used in cases of necessity. Many followed my advice immediately, and, after their good offices had been seen, in some cases, their numbers increased more and more in many towns of Holland, especially after the experiment which I made here in May, 1797, to shew, upon a larger scale, the advantages that may be derived from a judicious application of water, to extinguish even the most furious conflagration, by means of portable engines, with a very small quantity of water. The experiment was the following.

I constructed a shed of dry wood, forming a room twenty-four feet long, twenty wide, and fourteen high, having two doors on one side, and two windows on the other.—This shed was provided with the wood work of a roof, but was not covered, and stood about six inches from the ground, that there might be a thorough current of air to increase the fierceness of the flames, when the building should be set on fire. The inside of it was completely covered with pitch, and lined with straw, which was likewise pitched. To this straw lining I fastened wood shavings and cotton

dipped in oil of turpentine, to set fire to the whole inside of the shed at once. Soon after the fire was applied, the flames, being increased by the wind, were every where so violent, that all the spectators thought they could not possibly be extinguished. I, however, succeeded in about four minutes, by the method already described, with five buckets of water, part of which was wasted through the fault of those who assisted me, as the following experiment proved.

I invited but very few to be present at this first experiment on the 8th of May, but on the 11th I repeated it, in the presence of a very numerous company, after repairing and restoring the shed to its original state. The fire was not less violent than in the preceding experiment.—I then directed the water myself, without any assistance, and effectually extinguished the fire in three minutes, having used only three buckets of water, each containing about four gallons and a half.

Being at Gotha, in July 1801, the duke and duchess of Gotha pressed me, at their expence, to repeat the experiment, of which they had seen the details in the German journals, that it might be made more generally known in that part of Germany, where, as in other countries, great injury is sometimes sustained from conflagrations, because the people know not how to employ judiciously the small quantity of water they have at hand. The obliging manner in which their highnesses requested me to repeat the experiment, and my wish to make it of more general utility, induced me to undertake it. The celebrated astronomer Von Zach was likewise present, and drew up the account  
inserted



inserted in a German periodical publication, intituled "Reichs Anzeiger," of 6th August, 1798.

M. Lalande arrived at Gotha four days after the experiment, and was informed of its result. He mentioned it, as he lately informed me, soon after his return to Paris, to the national institute, but he, at the same time, told me, that doubts were entertained of the truth of his narrative. To remove all doubts on this head, I shall annex the following account of the experiment, drawn up by the celebrated astronomer of Gotha, and inserted by him in the abovementioned periodical publication.

"Doctor Van Marum, having made some stay at Gotha, in the course of a literary tour through Germany, in 1798, the duke of Gotha, known as an amateur of the mathematical and physical sciences, expressed a wish that he would exhibit, on a large scale, an experiment of his method of extinguishing fire, the effect of which M. Van Marum had shewn, by extinguishing, by means of a ladle full of water, a pitched barrel, which he had set on fire. A shed of old and perfectly dry wood was, in consequence, erected, under the direction of M. Van Marum, in front of the duchess's garden. Its dimensions were, in every respect, equal to that which served for the same experiment at Haarlem, being twenty-four feet long, twenty wide, and fourteen in height. There were two doors on the north-east side, and two large apertures, in the form of windows, on the north-west side.—The top was quite open, to give the flames a free passage.

"The inside of this shed was covered with pitch, and afterwards with

straw mats, plentifully besmeared with melted pitch. To the bottom of these straw mats were fastened cotton wicks, dipped in spirits of turpentine, that the place might take fire in every part at once. In consequence, the fire being considerably increased by the wind, was at first so powerful, and the flames, enveloped in thick clouds of smoke, rose with such violence, to the height of several feet above the opening of the roof, that the nearest spectators were obliged to retire precipitately, and many of them declared that it would be impossible to extinguish the conflagration, and that the shed would be entirely reduced to ashes. When the straw mats were completely consumed, the wood of the shed was soon in flames in every part. The circumstances under which this experiment was made were highly unfavourable; for the wind drove the flame exactly out at the doors on the north-east side, at which the water for extinguishing it was to be introduced. But notwithstanding this M. Van Marum placed a small portable engine before the door, nearest the south-east side, without regard to the fears and opposition of his assistants, and ordered it to be worked there, stationing himself as near as the heat of the fire would permit him, he first directed the water to the south-east side, as near the door as possible, and as soon as the flame was extinguished in one part, he guided the water to another. He then directed it along the north-east side, so that in a few minutes the flames were completely extinguished on those two sides. The engine was then placed before one of the apertures made in the form of windows, on the north-west side, and then coming

ing to the middle of the shed, which was still on fire in several places, in the crevices of the planks, and the holes made by the nails, he completely extinguished the fire, which, from time to time, broke out again in small flames, and this terrible conflagration was entirely got under.—According to the calculation of several spectators, the fire was extinguished in three minutes, at most, after the engine began to work. It is true the flames broke out again in several places, but they were of so little consequence, that they were extinguished by means of wet rags fastened to a stick. Before the engine began to work, the reservoir was filled, at two different times, with two buckets of water. But in the removal of the engine to the first aperture or window of the shed, and afterwards to the middle of it, a considerable quantity of water, that may be estimated at nearly a pailful, was spilt; so that it may with truth be asserted, that this violent conflagration was extinguished by three buckets of water, exclusive of what was afterwards used to extinguish those parts of the shed that remained red. When the fire was out, every one could see that it was not only the matted straw which had been burned, but that the wood, of which the building was constructed, had been so completely on fire, that the space of an inch could not be found that had not been burned to a greater or less depth. The north-east side in particular, against which the wind had driven the flames with the greatest violence, was entirely charred. The experiment made at Gotha differs materially from that at Haarlem, in the following particulars: that the flames and thick smoke that issued from

the doors, rendered the approach to the shed, with the engine, extremely difficult at the former place, so that it was only by persuasion, and the courageous example he himself set, by placing himself always in front with the engine pipe, that M. Van Marum could induce his assistants to approach the danger they so much dreaded.”

From what has been already stated, it results, that, in the application of this method of extinguishing fire, the whole art consists in attending to what follows: that, to stop the most violent flame, it is necessary only to wet the surface of the burning substance where the flame appears, and, for this purpose, only a small quantity of water is required, if it be applied with judgment to the burning part; thus the point to be attended to in extinguishing a fire, is to direct the water so that the whole surface of the burning part may be wetted and extinguished, and that in such a manner, that no extinguished spot may be left between two others that are on fire; for, if attention be not paid to this particular, the heat of the flame, burning here and there, rapidly changes into vapour the water with which the extinguished wood has been wetted, and it again takes fire. Therefore, to extinguish fire of every kind, and in whatever manner it may have happened, nothing more is necessary than to apply to the burning part a sufficient quantity of water to wet its surface.

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*On the Advantages resulting to Vessels constructed with Sliding Keels. From “Grant’s Voyage to the South Seas.”*

## 1. VESSELS



1. **VESSELS** thus constructed will answer better as coasters of all kinds, and for the coal trade. The advantages which coasters will derive from this construction are many. It is certain that great numbers of them are lost, owing to their great draught of water; and it is also well known that their passages are frequently much lengthened, by their being obliged, when the wind is contrary, to run to leeward to get a good harbour, or roadstead. In such cases, if they drew a few feet less water, they would go into many harbours which they are now obliged to pass. But the inconvenience does not rest here, for, even when they arrive at the intended port, they are, perhaps, often obliged to wait several days for a spring tide, which, when it comes, a gale of wind probably prevents them from taking advantage of, and getting in; and often the same time may be lost in getting out of the harbour. Besides loss of time, and consequent expences to the owners, great quarrels are sometimes produced, through the same causes, betwixt owners, captain, and crews: all which would, in a great degree, be prevented, were these vessels of a smaller draught of water. According to the plan herein recommended, vessels of one hundred and twenty, to one hundred and forty tons, would not draw, when loaded, above  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet of water at most; and all other vessels in the same proportion. They who are concerned in shipping, and know what water vessels of such burthen at present draw, must see, with astonishment, the advantage of this construction; which would likewise prove more convenient, as such vessels would not require a pier to lie to, and are

capable of being moored in any part of a harbour; and, if the ground admit of it, carts, &c. might come along side, and load or unload them, which would also save a great expence.

2. Vessels built on this construction would answer in canals; where the canal is above four or five feet deep. Let us suppose the duke of Bridgewater's canals, and all others now made, or to be made in the kingdom, to be equal to the depth of the Scotch canal betwixt Glasgow and Carron, the locks to be from sixty to seventy feet long or more, and from twenty to twenty-six or more wide; in such a case, all the trade from any part of the inland country adjoining to the canals, could load at any public place, town, or village, where a manufactory was carried on; and proceed to the most distant parts of the known world, without the assistance of any other craft. This idea is submitted to the consideration of all those who are concerned in such public undertakings.

3. Vessels thus constructed would be exceedingly convenient to carry corn or mixed cargoes, part of which it is required to keep separate. This is certainly a great convenience, when it can be obtained without lessening the tonnage, and bulk heads will serve to separate the cargo, let it be as opposite as iron and gunpowder. The bulk heads answer as separate apartments, or like shifting boards, either for corn, salt, &c. There is, perhaps, nothing except masts; which such a vessel will not answer for better than any other.

4. Vessels built with sliding-keels have the advantage of all others in case of losing the rudder. Although what



what has been said respecting the effect of the fore and after keel, and the main or middle keel, are sufficient to prove that vessels with three sliding keels can, in case of losing the rudder, be instantly steered with the keels, either in a tack, or working to windward; yet as experiments have been made, and the efficacy of keels sufficiently ascertained, it will be necessary to refer to the certificate made by lieutenant Malbon, of the Trial cutter, and his officers, to the lords of the admiralty; in addition to which, says captain Schank, I can offer the testimony of the ingenious James Templer, esq. of Stove, in the county of Devon, who sailed several leagues in the same vessel, only using the keels. "I myself, (he farther adds), on many occasions, in the presence of sea-officers of different ranks, steered and worked that vessel in every manner possible, with the keels only: but a still more flattering and more honourable proof remains, as this experiment was made in presence of his majesty, at Weymouth, who was pleased to condescend so far as to examine the construction of the cutter, and to order her to sail in company with him, when signals were settled, by which she was to steer and work to windward, with the keels only; which was done, and his majesty signified his most gracious approbation."

5. Vessels on this construction will last longer than those built according to the present mode. Long experience has discovered, that nothing destroys timber so much as being sometimes wet, at other times dry; sometimes being exposed to the air, and at other times air excluded from it. This is not the case with ships built according to the

construction which has been herein often, but it is hoped not inconsiderately, recommended. It is generally known that the bottom of a ship seldom rots in less than fifty or sixty years; and some last even longer, though the upper works decay much sooner. This may be imputed to the distance the timbers are from each other, or to the circumstance of the cieling not being caulked, which defects admit of a quick succession of different sorts of air, heat and cold, wetness and dryness: but, according to the plan of making the ship more solid, these would, in a great measure, be excluded, and ships would last, at least, one third longer, if not double the time they do at present.

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*Method of managing Fish Ponds, for improving the Size and Flavour of Carp, Tench, and Perch; by a Member of the Imperial Agricultural Society, St. Petersburg; with additional Remarks and Improvements, adapted to this Country.*

THE quantity of fish to be supplied obviously depends upon the quantity of water, which should be divided, where it conveniently can, into five ponds: these may be distinguished by the first five figures, as, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

No. 5 is intended for breeding, and should be double or treble the size of any of the other ponds. Or if this be inconvenient, there may be two marked No. 5. This pond may likewise be the most distant from the house. If the breeding-pond should fail to answer this purpose, it will at least serve as a conservatory for fish of a small size, to be

be obtained elsewhere; and, indeed, fresh stores, in any case, will be found desirable.

The contents of this pond in carp and tench, or the greatest part, should be taken out annually in September or October, counted in braces, and such as are from five to seven inches long put into No. 4.

The contents of No. 4, when grown one year, from the length of five or seven inches, must be put into No. 3. The contents of No. 3 having grown one year, from No. 4, must be removed into No. 2. And, in like manner, the contents of No. 2, after one year, must be removed into No. 1, which is to contain only such fish as are fit for the table. It is obvious that this pond, for safety and convenience, should be nearest the house.

As No. 5 is to be the largest water, so No. 1 is to be the least; the rest of sizes between the two.

The shape of No. 1 should be oblong, for the convenience of the net, and the less disturbance of the fish, in taking out what are wanted from time to time.

A book should be kept to insert the number and size of each kind in every pond, and more particularly the number and weight of those taken out of No. 1, by which you will always know the stock fit for use.

If the nature of the ground will allow it, it would be proper that those ponds should be in sequence, one above another. By this method all the five ponds could be drawn, with the loss only of the water from the uppermost, No. 1.

Carp are fit for the table from three to seven pounds each. Tench from one pound and a half to three pounds each. Perch from three

quarters of a pound to one or two pounds.

It is supposed that none of the ponds have a current very cold, acrid, or innutritious water.

One acre of water upon a loam, clay, or marle, with a mixture of gravel, has been stated to be capable of supporting 2000 pounds weight of fish, the number of the fish making that weight, being immaterial.

Carp and tench breed most freely in ponds or pits newly made. Tench, likewise, in almost any ponds were cattle are admitted. This is a hint, that the mud should not remain in a pond too long without being taken out. A great quantity may readily be drawn out from the sides, by having a pole twelve or fifteen feet long, with a piece of iron fixed to it, eighteen inches wide and six broad, in the same manner as mud is drawn to the sides of a road.

If a pond be five feet deep, and mud is suffered to accumulate to the depth of one foot, the fish are deprived of one fifth part of the water.

It is evident, that perch and pike should not by any means be admitted into No. 5, but in all the other numbers; besides their intrinsic value, they are of important service, provided that they are strictly confined to a size greatly subordinate to that of the carp or tench. For they destroy not only the accidental fish which breed, but also several animals, whose food is the same with that of carp and tench, as frogs, newts, &c.

Pike, above the weight of one or two pounds, must not be admitted even amongst carp of the largest size and weight; and as they are of so voracious a nature, it is  
more



more prudent to admit of perch only.

The actual weight of fish, which any particular pond is capable of supporting, can only be determined by observation and experience, as it depends on the different degrees of nutriment in different waters.

It is said that carp and tench, in waters which feed well, will, before they are aged, double their weight in one year.

The third part of an acre in No. 1, would probably be sufficient for the demand of a family of four persons, besides servants; for, upon the calculation above given, it would support nearly 700 pounds of fish, which might be divided thus:—

50 Brace of carp, of 3lbs. each and upwards.

50 Brace of tench, of 2lbs. each and upwards.

50 Brace of perch, of 1lb. each and upwards.

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150

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That is three brace of fish, weighing, at least, upwards of 12lbs. for the use of every week; and allowing a few ounces over in each brace, will make up the weight 700lbs.

Allowing one acre for No. 5; one-third of an acre for No. 1; and one acre and two-thirds for the intervening numbers, the whole water would be three acres.

Upon this calculation, the stock of No. 1, at one shilling a pound, would be worth £.35 per annum; so that the value of each acre would be nearly twelve pounds annually; and there is scarcely any place in

England, but where such fish would sell for more, especially tench.

No. 1, being supposed to be near the house, and at no great distance from the garden, if the fish should not thrive sufficiently (which will be seen by the disproportioned size of the head, and the whiteness or paleness of the scales) they may easily be supplied with food by loose pease from the garden; the sweepings of the granary, worms, saved by the gardener in digging, and gathered from the walks; and the offal of the poultry killed for the kitchen; or by letting down the water about two feet, in the spring or summer, where there is a sufficient supply; and sowing the sides with oats, barley, rye, or wheat, very lightly raked in, and then stopping the sluice again.

Besides occasionally sowing the sides of the pond with a little corn, another method of supplying them with food should be practised, which is known but by few, and costs but little.

Float-fescue grass is what fish are extremely fond of, both the leaves and the seed, and is very nutritious. It grows very luxuriantly in shallow water, puts out roots at every joint, and is found growing naturally in many parts of England.\*

Plant some of this along the edge of the pond, and if cattle do not eat it, the seed will be ripe in July, and afford food for the fish.

In ponds already stocked, but not accurately regulated, it would be advisable to begin that which has the most pike, otherwise with No. 4, or what is intended for No. 4, and throw all the fish under five inches

\* For more particulars relative to this grass, see an account of it in the second number of the Monthly Register and Encyclopedian Magazine.



inches length, into No. 5, and the larger, according to their sizes, into the other numbers; and so on with No. 3, 2, 1.

Store-fish, procured elsewhere, if taken in summer, should be moved in the night, in clean straw, wetted occasionally after they are packed; except perch and pike, which can only be carried in clean river, or pond water.

In removing fish from one pond to another, they should be first put into tubs of water, already prepared for them, and afterwards carried in buckets, without water. In taking pike or perch, great care must be observed to avoid raising mud in the water.

In breeding ponds, all water fowls, as geese, ducks, &c. should be discouraged, and herons, in particular, destroyed. If any white fish, as roach, dace, &c. should abound, they are to be taken; and if there be a spare piece of water for large pike, they should be put into it as food for the pike.

Eels may be put, with advantage, into any, except the breeding pond, in lieu of perch, or some of each sort. The most easy way of taking them, is by trimmers laid over night, baited with small fish, not with worms, otherwise they may catch the carp; or with a small thief-net baited with white fish.

Common sewers and drains from the laundry are prejudicial to fish; so are the leaves falling from trees in great quantities, which should be immediately raked out.

The use of grains should likewise be avoided in large quantities, as having little nourishment, whilst they are thus washed by the water.

It seems better for the use of the

table, as well as more humane to kill fish designed for food by an incision with a sharp pointed knife, or puncture made with a pin longitudinally, into the brain, about half an inch, or an inch, according to the size of the fish, above the eyes. As this produces an instantaneous effect, it would, probably, save the cruel operation of crimping or flaying fish whilst alive, as in the case of pike and eels.

It is obvious, that this method of regulating fish, will apply, with its full effect, in larger spaces of water; it will, likewise, apply in a considerable degree to smaller pieces, even where the change is but from a pond for the use of cattle, to a single canal in a garden; which, if narrow and long, may be divided by boards with some holes bored for the water to make a current through them.

In situations near the great inland manufactures, and near the turnpike-roads leading from an easy distance to the metropolis, water may be made, by this kind of management, with little trouble or expense, to produce a large annual rent.

To those, who are very curious in the flavour of their fish, another improvement is recommended, of castrating the male carp; the method of performing the operation may be seen by referring to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, about forty years ago, which may readily be found by referring to the general index.

As a regular system of managing fish ponds is pursued but by few, those who chuse to try the methods here recommended, will find them attended with pleasure and profit.

*Observations on the Means of enabling a Cottager to keep a Cow by the Produce of a small Portion of Arable Land. From "Essays on Miscellaneous Subjects," by Sir John Sinclair, Bart.*

THE following paper was drawn up for the consideration of the board of agriculture, who, in consequence of the observations therein stated, and the great importance of the subject, came to the following resolution :

Resolved, (June 9, 1801,) That a premium of the gold medal be offered to each of the five persons, who shall, in the most satisfactory manner, prove, by experiment, the practicability of cottagers being enabled to keep one or two milch cows, on the produce of land cultivated with the spade and hoe only ; and who shall send to the board, on or before the first of January, 1803, the best accounts of such experiments, detailing,

1. The expence of erecting the cottage, shed, and any other building thought necessary.

2. The expence of providing the stock and tools necessary.

3. The extent of land, and nature of the soil occupied.

4. The expence of digging and fencing the land.

5. The rent, taxes, &c. paid for the same by the cottager.

6. The course of cropping that has been adopted.

7. The quantity and value of each of the different crops.

8. How the cottager and his family are maintained, and how they manage to cultivate the ground, and to harvest the different crops.

9. How the cow is maintained during the year, and what profit is derived from it.

10. What profit is derived from pigs, poultry, and other articles.

11. How many days they were enabled to labour for other people ; and,

12. How, on the whole, the plan has been found to answer.

In several parts of the kingdom, as in Lincolnshire, Rutlandshire, &c. which are calculated for grazing, it is not unusual to give industrious cottagers as much land as will enable them to keep a cow, and sometimes two, or more, besides other stock ; and it appears, from the communication of lord Winchelsea, and others, to the board of agriculture, from the publications of the society for bettering the condition of the poor, and from a late interesting work printed by Mr. Arthur Young,\* that such a system is productive of the happiest consequences. It is supposed, however, to be totally inapplicable to an arable district. I trust that such an opinion will not be admitted, without full consideration. Indeed, so far as I can judge, this advantageous system is to the full as well adapted for the one as for the other. It requires unquestionably more labour on the part of the cottager, and of his family ; at the same time, the occupation of so great an extent of ground is not so necessary in arable, as in grazing countries ; a circumstance, in various respects, extremely material.

In arranging the following plan, (which the reader will please to consider, merely as furnishing an outline to be perfected by farther discussion

\* Intituled, "An Inquiry into the Propriety of applying Wastes to the better Maintenance and Support of the Poor."



discussion and experiment), it is proposed to keep in view the following principles :

1. That the cottager shall raise, by his own labour, some of the most material articles of subsistence for himself and his family.

2. That he shall be enabled to supply the adjoining markets with the smaller agricultural productions ; and,

3. That both he and his family shall have it in their power to assist the neighbouring farmers, at all seasons of the year, almost equally as well as if they had no land in their occupation.

It can hardly be questioned, that if it were practicable to have a number of cottagers of that description, in every parish, it would promote, in various respects, the interests of the public.

#### 1. *Extent of Land necessary.*

Unless the experiment were fairly tried, it is impossible to state exactly the extent of arable land requisite to enable a cottager to raise the articles generally necessary for the sustenance of himself and family ; and to keep a cow, some pigs, and poultry. Much must depend upon the richness of the soil (though, under the management about to be proposed, almost any soil would, in time, become fertile), on the nature of the climate ; on the size of the cow ; on the industry of the cottager ; on the age and number of his family, &c. But I should imagine, that three statute acres and a quarter of

good arable land, worth from 20s. to 30s. per acre would be sufficient. It is proposed, that the three acres shall be under a regular course of cropping. The quarter of an acre ought, if possible, to be converted into an orchard, where the cow might occasionally pasture, and where a pond ought to be kept in good order, that it may have plenty of water at command. Were the land of a quality fit for lucerne, perhaps two acres and a quarter might be sufficient.

#### 2. *Stock and Instruments of Husbandry.*

It is evident that so small an extent of land, as either two or three acres, under cultivation, excludes all idea of ploughing,\* and indeed, unless the cottager shall manage the whole, in the simplest and cheapest manner, there is an end to the whole system. It would require, indeed, four or five acres to keep a single horse, and the expence of purchasing horses, or even oxen, ploughs, and other instruments of husbandry, must be far beyond the abilities of a cottager ; whereas, with a spade, a hoe, a rake, a scythe, a sickle, and a flail, which are all the instruments really necessary, he is perfectly competent to the management of his little farm.

#### 3. *Course of Crops, &c.*

The three acres, proposed to be cultivated, should be divided into four portions, each consisting of three roods, under the following system of management.

3 I 2

Under

\* Ploughs might be, perhaps, hired ; but, on the whole, the spade culture is infinitely preferable, and I would much rather see a cottager hire persons to trench than to plough for him.



## Roods.

|                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Under potatoes, 2 roods,    |   |
| under turnips one,*.....    | 3 |
| Under winter tares 2 roods, |   |
| spring tares one,.....      | 3 |
| Under barley, wheat, or     |   |
| oats, .....                 | 3 |
| Under clover, with a mix-   |   |
| ture of rye-grass, †,....   | 3 |

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Total 12 roods.

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Other articles besides these might be mentioned, but it seems to me of peculiar importance to restrict the attention of the cottager to as few objects of cultivation as possible. It is proposed, that the produce of the two roods of potatoes shall go to the maintenance of the cottager and his family, † and that the rood of turnips should be given to the cow in winter and during the spring, in addition to its other fare.

The second portion, sown with tares, (the two roods of potatoes of the former year, to be successively sown with winter tares, and the turnip rood with spring tares) might partly be cut green, for feeding the cow in summer and autumn; but, if the season will permit, the whole ought to be made into hay, for the winter and spring feed, and three roods of clover cut green for summer food.

The third portion may be sown either with barley, wheat, or oats,

according to the soil or climate, and the general custom of the country. The straw of any of these crops would be of essential service for littering the cow, but would be still more useful, if cut into chaff, for feeding it.

The fourth portion, appropriated to clover and rye-grass, to be cut green, which, with the assistance of the orchard, will produce, on three roods of land, as much food as will maintain a cow and her calf for five months, from the end of May, or beginning of June, when it may be first cut, to the beginning of November, besides some food for the pigs. It is supposed, that an acre of clover and rye-grass, cut green, will produce twenty thousand pounds weight of food for cattle. Three roods, therefore, ought to yield fifteen thousand pounds weight. A large cow requires one hundred and ten weight of green food per day; a middling-sized cow, such as a cottager is likely to purchase, not above ninety pounds; consequently, in five months, allowing one thousand three hundred and twenty pounds weight for the calf and the pigs, there will remain thirteen thousand six hundred and eighty pounds for the cow. || Were there, however, even a small deficiency, it would be more than compensated by the rood of land proposed to be kept in perpetual pasture, as an orchard.

## 4. Mode

\* I would also recommend a small quantity of flax, where the culture and management of the plant was known, to employ the females, particularly in winter, and to supply the family with linen.

† Some recommend the proportion, per acre, to be at the rate of one bushel of rye-grass to 12lbs. of red clover; others, 14lb. of red clover to half a bushel of rye-grass.

‡ By Sir John Methuen poor's experiments, it was found that half a rood, or one-eighth of an acre, produced for several years as great a weight of potatoes as was sufficient for a family of four persons, four acres answered for 131 persons.

|| These calculations are merely given as a data for experiment. It must depend upon the season, whether the tares or the clover should be made into hay.

4. *Mode in which the Family may be maintained.*

It is calculated, that three roods and eight perches of potatoes will maintain a small family of six persons for about nine months in the year; but, according to the preceding plan, it is proposed to have but two roods under that article; for however valuable potatoes are justly accounted, yet some change of food would be acceptable; and the cottager will be enabled, from the produce of the cow, and by the income derived from his own labour, and from that of his family, to purchase other wholesome articles of provision.

5. *Manner in which the Stock may be kept.*

It appears, from the preceding system of cropping, that ten roods of land, or two acres and a half, are appropriated to the raising of food for the cow, in summer and winter, besides the pasture of the orchard; and, unless the season should be extremely unfavourable, the produce will be found not only adequate to that purpose, but also to maintain the calf for some time, till it can be sold to advantage. It is, indeed, extremely material, under the proposed system, to make as much profit of the calves as possible, as the money thus raised will

be a resource enabling the cottager to replace his cow, when a new one must be purchased.

For the winter provision of the cow, which is the most material, because summer food can be more easily procured, there is the produce,

1. Of about three roods of tares, or clover, made into hay.

2. Of three roods of straw, deducting what may be necessary for litter; and if dry earth be put into the cow's hovel, and removed from time to time to the dunghill, little or no litter will be necessary.

3. Of one rood of turnips.

The whole will be sufficient for seven months in the year, namely, from the 1st November to the 1st June; and, during the remaining five months, the pasture of the orchard, some of the winter tares, and the produce of three roods of tares, or clover and rye-grass, will not only suffice, but will furnish a surplus for the calf, if it is kept any length of time\*, and some tares or clover for the pigs.

The inferior barley, potatoes, &c. will, of course, be given to the pigs and poultry.

6. *Value of the Produce.*

The land, thus managed, will certainly produce, by means of the extra industry of the family, and at a small expence, a most important addition

\* In a pamphlet just published by Richardson, Cornhill, on the culture of potatoes, price 1s. the following mode of applying the refuse potatoes to the feeding of calves is strongly recommended.

"Take two gallons of small potatoes, wash them clean, put them into a pot of boiling water sufficient to cover them, and let them boil till the whole becomes a pulp: then add more water, and run the whole through a hair sieve, which will produce a strong nutritive gruel. At first use a very small quantity, warmed up with milk, to make it palatable to the calf, and increase the quantity daily, till it becomes equal. A quart of potatoe gruel, and a quart of scald or skimmed milk, will be sufficient for a good meal, which should be given warm three times a day."



dition to the income which the cottager may derive from his ordinary labour. For instance.

|                                                                            | Per Ann. |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
|                                                                            | £. s. d. |
| 1. The orchard (after the trees become fruitful) will probably yield ..... | 1 10 0   |
| 2. Three roods of turnips and potatoes .....                               | 4 0 0    |
| 3. Eighteen bushels of barley, at 4s. ....                                 | 3 12 0   |
| 4. The cow and calf* ..                                                    | 7 0 0    |
| 5. Hogs .....                                                              | 3 0 0    |
| 6. Poultry and eggs ...                                                    | 2 0 0    |
| Total £.                                                                   | 21 2 0   |

Where wheat can be raised instead of barley, the profit would be still more considerable. Opinions will differ much regarding the value put on each article, but that is of little consequence, as the total cannot be accounted too high.

#### 7. Time required for cultivating the Land.

The quantity of land intended to be cultivated will not materially interfere with the usual labour of the cottager. It will only require to be dug once, and is then fit to be cropped. It is proposed that only nine roods shall be annually cultivated, (the remaining three roods being under clover and rye-grass,) and nine roods may be dug in the space of about five hundred and fifty-eight hours, or at the rate of sixty-two hours per rood. This might be done at bye hours, (more especially when the family of the cottager shall be somewhat advanced,

and consequently more able to furnish assistance); but, supposing that the digging, manuring, harvesting, &c. will require twenty entire days per annum, in addition to the bye hours, and allowing sixty days for Sunday and holidays, there will remain two hundred and eighty-five days for the ordinary hand labour of the cottager, which, at one shilling and sixpence per day, would amount to twenty-one pounds seven shillings and sixpence; the earnings of the wife and children may, at an average, be worth at least four pounds per annum more. This is certainly a low calculation, considering how much may be got during the hay and corn harvests: but, even at that moderate estimate, the total income of the family will be as follows:

|                           | £. | s. | d. |
|---------------------------|----|----|----|
| 1. Produce of the farm    | 21 | 2  | 0  |
| 2. Labour of the cottager | 21 | 7  | 6  |
| 3. Earnings of the family | 4  | 0  | 0  |
| Total £.                  | 46 | 9  | 6  |

#### 8. Buildings.

It is impossible to calculate the expence of building a cottage, as so much depends upon its size, the place where it is situated, the materials of which it is composed, the price of labour in the country, and a variety of other circumstances.—On this important subject much useful information is contained in the first volume of the communications published by the board of agriculture. But it is proper to observe that no expensive additional buildings will be necessary, in consequence

\* According to Mr. Kent's calculations, a cow should produce six quarts of milk per day, worth one penny per quart, equal to three shillings and sixpence a week, or nine pounds two shillings per annum, setting the profit of the calf against the loss sustained when the cow is dry: but it is better to be rather under than over the mark.



quence of the proposed system. A shed or hovel for the cow cannot occasion any very heavy charge, and a small barn, of the simplest and cheapest construction, may be of use, not only for threshing the crop, but also for securing the hay, and making it to more advantage, in case the season should prove unfavourable; if the corn is put up in small stacks, the barn may be made of very moderate dimensions:

### 9. *Rent and Balance of Income.*

The rents of cottages, and of land, vary so much in different parts of the kingdom, that it is difficult to ascertain an average. But if the cottage shall be stated at 3l. per annum, the land at 25s. per acre, and the orchard at 10s. the whole will not exceed 7l. 15s. The cottager will also be liable to the payment of some taxes, say to the amount of 1l. 5s. more. Hence the total deductions would be about 9l. leaving a balance in favour of the cottager of 37l. 9s. 6d. Considering the cheap rate at which he is furnished with a quantity of potatoes, equal to several month's consumption, and with milk for his children, surely, with that balance, he can find [no difficulty, not only in maintaining himself and family in a style of comfort, but also in placing out his children properly, and laying up a small annual surplus, that will render any parish assistance, whether in sickness or old age, unnecessary; and thus he will be enabled to preserve that manly and independent spirit, which it so well becomes a British cottager to possess.\*

### *Conclusion—Advantages of the proposed System.*

I shall now endeavour briefly to explain some of the advantages which may be looked for with confidence, from the proposed system.

In the first place, the land possessed by the cottager would be completely cultivated, and rendered as productive as possible. The dung produced by the cow, the pigs, &c. would be amply sufficient for the three roods under turnips and potatoes, which would afterwards produce, 1. tares, 2. barley, and 3. clover; with a mixture of rye grass, in regular succession, without any additional manure. The barley should yield, at least, 18 bushels, besides 3 bushels for seed; and if wheat or oats are cultivated, in the same proportion. The milk, deducting what may be necessary for the calf, and for the cottager's family, might be sold in its original state, if there shall be a market for it, or converted into butter for the purpose of supplying the neighbouring towns or villages. Such cottager also might certainly send to market both poultry and eggs.

2. It is hardly possible to suggest a measure more likely to promote the benefit of a numerous and valuable body of people. The system of keeping cows by cottagers, which has been found so advantageous in the grazing districts, may thus be extended over the whole kingdom; and, indeed, if the above plan is found to answer, in place of four or five acres employed in feeding a single cow, it would be much better, even in the grazing counties, to restrict the land to a smaller quantity, under a tillage mode of management;

\* The different expence of fuel, in the various districts, will, it is evident, greatly affect the annual surplus.

nagement; for thus not only the cow, but also the cottager himself, and his family, would, in a great measure, be maintained by a less surface of soil.

3. It is of infinite consequence to establish the practicability of this system, as the means of removing a most unfortunate obstacle to the improvement of the country. It is well known to be the only popular objection to the inclosure of our wastes and commons, that, while uninclosed, a number of cottagers are enabled to keep cows, by the means of their common rights, and that their cows disappear when the commons are inclosed. But if so small a portion of land as  $3\frac{1}{4}$  acres, when improved and properly cultivated, can enable a cottager to keep a cow, even to more advantage than with a right of common, which can hardly be doubted, as he is enabled to provide winter as well as summer food, there is an end to that obstacle to improvement. Indeed, if sufficient attention be paid to the prin-

ciples above detailed, the situation of the cottager, instead of being deteriorated, would be materially bettered by the inclosure; and his rising family would be early accustomed to habits of industry, instead of idleness and vice.

I shall conclude with asking if any one can figure to himself a more delightful spectacle, than to see an industrious cottager, his busy wife, and healthy family, living in a comfortable house, rented by himself, cultivating their little territory with their own hands, and enjoying the profits arising from their own labour and industry, or whether it is possible for a generous land-holder to employ his property with more satisfaction, or in a manner more likely to promote, not only his own, but the public interest, than by endeavouring to increase the number of such cottagers, and encouraging, by every means in his power, the exertions of so meritorious and so important a class of the community.

*Plan of the proposed Cottage Farm, pointing out the Rotation of Crops in the different Lots.*

| Cottage.                                                                                                              | The orchard or perpetual pasture. | Pond. |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------|
| <div> <div>Lot A.</div> <div>3 Roods.</div> <div>1 Year { 2 Roods potatoes.<br/>1 Rood turnips.</div> </div>          |                                   |       |
| <div> <div>Lot B.</div> <div>3 Roods.</div> <div>1 Year { 2 Roods winter tares.<br/>1 Rood spring tares.</div> </div> |                                   |       |
| <div> <div>Lot C.</div> <div>3 Roods.</div> <div>1 Year—barley, wheat, or oats.</div> </div>                          |                                   |       |
| <div> <div>Lot D.</div> <div>3 Roods.</div> <div>1 Year—clover and rye grass.</div> </div>                            |                                   |       |

## The rotation of crops for four years.

| Years. | Lot A.                   | Lot B.                   | Lot C.                   | Lot D.                   |
|--------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1      | Potatoes and turnips.    | Winter and spring tares. | Barley, wheat, or oats.  | Clover and rye-grass.    |
| 2      | Winter and spring tares. | Barley, wheat, or oats.  | Clover and rye-grass.    | Potatoes and turnips.    |
| 3      | Barley, wheat, or oats.  | Clover and rye-grass.    | Potatoes and turnips.    | Winter and spring tares. |
| 4      | Clover and rye-grass.    | Potatoes and turnips.    | Winter and spring tares. | Barley, wheat, or oats.  |

The rotation then begins as at first. Lot D might continue in natural grass the first season, to diminish the labour of that year.

The exact period when the different crops should be dug for, or sown, cannot be ascertained, because it varies so much in different counties, and depends upon the seasons; but, according to the above rotation, the labour of digging for the various crops is diversified as much as possible, so as not to interfere, materially, with the other occupations of the cottager. At no period would it be necessary for

him to dig more than two roods in a month; and both he and his family will labour with much more satisfaction and dispatch, when they work for themselves than for another. In case of necessity, the cottager might hire some of his neighbours to assist him in digging, which would be much better than hiring a plough. If it is found that a cottager, under this system, cannot work as a common daily labourer, it might at least answer for labourers by the piece, who are so extremely useful in all countries.

## ANTIQUITIES.



## ANTIQUITIES.

*Description of Ruau Lanyhorne Castle, from "Polwhele's History of Cornwall."*

"**R**UAU Lanyhorne-Castle," says Tonkin, "stood to the south of the church, at no great distance from it; the rectory-house lying between them, below that, and parallel with this; in a pleasant situation enough, on the edge of a creek, into which a small rivulet empties itself, and the river Fale, which is here of a considerable breadth when the tide is in; and surrounded formerly with woods, which are now mostly destroyed." Leland gives this account of the state it was in at this time. "From Tregony to passe down by the body of the haven of Falamuth, to the mouth of Lanyhorne-creeke or kille, on the south-east side of the haven is a 2 miles. This creeke goith up half a mile from the principale streame of the haven. At the hed of this creeke standith the castle of Lanyhorne, sumtyme a castelle of an eight toures now decaying for lak of coverture. It longgid as principal house to the Archedecons. This land descendid by heires general to the Corbetes, of Shropshir, and to Vaulx, of Northamptonshir. Vaulx part syns bought by Tregyon, of Cornewaule." By this one may

guess what a stately castle this formerly was. For in my time was only one tower of the castle standing; which was so large, that if the other seven were equal to it, the whole building must be of a prodigious magnitude. But I fancy this was the body of the whole, for there is not room enough about it for so great a pile: so that I believe the eight towers, mentioned by Leland, were only turrets and appendices to this principal part. I wish I had taken a draft of it in season, as I often intended; for this too was pulled down in or about the year 1718, by Mr. Grant; who, having obtained leave from the lord to do it, erected several houses with the materials, and turned it to a little town; to which ships of about eighty or a hundred tons come up, and supply the neighbourhood with coals, timber, &c. as the barges do with sand. But, since the writing of this, I am informed that six of the eight towers were standing within these thirty years; of which that which I have mentioned was the biggest and loftiest, as being at least 50 feet in height." Thus Tonkin. On which Whitaker observes, "The contradictoriness of Mr. Tonkin's account of the castle is but too apparent; not in the posterior information correcting the

the prior ideas, but in the primary and original ideas of all. He considers the church as denominated the church of *iron* from the castle, this "being, in those times, a place of great note and strength." From Leland's account, one may guess, he adds, what a *stately* castle this formerly was; yet, he remarks, that "there is not room enough about it for so great a pile; so that, I believe, the eight towers mentioned by Leland were only turrets." And the fact is this, freed from all its contradictions and embarrassments. The castle consisted only of seven towers, as Leland had corrected his eight in the M. S. These were not entire, even in Leland's time. The castle was, he says, "sum-tyme a castelle of a seven toures," and was then "*decaying* for lak of coverture." It had been long deserted. Its roofs had fallen in. And its seven towers had already begun to moulder away into ruins. Of these, however, "six were standing within 30 years" before Mr. Tonkin's writing, or since the commencement of the present century. These had stood all the beating rains and shaking storms of a region, peculiarly exposed to the watery turbulence of the Atlantic, for a whole century and a half. But they had been crumbling insensibly away under all. At last, I suppose, four of the six were thrown to the ground, in that great storm of November, which came sweeping with such violence over the Atlantic, which has made the year 1703 so memorable in our annals by its destructiveness, and the fury of which must have been peculiarly felt here. Two of its towers remained within the memory of some living in 1708. These were ad-

joining to the water. One of these were standing within the memory of Mr. Tonkin. This "was so large, that if the other seven [six] were equal to it, the whole building must be of a prodigious magnitude. And "I wish," he subjoins, "I had taken a draft of it, as I often intended." This, however, was not "the body of the whole." Nor were "the eight [seven] towers mentioned by Leland only turrets, and appendices to this principal part." This was merely "the biggest and loftiest." The whole castle, says tradition, spread over the higher ground immediately to the north. This, indeed, makes it a large building. But so it must have been from its denomination of a *castle*, from its being "the principal house" of its lords; from the number of its towers: and from the general extent assigned it by tradition. The grand part of the castle, in modern time, appears to have been that tower, which was so superior to the rest, and formed a distinct fortress of itself. This, says tradition, was *round* in its form. It is still remembered by the appellation of the *round tower*. And the others were consequently square. This was the keep or dungeon of the castle. It was the place in which the lord kept the prisoners of his baronial judicature. The interior fortress of a castle obtained the denomination of a *keep*, from keeping the prisoners in it, as a prison has now acquired the occasional appellation of a *dungeon*, from the baronial prisons being in the *dungeon* or inner fortress. And a *low*, a *deep*, a subterraneous part of a prison, is peculiarly entitled a *dungeon* now; from the baronial prison being *low*, *deep*, and subterraneous.

This



This was exactly the case here. On what is now near to the brook of Ruan, and what was formerly the very margin of the tide-way, stand some lofty remains, which always attract the attention of a surveyor; and, in which, is what tradition calls the *dungel*, and reports to have been a prison. And *dungel*, the popular appellation among the Cornish of Ruan, for the round tower itself, is now confined to its dungeon or prison. That was, "at least, fifty feet in height, within the present century. This is placed, by tradition, where the remains are still about forty feet high. A thick remnant of the castle shoots up into a kind of lofty gable end. In this is a couple of stone chimnies. One of them is still used in a house, that has latterly obtained the name of the Music Room, from a musical society convened in it at times by Mr. Grant. But close to this chimney on the south, is a kind of funnel in the wall, about two feet wide, and five feet deep, that comes down from the roof, is closed up in the chamber above, is all open to the east in the ground-room, and descended lately by a hole in the floor, to an unknown depth in the earth. Forty years ago, the boys called this funnel the *dungel*, threw stones down the uncovered hole in the floor, listened with admiration to their rattle, as they descended, and then ran away with terror. All the dust of the house used, more recently, to be swept into it. It has thus become so far filled up in the time, that a young girl used, a few years ago, to let herself down into it, in order to recover any thing that had fallen down it. It was then about seven feet deep; and it is now boarded over. Under this room is a kind of

cellar, used as a warehouse now, but reported, by tradition, to have been a prison formerly. It was the real *dungel* or dungeon of the castle; being then accessible only from above. And it must have been a dark and dismal dungeon, having no light into it, even at present, except a little that comes in by a small lattice in the new part of the wall over the door; having the walls thick and damp around it, and even the rock for a yard high on the north side; being accessible only by a rope or ladder, through a trap-door in the floor above; and being reached every tide with the waves of the sea. Such a picture have we here of the severity used to criminals formerly! The milkiness of compassion, that sensitive plant which is so much cultivated in our English soil at present, shrinks up into itself with a tremulous vivacity of feeling, at the conception of such treatment, even for the vilest criminals. But the temperament of the British body was infinitely better calculated formerly for bearing the damp of such a dungeon than it is now. Our very prisons are now dryer than the castles of our barons were. And, as to the solitude and darkness of a prison, these, surely, are very properly adapted to the purposes of corrective confinement; to the sequestration of the guilty mind from objects that divert its attention from its guilt; to enforcing upon it the consideration of its own criminality; and to the production of an useful penitence in it. Immediately over this subterraneous kind of prison must the *jailor* have lived. The chimney of the room over the dungeon was the chimney of his house. But what was the funnel by it? It was one of the privies in the



the castle. This appears to have had its seat at the top of that tower, like the necessities at the top of the houses in the crowded parts of London; and to have had its pipe, like those, and like our water-closets at present, leading down to the ground. The pipe terminated, together with its accompanying chimney, on the flat summit of the tower. It then went down in the substance of the thick wall, into the earth below the dungeon. Three of its sides are still preserved, by the preservation of the chimney, and of the two walls without; while the fourth side is gone, with the rest of the building. It has accordingly been plastered up, with the chimney itself, in the bed-chamber above. It has also been walled up in the cellar or dungeon below. And, on the north side of this wall, appears to have been what one should naturally expect in a dungeon; another place that has been equally walled up, and once formed a collateral privy for the prisoners. The grand receptacle below, I suppose, was washed every tide through an opening in the foundation; and, by a dock which was cut in the beach, the latter of which ran up then to the very walls, and continued running up more than half the way, within the memory of the present generation. Immediately on the west side of this, and connected with it, is another chimney, of stone, shooting up in the same substance of the wall, but having a different funnel. The fireplace of the chimney is very large, and shews the room belonging to it to have been very ample. Above also, and at a good height for an ancient building, in Cornwall, is the *water-table* of it, being a channel cut in the face of the wall, for the

reception of the end of a roof. This continues for a considerable way on the north, and shews the roof to have been long and sloping. On the southern side, it goes off much sharper, and then is lost in the top of the wall. And from all, and from the vicinity of this building to the dungeon, I suppose it to have been the great hall of the castle; the room in which the baronial court was held, and the criminals of the dungeon were tried. The hearth of this chimney yet remains, composed of several stones, cemented together. But the chimney, itself, has been lately contracted, repaired, and provided with an oven at one side; for a building that has been erected in the room of the hall, that had been divided into two dwellings, and was approached by a flight of steps, a narrow access, from the present wharfs below. The foundations of the hall also still remain in the ground, above a yard in height, and three or four yards in length, lining with the solid and massy angle of the dungeon; but much less massy and solid than that. Between these two buildings rose up the round tower. This was so large in the eyes of Mr. Tonkin, that it seemed, at first, to have been "the body of the whole," and appeared; at last, as "the biggest and loftiest" of them all. Just above the peaked point of the water-table, and on the north side, still are seen the evident relics of a large arch. This must have been constructed for supporting the tower, and have been, therefore, accompanied with a similar arch, on each of the three other sides. Resting on all, and rising about ten feet higher than the present remains, was the platform of the round tower, having two chim-  
nies

nies back to back, and the seat of a privy on the south side of them in the middle of it, and being secured with battlements all round. This, says tradition, just before its demolition, had the daws building their nests in the holes of it, and the boys, by some broken steps (I suppose) of the ancient staircase, went up to rob them. And Mr. Grant is said, when he wanted the stones of it for his buildings, to have offered a mason a couple of guineas for the demolition of it, to have afterwards marked the state of it to be so tottering, that it all rested upon a single stone; then to have induced the mason, without a fee, to go and remove that stone, and thus, almost before the mason could get away, to have brought the whole fabric to the ground. Contiguous to the hall on the west, was the brew house. Accordingly, in the coal-yard adjoining to the present garden of the hall, immediately beyond the hedge, and close to the new privy there, was found, in the coal-yard, a place that had been built up for a furnace. This shewed the capacity of the furnace by its own size. The latter must have been large enough to contain a hundred gallons. A vessel of such magnitude aptly represents to us the expensive luxury of a baronial family then, in that great and almost only liquor of baronial cellars, ale. And, what corresponds with this idea of magnificence in brewing, the furnace had no less than four flues to it. A little beyond this, and in the way from the gate of the coal-yard, to the ascent into the building, there were found two walls, running parallel with each other, and leaving only a narrow space between them. This, no doubt, was the guarded avenue from the water

gate into the body of the castle. The water-gate stood about the gate of the coal-yard, but more within the yard, and in a line with the wall of the dungeon, and the foundations of the hall. The narrow avenue shews it to have had a tower over it. A couple of moorstone apples also have been found here, that were neatly wrought with a tool, and had once served, assuredly, to top the pinnacles of this tower. And, though this tower was square, while the first was round; it was like the first, I suppose, in having the seat of a privy on the top, and the pipe of a privy in the body of the fabric; this being appropriated, perhaps, to the superior part of the baronial household, while that was to the inferior; and this being washed like that, no doubt, by an opening in the foundation, and by a dock from the brook. In the same coal yard, but two or three yards on the west of this, and near the rock, now cut down into a cliff, about forty years ago was found the skeleton of a man. A workman employed in digging up the deep soil that lay here, came running to his employer in a hurry, and, with a wildness of wonder, told him that he had found a man. The employer repaired to the place; he there saw the fair figure of a man, above six feet high, with his right hand raised erect above his head, and with his left reclining along his side. He advanced up to it, and touched it about the shoulder, and, to his astonishment, the whole skeleton vanished from his view at once, and dissolved into dust. This person, I apprehend, had been employed in the same work by which he was discovered, and had been levelling the rough banks of the ground, for the reception of the castle. The ground



of this had been originally as steep and precipitous as it still remains to the west and east. But the steepness was mitigated, and the precipices were smoothed, by cutting down the banks, and spreading their soil into a slope. A bank occurred here very tall and big. The man went incautiously to work: it rushed down upon him before he was aware, and buried him as he was found, in twelve feet depth of earth. This was the line of the castle towards the water. Here, and within the western wall of the coal-yard, I suppose, ranged the west front of the castle. This is all gone, and immemorially too. But, opposite to the present gate of the parsonage, and near the village well, are, and have been, some remains. A beam of the castle, black with age, and chiselled for inserting the ends of joists into it, was found in the gutter west of the well, five or six years ago, and is now applied to keep up the failing road immediately above. About the same time, and in the same gutter, the wall of the castle was discovered in its foundations. It was first dug up opposite to the well. It then came up to a point of the bank, in which I shall soon shew some remains of the more southerly of the two northern walls. It went on to a wall, that I shall equally notice soon, as the more northerly of the two. It was thus traced for four or five years; and, in the interval between the two walls, was laid open an arch of stone, upon which the wall was supported, and by which a spring of water was discharged from the castle into the lane. The well itself, was the original well of the castle, but it was not exactly where it now is. A yard or two from it, appears an arch in the wall of an adjoining house,

which has been closed up, and is almost buried in the growing soil.— This was a well, in which a boy was drowned about seventy years ago. It was, therefore, walled up across the mouth, and another made in a more open and less dangerous form near it. A few yards to the right and south of this well, was, no doubt, the gate-way, into the court of the castle. It was not at the well, because a fragment of the wall that remains there, shews no signs of an arch springing from it; this it must have done, if the arch of the gateway had sprung from it. And the gate-way probably stood about the middle of the court, on the scite of the house belonging to the coal-yard, and opposite to the present opening in the area of the castle.— The fragment of wall mentioned above, spans across the arch of the well above the mouth, and forms more than half the side of a small house, as the well goes directly under the house. The eastern half of this wall has been thrown down, and then repaired with its own materials. The top has been also repaired in the same manner, and had a window inserted in it. But the western end witnesses sufficiently its antiquity by its aspect. It rises up, like some of the walls within the parsonage, contracting its breadth as it ascends. And it appears again in its foundation, at the bank before it. This, therefore, is the only relique of that range of rooms which formed the northern side of the court; as about ten or eleven feet north of it, is another wall, very entire, and the back wall of these rooms. The small house, which has the well under it, is thrust in between this wall, and that represents, therefore, the rooms that were formerly inclosed between



between them; and shews them to have been only ten or eleven feet in width. The well, projecting with its broad and arched back into the rooms, though it was probably covered then, as it now is, with the level of the floor; shews us the designation of the rooms. The kitchen of the castle occupied the western half of this north side, with its scullery at the western end of it. And the northerly or back wall now shows itself very tall, very long, and very ragged, as it has been skinned of its facing stones, for the construction of houses in the village. It extends to the very limit of the castle-ground, easterly, failing a little in its upper parts towards the end, but still preserving its original length in its foundations. There the end of it coincides with another wall, that appears by the dungeon; that constitutes the easterly side of the dungeon itself; comes out a little to the right of the door in the well-house; and ran on within these six or seven years, and the slighter because of the fall in the ground there, to meet the high wall above, and to be the back wall of the eastern range of rooms. A part of it then fell down with age; and the breadth in it has been left unrepaired, as it opens a new road of access to the houses under the cliff. We have thus made the circuit of the castle-court. We have noted the disposition of the parts where we had any notes to direct us. We have also pointed out the position of two of the towers. Let us now note the position of two more. One, of course, was over the gate of entrance; another was over an opposite gate on the east, I suppose, for the way into what was then the garden of the castle. A kitchen-garden, I believe, was all

that was then aimed at: and this lay, I doubt not, upon the ground running parallel on the east; which has been, equally with the castle area, levelled apparently by the hand of art; and which, however, had no part of the castle upon it, as the terminating walls shew, and as the non-appearance of any stones, above or under the ground, confirms. We have now four of the seven towers accounted for;—but where shall we find the other three? We must find them in a second court, of which tradition has lost nearly all remembrance. It only said, some years ago, to me, that the castle extended to the north of the road. Yet the evidence is too clear to be doubted; and yet it is merely to be collected from that faint whisper of expiring tradition, and from some notices minute and vanishing. The more northerly of the two walls above, that which runs so tall and so long towards the east, now comes out to the west beyond the well and the well house, and was cut through about four or five years ago, on the west side of the house, to make a way from the house to the long and narrow garden adjoining. With this breach in its course, it goes on about a couple of yards more to the west, and then ends in a ragged form, that shews it, by the freshness of the appearance, to have been recently destroyed here; and it appears to have come forward to the same bank, on which the foundations of the parallel wall still appear, and had its own foundations there dug up about forty years ago. Both terminated at this bank, as I have already shewn, and so united with the western line of the castle-wall, that has been discovered at this point,

point, coinciding with the end of this building in the coal-yard, and the assigned place of the gateway. But from this termination of the northerly wall, another wall must have commenced, carrying on the course of the western wall up the bank of the road from the church to the mill, and pointing through the porched house there. A little to the east of the porch, parallel with this, have been found, in the long and narrow garden adjoining, several walls issuing from the great wall, and crossing the narrow breadth of the garden. These were evidently the foundations of a range of rooms, that extended along the northern face of the great wall, as another extended along the southern, and constituted one side of a higher court, as the other did of a lower. And as the depth of the garden below the road, about five feet, has been produced by the cellars under all, so the breadth of the garden denotes the size of the rooms not much superior in dimensions to those on the southern side. On the road then from the church to the mill, and about the porch of the porched house, stood the gateway of the higher court, facing the greater church stile, admitting the road from it at this front gate, and dismissing it to the mill at a back gate, where the great wall and the long garden equally terminate to the west. How far this higher court went to the north, I cannot ascertain. No remains are known to have been discovered behind the porched house, or behind its accompanying house on the west. But it extended some way, no doubt. It formed a just quadrangle, or regular court; and its memory has been nearly lost, I suppose, to the pre-

sent generation, from its materials having been early begged of the lords, by their nominees, the rectors, for the enlargement of the parsonage house, for the enclosure of its courts, and for the re-construction of some of its offices. Two of the three towers were fixed, of course, upon the two gateways of this higher court. The third was fixed, I believe, upon another gateway that opened to the north, and towards some appendages of the castle; the orchard, the farm-yard, and the fields, retained for its own use. And there being no space for these appendages upon the south, because of the tide-way, on the east, because of the precipices, or on the west, because of the parsonage; they must necessarily have been on the north. This was the lower.—The higher was a much later addition. This is evident, from the difference of architecture in the remains of both. Those of the lower are universally constructed with clay mortar, while those of the higher are cemented with lime.—Both are reciprocally apparent in all the joints of their stones; and in that part of the long wall, the foundation of which has been dug up lately, at the western end, pieces of lime have been found, so solid and so massy, that some persons wildly supposed the lime to have *petrified* in the ground, from age. These pieces assuredly were the liquid lime, that had been poured boiling hot upon the foundations, had formed itself into irregular cakes, in the interstices between the stones; and then, from its close adherence to the stones, perhaps, from the opposition between the heat of these, and the cold of those, and certainly from the exclusion of the external air af-



terwards, had consolidated into some similarity of nature with the stones themselves. The mode also of construction in the two courts is very different. In the base court, the stones are huge, unshapen, and ill compacted, gaping rudely in the joints, and presenting a clumsy and coarse appearance to the eye. But, in the higher court, the long wall exhibits to us a piece of masonry, that would do credit to a modern builder: the stones being shaped into smooth surfaces, being laid in regular courses, and carrying a fair and modern appearance with them; and both appear to be the stones of a quarry upon the glebe, which, only ten years ago, exhibited all the aspect of a deep and an ancient quarry, showing a high face of rock, being covered with trees, having formerly been famous as a harbour for snakes, and being found, on examination, to have been perfectly worked out. They are certainly the stones of the glebe, from their hue and their hardness. The ground of the base court has been found to be remarkably deep in the soil.—Hundreds of loads of earth have been carried away from it, for manuring the adjoining fields. But the ground of the higher court is very shallow. This is attributable to two causes co-operating. The lower court was constructed with clay floors generally, and with side walls of clay entirely, I presume. These, in the demolition of the whole, have mingled with the soil, and have deepened it. But the other was constructed obviously in a more modern style of refinement, with side walls of stone, and with boarded floors. And these have left the ground in its original shallowness of soil. The other cause is this:—

The plane of the castle-hill was originally uneven and precipitious, and required much labour of levelling. This threw vast quantities of earth into particular places, to fill up hollows, and to smooth the falls. And I have given a remarkable instance of a man caught by a falling bank, and buried twelve feet deep in earth. But the ground above was of a different nature, and required little levelling, and, therefore, received little accumulation of earth in places. It remained, therefore, in its original state. I was, some years ago, informed by an old man, who, from his constant residence in the village, and from his great age, was the faithful chronicle of the parish, that a giant once lived in this castle—an incident of romance, which seems to carry us up to some of the remotest periods of our history. But he added, that another giant lived contemporary with him at Trelouk, an estate in the parish; that, two giants so near being sure to quarrel for exclusive dominion and sole sovereignty, the giant of Lanyhorne fought with the giant of Trelouk; and that, as giants scorn to contend with the ordinary weapons of a man, they hurled stones at one another. But, from the opposition of the owner of this castle to the possessor of the house of Trelouk, I consider the story only as an echo; an echo, indeed, that has redoubled the sounds in the repetition, of some pitched battle between two rival barons. But how could there be any baron in a parish that was the property of the lord of Lanyhorne pile? Or how could any gentleman in the parish presume to fight with him who was the sovereign of the whole? I account for both these circumstances thus.



thus. Trelouk is a house that has a large barton belonging to it, and is the only house in the whole parish, besides what I shall show hereafter to have belonged to the seignor of the castle, that has any barton at all. Its appellation, too, concurs with its barton, to prove it a very considerable mansion. Tre Long, which, in pronunciation, readily becomes Tre Louk, and is the indubitable analysis of the name, obviously means the long house. The word long, indeed, is lost in the Cornish, but is preserved in the Welsh and Irish, llong and long, a ship; a name and a quality nearly similar, I suppose, to our long-boat. This implies something considerable in the house. But the Irish language explains the whole to us at once. This exhibits the discriminative term in an idiomatic sense. Long-phort in Irish, is literally a long fort, or longhouse, from *port*, a fort or house; but in construction means a palace, or royal seat. Thus—"D'airg se a long-phoirt," signifies "he plundered the king's seats." A long house, therefore, was the appropriate title among the Britons for a king's mansion. They marked the royalty of the house by the length of it. And Trelouk appears from all, to have been one of the long houses of Cornwall, one of the mansions upon the royal demesnes here. In this view of Trelouk, the owner of it might maintain a battle with the castellan of Lanyhorne, as well as any other baron in the neighbourhood. He was not subject to the castellan. He held not Trelouk from him: He held it only from the king himself. He had also the honour to live in a royal mansion, to receive the king into his house at times, to have him for a sojourner in

it, to partake in his feasts; and to share in his sports. Such a man might well, therefore, bristle up his back with pride, and even (in the licentious freedoms of feudal lords) meet the castellan boldly in the field, with his servants in arms. How numerous these servants must have been, let tradition further tell us, in its usual confusedness of remembrance. It says that there was a city at Trelouk formerly, and that a king resided in it. It thus confirms my deductions from the name very decisively: and this is the main, substantial part of the popular narrative. But when it adds that this city reached from Trelouk to Reskivers, near Tregony, and that it was denominated the city of Reskivay, it confounds Tregoney with Trelouk, that being actually and probably reported to have once shot out to Reskivers, and this additional town being said to have been denominated the city of Reskivers or Reskivay. It says, however, that Trelouk was a city. In this it may have been equally deceived by the same assimilation of circumstances. Yet that is not likely. The appellation of a city for Trelouk was the very circumstance which occasioned the assimilation—the very link that tied the tradition of Tregony to Trelouk. And it subjoins what corroborates the substance of its verdict in the point, that a king resided in this city. All shows it to have been a capital house, the natural, though unequal rival of the castle. The house is remembered about forty years ago, to have had a narrow approach to it, with a wall on each side, and a room (for a porter's lodge) above, in the style of a castellated mansion; to have then had a gate and a wicket, with a small court before the whole. The barton also

is remembered to have been set to different tenants, who resided in different parts of the house. Three or four years ago, in a plat of ground which was covered with briars and brambles, the soil was found to be black earth, four or five feet deep, and a regular pavement, the area of a court was discovered beneath. And about thirty years ago were also found what spoke to vulgar antiquarianism, the existence of three different smiths' shops at Trelouk, but what only denoted probably the three different stations on the barton, at which the king's smith had successively exercised his business; a quantity of cinders in the ground of three different places there, and fragments of iron among them. So closely does tradition unite with etymology, and discoveries incorporate

with all; to shew the greatness of Trelouk as the antagonist of this castle, and the superior greatness of this castle still to its antagonist of Trelouk.

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*Copy of an Original Manuscript, containing Orders made by Henry, prince of Wales, respecting his Household, 1610; communicated by Francis Douce, Esq. F. A. S. from "The Archaeologia." Vol. 14.*

**O**RDERS for his highnes court, given at Richmond the 16th of October, 1610.

Especially ordinances for the advancement of my service, and ordering of my household affaires; given the 16th of October, 1610; at Richmond.\*

For

\* In a rare tract, entitled, "A Discourse of the most illustrious prince Henry, late prince of Wales," written anno 1626, by sir Charles Cornwallis, knight, sometimes treasurer of his highnesse house, printed in 1641, are the following traits of that prince's character, which may serve to illustrate these orders. They are taken from a copy in the possession of the rev. John Brand, Sec. A. M.

"In the government of his household, in yeares so very young, hee gave examples to all other princes.

"His family was ample, as that which consisted of few lesse then five hundred, many of them young gentlemen, borne to great fortunes, in the prime of their years, when their passions were most strong, and their powers and experiences to temper and subject them to reason most weake, his judgement, his grave and princely aspect, gave temper to them all; his very eye served for a commandement, and more and better service have I noted to be done by the very lookes of him, then by sharpe reprehensions of some other princes: if any questions or quarrells were moved amongst his servants, he would give a stoppe and stay to them, at the very beginning, by referring them to some such of his principal officers as hee thought to bee most scient in matters of that nature, and best did know to give just compensation to the injured, and reproofe to them that should be found to have offered the wrong; so as in so numerous a family, there was not so much as any blows given, or any countenance of quarrell or debate betweene any.

"Plenty and magnificence were the things that in his house he especially affected, but not without such a temper as might agree with the rules of frugality and moderation; he caused to bee set downe in writing unto him the several heads of alle his annual charges, the ordinary expence of his house and his stables, the charge of his apparrell and wardrobe, his rewards, and all such other things, as yearly were to be issued out of his coffers, and comparing them with his annual revenue, did so judiciously fashion and proportion them by shortening what he



For that I am now upon the point to sett downe officers and orders, for the settling of my household, I have myselfe taken care to thinck on some especiall matters, that I would have precisely lookt unto, and duly observed, as well for the advancement of my service,

as

he found superfluous, and encreasing what was wanting and too short in any of them, as hee reduced them to a certainty, and such as his revenues would well defray, besides a yearly spare of some thousands of pounds which hee reserved for a store or treasure, to be ready for all events and occasions accidentall.

“ By giving of which so good and solid foundation and order unto his state, hee delivered himself from all necessity of becoming rigid or strait to his tenants, either by any unmeasurable improving their farmes, or their mnes, or seeking or taking advantage of any their forfeitures, and became also unnecessited to take the benefit that both law and right afforded unto him, of such as had in time of former princes purchased lands appertaining to his dutchy of Cornwall, which could not, by law, be alienated from the same, to whom out of his princely bounty and gracious compassion upon resuming of them, hee gave some reasonable satisfaction.

“ The banquets and feasts that any time he made, his desire was, should be magnificent and agreeing with his princely dignity, yet not without an especiall eye and care had, that nothing should bee spent in disorder, or the charge made greater through the want of providence, or well manageing by his officers; in those hee ever affected the demonstration of a princely greatnesse, and that all things should pass with decency and decorum, and without all rudeness, noise or disorder.

“ In any thing either committed or permitted unto him by the king his father, concerning the state and defence of the kingdome, exceeding willing, sedulous and carefull hee ever shewed himselfe, to perform all offices and duties undertandingly, and with much circumspection.

“ He was once sent by his majesty to take a view of the navy at Chatham, wither myselfe waited upon him, and observed how great his desire was, not onely to see with his owne eyes every particular ship, but to inable himselfe, by conference and consultation with the best experienced of his majesty's officers of the navy, in the fashion and fabricature of the ships, to understand their strengths and the forme of their sailing, to take knowledge of such as were then perfitted and fitted for the present service, and which defective, and in what several parts, to the end there might instantly be order given for the repairing of them; he also very particularly enformed himselfe of their several equipages and furnitures, went in person to take an exact view of them, and of his majesties store for that purpose, and would not bee satisfied without understanding the special uses of every of those things, and of all other that tended to make them serviceable and usefull; what further in yeares more ripe was in naval affaires, wherein consisted the principall strength, honour, and advantage of this kingdome, to be expected of him, may easily be discerned by his will, his diligence, his understanding and princely courage, shewed upon occasion of discourse, delivered unto him by a servant of his own, concerning a navall warre with Spaine, whensoever that king shall give cause of a publicke hostility.

“ To publish particulars agrees not with the rules of state, but two especiall thinges being propounded, which were the preparation of a navy, consisting of a certaine number of ships to bee sent into the West Indies, and another to attend the coasts of Spaine, to prohibit all entry or issue of ships either into or out of the same.

“ Admirable it was in one of yeares so young, to heare what interrogations he used of every particularity of that designe, of the feisibleness, and of the diffi-



as for the honor of my court; and although there be many other things very requisite to be considered of concerning the same, which I must referre to the diligence and provi-

dence of my officers, yet these particulars hereafter sett downe my will and pleasure is to be especially observed and respected.

That when I am at divine service in

culties of every branch of it, how he insisted upon every doubt, until by the best experienced and practised both in sea services and in navigation, with reasons and demonstrations he became fully satisfied, and that done, how narrowly and neerly he searched into every knot, both of the honour and utility, and of the danger and charge that an attempt of that nature would draw with it, and ceased not untill he understood every particular of the same, and especially the yearly charge which that whole expedition would amount unto; which having found so very reasonable, and the hopes so great, and all doubts so well resolved, to shew the valour of his own heart, hee openly protested to such as were present, that should the king his father bee pleased, upon any future occasion to breake with Spaine, himselfe (if so it should agree with his majesties pleasure) would, in person, become the executor of that noble attempt for the West Indies.

"He so distributed the day by dividing his houres into the services of God, to the aping himselfe to the office hee was born unto, both in government civill and military, and to necessary exercises and recreations, as no part of it could be in vaine bestowed; to inable his knowledge of government civill, he read histories, the knowledge of things passed conducing much to resolution in things present, and to prevention of those to come.

"In the military, hee added thereunto the mathematicks, study of cosmography, and had one that instructed him in the matter and forme of fortifications.

"For practice, hee used in a manner daily to ride and manage great horses with which hee had his stables most excellently furnished, oftentimes to runne at the ring, and sometimes at tilt, both which he so well and dexterously performed, and with so great a comelinesse, as in those first yeares, he became second to no prince in Christendome, and to many that practised with him, much superiour.

"His other exercises were dancing, leaping, and in times of yeare fit for learning to swimme, at sometimes walking fast and farre, to accustome and enable himself to make a long march when time should require it; but most of all at tennis play, wherein, to speak the truth, which in all things I especially affect, hee neither observed moderation, nor what appertained to his dignity and person, continuing oftentimes his play for the space of three or foure houres, and the same in his shirt, rather becoming an artizan than a prince, who, in things of that nature, are only to affect comelinesse, or rather a kinde of carelesnesse in shew, to make their activities seeme the more naturall, then a laborious and toiling industry.

"Of this, and of his diet, wherein he shewed too much inclination to excessive eating of fruits, he was, as in al other things, content to heare advice, but in these two particulars not to follow it.

"In other play or gaming he shewed himselfe not much inclined, yet would sometimes play at Obesse, at Billiards, and at Cards, but so very nobly and like himselfe, as plainly shewed his use of it to be only for recreation, not for appetite of gaine; for whether he wonne or lost, his countenance was ever the same, and, for the most part, greater appearances of mirth in him when he was in losse, than when he wonne, thereby plainly demonstrating both his judgment in adventuring no more than what he made no regard of if he lost it; and his princely magnanimity

in my private closett, the dores and privie wayes be carefully looked unto by the ushers and groomes, and my gentlemen in ordinary to be generally warned to attend me, and be present at times of prayer, and to doe the like, when I goe to my publique chappell to service and sermons, wherein I will dispense with no man, holding him unfitt to serve me, that with me will forbear to goe to heare the word of God, which example of liberty shall never be tolerated in my court, nor made an example to encourage others in like disobedience and contempt towards religion.

That whilst I am at my publique chappell hearing divine service and sermons, twoe of my guards be appointed by course to wayte without at the dore, as well as an usher or groomer within the dore, and not to depart from that charge untill my selfe be gone out of the place.

That the ante-chambers of my court be better attended at due howeres in the morning, and other tymes, as my presence chamber, and privie chamber, which are often found without any p'son in them, whilst I am retired in my more private lodgings; ffor reformation whereof, the ushers, groomes and pages must be warned to give more diligent and orderly attendance.

That there be not too many double keys allowed of my privie lodginge, close gardens, and retired walkes, and those double keyes that

are delivered out to be in the hands of men of good trust, and notice to be taken by the gentlemen ushers of my privie chamber who they are that have such keyes, being a charge of no small consequence, considering the danger and practizes of theis tymes.

That my privie chamber be more reservedlie kept, and none p'mitted so familiarly to frequent it, but such as are allowed thereof and sworne to the place, for hereby shall my presence chamber be the better furnished with gentlemen to the honour of my court, and my privie chamber be held in that esteeme and account that it ought when the rights and respects that duly appertain thereunto are regarded and observed. But if in my court there should not be made an orderly distinction, both of places and p'sons, it would breed a confusion, and as good it were to be a groomer of my great chamber, as a gentleman of my privie chamber, if the places be made com'on alike. And, therefore, my will and pleasure is, to have it more carefully look't unto and speedily reformed.

That when I am myself at the tennys play, or the ballon, or such exercise, twoe of my guards be presently appointed to attend about the dore untill my departure thence; for it hath byn noated and told me, that sometimes when I have byn at the tennys play, there hath scarcely byn six p'sons about the tennys court, and most of them but lackeys

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magnanimity and temper in suffering no passion or alteration to take hold of him through any crossnesse of cards or chance.

"In some young gentlemen whom he affected, he seemed to mislike too much disposition to play, and did not only advise them from it, but gave unto some of them matter of value to become bound to leave the use of it; for pleasure hee tooke them all as it were in passage without semblance, either to desire them, or at least to have a will to dwell in them."



or pages, which is neither safe nor fitt for the state of a prince.

That in my standing-house, where I am resident, there be ever a convenient store of munition and armes proportionable to furnish myne own famely withall upon any suddaine occassion if need require: for as it is both safe and princely to have it in good order and readiness, so were it a great defect to want that in my court that every nobleman and gentleman will be provided of in his owne house.

That amongst other good ordinances for my houshold, it be thought on and provided, that some one of my principall officers that is allowed a standing table in my court, doe keepe the same so orderly furnished and attended, as that it may be able in good fashion to receive and entertayne any nobleman or stranger of account, that shall come to visitt me upon any suddaine, as many tymes it may happen: for it were a great indignity unto me, and disparagement to my court, that upon any such unexpected accident there should be no place of receiptable to give good entertainment in that kinde, and although this may be a cause of some extraordinarie charge, yet lett it be p<sup>r</sup>formed, and that expence saved in some other needles sup<sup>r</sup>fluity, f<sup>r</sup>or parsimony in these thing that concern the honor and state of my court, were as great an error as prodigality in idle waste.

That in the services about my p<sup>r</sup>son or place in my house, my officers and servants in general doe take knowledge from me that is neither agreeable with my liking and pleasure, that any one man should sue or seeke for multiplicity of offices appertayning to my service,

especially if they be of charge or ymportance, for that course I doe well know to be a great hinderance to the exact service due to a prince, for one office of consequence is enough to imploy the witt and industry of one man if hee discharge his duty therein thoroughly. Beside, it deprives a prince of the meanes to grace and gratifie many of his able and faithful servants, when one man ingrosseth sondry offices, and it deminisheth the majesty of a court, when there are not so many officers as offices disposed of, they charge being all one, but the honor and benefit much lesse for the prince, when he respects more any one mans p<sup>r</sup>ticular avarice or ambition, then the advancement and countenance of his own service. Wee see, that noblemen in the ordering of their owne families, will admit no such confusion; and, therefore, lesse fitt to be tollerated in a princes court, that is well ordered and disciplined as it ought to be.

That the like knowledge be taken from me, as a matter that I will have duly observed in my house or service; that is, that I myself doe make a choice and free election of my principall officers and servants without partiality or other respects, then for the worth or desert of the p<sup>r</sup>sons themselves, and doe accordingly dispose thereof by myne owne guist, to the end that thereby I may binde my servants the more faithfully unto me, and not to transferre the thanck for my benefitte to other men. So, likewise, it is my will and pleasure, that the chief officers doe not in any sort traffique or conferr the inferiour offices and places by partiality and bribery; but freely and without corruption, and not to preferre strangers before myne



myne owne servants, if they be fitt and able for the places. And this wil be a meanes to make men diligent and industrious to attayne to p̄fection, when they shall see that in my service and favour, no partiall respects shall depresse or overweigh desart or vertue.

That the officers and equerries of my stable, doe looke carefully that the groomes be not suffered to putt any under boyes or hirelings to serve and dresse my horses, which will make a great disorder in my equerry, cause my horses to be ill-looked unto, and shortened of their allowance to releive such beggarly creatures as they entertayne, to supply their pleasures elseweare, and neglect their charge.

That hereafter this be observed in election of my guard as places doe fall, that such men be recommended unto me for that service, as are well known to be of honest conversation, and withall able and active men qualified with some p̄fection, as wrestling, tossing the pike, shooting in a musket, or skill in his weapons, and such-like activity, more than to be able onely to wayte with a holberd in my great chamber, for I hold it fitting for the court for a manly yong prince to have such a select guard of able bodyes, as may match any other men for their number, in all manly exercises whatsoever, wherein I respect not so much the greatness of their stature as these other habilities aforenamed, so that withall they be well shapt and comely p̄sonages, and amongst them to have some that have been either lieutenants, ancientes, or sargeants in the warres, I specially allowe of.

And that these places of my

guard be not traffickt or sould, but freely disposed of for meritt and sufficiency, for otherwise it must needs be a hinderance to my service to have them impoverished by purchasing their places in a mercenary manner, unworthie of a princes court that would be truly and worthily served.

That when my revenues and receipts are truly resolved of and knowne to what yearly value they will certainly amount (for, in this poynt, wee must stand upon certayneties) that then my counsell and chiefe officers do proportion and order the allowances and expences for all offices, tables, servants wages, equerry, and other necessary charges whatsoever, proportionably, according to the meanes of the yearly rent, and yet, not to extend it to the uttermost value thereof, but to hold it so within the compass of my revenues, as that there may remayne a sufficient proportion in honorable and plentifull manner to supplie my extraordinary expences, ever keeping such store, as that my coffers may never be utterly bare.

And, for the first yeare, I will, that my counsell and chiefe officers doe meete and sitt together monthlie, for the establishing and preserving of the good orders of my court, until they be perfectly settled, and then afterwards to continue those meetings as cause shall require.

That there be certayne register bookes made of all my silver and plate, whereof my counsell to have one, the chiefe officers of my household another, and the third to remayne in his hands that hath the chiefe charge thereof, and that, every quarter, my counsell and chiefe officers doe purposely meete together to call an account, whereby the same,

same, by such orderly care, may be better preserved from imbeaselling and stealth.

That, in like manner, there be certayne register books made of all my jewells and rich robes, whereof one booke to be in myne owne custody, another in the hands of my counsell, and the third with him that hath the charge thereof, and so, quarterly, to have those bookes surveyed and altered, as need shall require, by the increasing or diminishing of my jewells.

That, in like sort, an orderly account be kept and given, quarterly, of the receipt and expences yssuing out of my privie purse, as a matter very convenient and necessary for the holding of correspondencie of order in that point as well as others, whereby a guessse may be given to what proportion that yearly expence may growe, and soe, hee that keepes my privie purse, may, by delivering his accompts, the better aunswaere and cleare his receipts, and except there be such an order kept of my privie purse, there can be no true account made how my revenues are expended: for all other waste will be coulourably layd upon the expence of my privy purse, when they knowe there is no good account kept of what is received and disbursed that way, for the expences of a prince in that kynde, are sondry and great, in such sort, as if it be layd out without a reckoning, and received in without charge; my purse may easily be made bare, and my coffers emptie, and no good account given which way it comes to passe, other then to lay generally upon my privie purse, and make that a cloake for many other idle and lavish expences.

That there be charge and commandement given unto my porters by my chiefe officers, that they doe looke carefully and diligently unto their charge, as well for the back-gates as the fore-gates of my house, where I am resident, and that withall as a point of their duty and charge, they doe looke carefully that the provisions of my house be not purloyned nor carryed away, early or late, out of the gates, which is an usuall costome in princes courts, but neither profitable nor honourable; for in true consideration, such things are more fitt to be spent to the credit of my house, or the charge thereof to be saved, then to be imbeaselled in such, as returnes neither honour nor acknowledgement: and if my porters be as honest and trusty servants as they ought, they will rather seeke to deserve favour and reward for faithful service, then consent to such purloining, to have a share therein themselves. And no man can justly thinck it too great frugality in a princes court, rather to have allowances publicly and honorably spent, then secretly imbezelled and stolne.

That the marshalls doe looke more carefully to purge and free those places where my court is resident, of that scumme of vagrant and idle rogues, that followe the trayne and my stables with their wives and children, committing many disorders and stealthes, and withall ever likely to bring the danger of infectious sickness to my court, besides, that in a rable of ill-disposed persons, many a dangerous villany may be sheltered.

That if any questions or quarrels doe arise amongst my ordinarie servants, which sometimes happens in princes



princes courts; and most likely there, where store of youth is, my will and commaundement is, that the partie grieved and wronged should rather make complaynt thereof to some of my counsell and chiefe officers; then to right and revenge himselfe by violence, or with the sword. And, upon such information and complaynt made, that it be diligently enquired in whome the fault lyeth, and what partie hath received the wrong, and to compell him that hath done the injury, to give such satisfaction as shall stand with the points of reason and honor, thereby to avoyd further mischiefe, which is not fitt to be suffered violently to run on to extremities in a well disciplined court, as neither agreeing with piety nor civilitie. And such as will not informe being wronged, but followe revenge after their own fancie, and those that will not give satisfaction for injuries offered in manner as I doe appoint and commaund, I will hold both of these sorts neither worthy to enjoy my favour, nor fitt to be longer retayned in my service, and therefore doe I straightly commaund my counsell and chiefe officers to looke seriously thereunto; and to inform me of any, that shall vyolate or neglect this my ordynance in either kinde.

That twoe of my guard, every night, be appointed orderly in their turnes, to walke the round in all parts of my court, where I am resident, as well for safety and good order, as to avoyd the danger of fire, which many times happeneth by inconsiderate servants, and oftentymes runnes on very dangerously before it be discovered.

That there be a reasonable proportion of ladders made with joynts, for the purpose; and leather bucketts

for water provided in all my chiefe standing houses, to free the danger that may fall out by fire, without which provisions, great mischiefes may happen, but by theis helpes, be the better avoyded.

That wheresover any of my standing houses are kept, and my stables about them, that straight charge and commaundement be given to my principall officers, to my equerries, riders, and groomes, that none of my great horses or hunting horses be ridden or gallopt over any ploughed fields where corne is sowed or growes, whereof heretofore complaint hath byn made unto me, and I have so highlie disliked thereof, being a great impietie so barbarously and wilfully to destroy and wast the food of man, as that, whosoever shall transgresse and offend therein, I will hold him worthe of great punishment, and unfitt to remayne in my service, and, therefore, doe commaund that it be strictly and absolutely forbidden.

That, as I began with the due divine service unto Allmightie God, without which nothing can prosper nor yield comfort, either in this world, or in the world to come, so doe I conclude, that amongst other my ordynances, for the well-governement of my court, that by my counsell and principall officers, it be strictly and carefully lookt unto and observed, that fower times in the yeare, namely, at Christmas, at Easter, at Midsummer, and at Michaellmas, all my ordinarie servants, in generall, without exceptions of any whatsoever, doe receive the communion at my publique chappell, a place used for divine service, where my household shall be then resident, and that, before the receiving of the communion, one of



my chaplains or some other good preacher doe make a sermon, or read a lecture, tending to instruct men to the reverent and worthy receiving of that holy and blessed sacrament. And such as shall either willfullie refuse so to doe, or cautiously absent themselves of purpose, that good notice be taken of such by my counsell or officers, and my selfe informed thereof, to give such further order therein as may stand for an eminent example and chastisement to such ungodly and unchristianlike disposition; for the which kinde of people my court shall be no shelter, nor my service any protection.

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*Account of Ancient Welsh Manuscripts, in a Letter from William Owen, Esq. F. A. S. to the Rev. John Brand, Secretary: from the same.*

Sir,

**I** HAVE sent herewith, the two first volumes of the *Archæology of Wales*, as an acknowledgment of my respect to the society; the archives of which, are well adapted to secure the longest duration to a copy of the work, which is of a character that requires some precaution of this kind\*.

\* The first of these volumes contains the Welsh poetry from the sixth century to the fourteenth. The most ancient, or those preceding the tenth century, are arranged under the title of *Cynveirz*. The bards of the middle ages follow the former, under the title of the *Gogynveirz*. These words imply the early poets and the poets less ancient.

The second volume consists of the *Triads*, which are our ancient traditions, arranged under that peculiar form; a form which I admit to be capricious, but which was probably used to fix them better in the memory. After these, are our genealogies of the founders of the British churches. Several ancient Welsh chronicles then follow. The others are genuine annals of Welsh history, in a plain simple form, from the seventh to the thirteenth century. A life of *Grufudd ab Cynan*, who died in 1137, and written soon afterwards, follows; and some ancient divisions of Wales close the volume. Other ancient documents of our nation are now printing.

The contents of the *Archæology of Wales* are derived from various collections of old manuscripts, preserved, for the most part, within the principality; sources but little known to the inquisitive antiquary; sources of which even the existence hath been doubted by the candid literati; and, I may add, of course denied by the captious, ever more indulgent to their own prejudices, than anxious to investigate the truth. But such must unavoidably be the case with respect to a people so circumstanced as we are in Wales, insulated from the nation, at large, by the barrier of a peculiar language: for, in this language, is written every thing deemed worthy of preservation; and, as none study it but ourselves, the whole remains, generally speaking, unknown to the rest of the world.

There are some instances, indeed, of a few articles having been presented to the public, through the medium of translation, by those, whose partiality for the subject, hath enabled them to overcome the obstacles which, in their situation, thwarted very much their wishes to bestow proper attention to the study of the literary remains of their ancestors. But they came forward, in all that simplicity of heart that is the attendant of truth, without the precaution

precaution of being guarded with any kind of defence: for, being themselves convinced, by internal evidence, of the genuineness of what they produced, they gave no other opportunity for the curious to be satisfied, and thus left every thing open to the attacks of the infidel.

To multiply the means of introducing the ancient British remains to the world, by other persons, was, next to their preservation, the motive which occasioned the Archaeology, under consideration, to be undertaken by the editors; and, as in the progress of bringing it forward, a sentiment hostile to the authenticity of its contents was discovered to prevail, with considerable influence, among men of letters; it was, therefore, found expedient to prefix to the volumes, a summary history of the present state of Welsh manuscripts.

Before I proceed, however, I cannot help expressing my satisfaction at the happy circumstance; that such a doubt of the authenticity of our old writings hath been thrown out, and that such an account hath now become necessary, while the publication is carried on; and more especially, while we have those manuscripts in existence to produce, so as to convince all those who are anxious to establish the truth of this point, by taking the trouble of making the necessary inquiry: for, had it not been done until a century or two more had elapsed, endangering the still farther decay of those mouldering records, at which period should the authenticity of the Welsh archaeology be arraigned at the bar of strangers to the language of it, by the stern advocate of truth, still uninformed as to all the internal evidence; then, indeed, might the vo-

tary of our venerable bards attempt in vain to stem the torrent of popular opinion, and have only to deplore that rigid fate, which would envelop at once, with the veil of oblivion, the memorials of a thousand years of our history.

In reverting to the proposed account of manuscripts, it may be of some importance to observe, that a very general habit of reading was created by the bards, whose system, though declining, hath continued, in a very considerable degree, among the common people of Wales, down to the present period; inso-much that various editions of many hundred books have been published in their language, as appears by a catalogue of them, printed by the rev. Moses Williams, about a century ago; which is a remarkable fact, and unknown to the world in general. But of these books, however, none bear any proportion, in extent of circulation, to the different editions of the bible; for it may be remarked, with pleasure, that the demand for the scriptures hath been extraordinary among so small a population; as may be conceived from knowing that nineteen editions, consisting of upwards of one hundred and thirty thousand copies, have been called for, since the first translation of the bible into Welsh.

The invention of printing hath obviated the necessity of using manuscript books for the common purposes of reading; but among a people, circumstanced as the Welsh are, this has not taken place entirely, even to this day; though the use of manuscripts is gradually diminishing, and the bad consequence of it is, that great numbers of them have been destroyed, and many more have mouldered away in large collec-



collections, remaining in old deserted mansions; I can certify that such a fate hath befallen some collections, from my own knowledge; and am sorry to be able to point out three ancient houses, now in the hands of tenants, in each of which there are large chests of old writings, which have been locked up for many years. It is lamentable to think how many valuable manuscripts have been lost in this manner; so that it may be safely averred, that a number equal to what now remains, hath perished through neglect, within the last two hundred years; that is to say, since the higher ranks of Welshmen have withdrawn their patronage from the cultivation of the literature of their native country.

Before that time the bards were patronized, not only by the natives, but by the lords of the marches, and other strangers of distinction, who obtained possessions in Wales, whose policy it was to ingratiate themselves with the people, by encouraging their ancient learning.

Several of these strangers even surpassed most of the natives in their zeal in this respect; for among the most distinguished patrons of the bards, we can boast of the following illustrious names: Jasper and William Herbert, earls of Pembroke; Richard Nevill, lord of Glamorgan; and sir Richard Bassett, of Bewpyr Castle. To the three personages last named, and sir Edward Lewis, of Van, we owe a grateful remembrance, for being the means of preserving to us one of

the most curious treasures of ancient times, that any nation can produce; I mean the system containing the institutes and discipline of the bards of the isle of Britain, as they always styled it themselves, but which was more generally known by the name of Druidism. For such a person the above noblemen caused several congresses to be held\*, for the bards to bring together whatever had been handed down to them from their predecessors; all of which was carefully entered into books, by persons appointed to perform that office; † this was the state of things in South Wales; a similar spirit prevailed in the north district of that principality; and of the foreign families who settled there, the names of several of the Salesburies, the Middletons, and the Bulkeley's, stand distinguished as patrons and writers, whose memories are still revered by the natives.

To such a spirit then is to be attributed the many collections of valuable manuscripts, which have been formed in different parts of Wales; and several of which still remain; and detached volumes also are commonly to be met with, in the hands of obscure individuals. Therefore, according to the nearest calculation that can be made, we have still preserved upwards of two thousand manuscript books, of various ages, from the beginning of the ninth, to the close of the sixteenth century.

The most valuable of those collections are in the possession of some of the leading families in the principality;

\* In the years 1467, 1612, and 1681.

† And it ought not to be forgotten, that the royal sanction was obtained from Henry VIIIth. for holding such meetings, of the bards, as it is stated in the preface to the papers which contained the transactions of one of those assemblies.



principality ; yet several others have been removed out of the country by various means.

Of such treasures of British manuscripts, the following are to be pointed out as most deserving of attention :—

In North Wales, the collections of

Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, bart. at Wynnestay,

Sir Thomas Mostyn, bart. at Glod-daith,

Griffith Howell Vaughan, esq. at Hengwrt,

Paul Panton, esq. at Plas Gwyn,

George Leo, esq. at Llanerch,

Griffith Roberts, M. D. at Dolgelly.

In South Wales, the collections of

Thomas Johnes, esq. at Havod.

John Turberville, esq. at Llan Aran,

Herbert Hurst, esq. at Keibalva, near Llandaf,

David Thomas, esq. at Trev y Groes, Cowbridge,

Rev. Josiah Rees, at Gelli Gron, near Swansea,

Mr. Edward Williams, at Flimston, near Cowbridge.

Out of Wales, the collections of The earl of Macclesfield, in Oxfordshire,

Jesus College, Oxford,

The British Museum, London,

The Welsh School, London,

Mr. Owen Jones, London,

Rev. Mr. Kenrick, Exeter.

The principal heads under which

the contents of the before-mentioned stores of British learning may be classed are, poetry, bardic institutes, laws, history, theology, ethics, proverbs, dramatic tales, grammars.

The first of these classes, the poetry, is by far the most extensive ; for it may be computed to fill about eight parts out of ten of our old writings, omitting to take into account the heraldic collections all together ; but with respect to the quantity that is printed, such a proportion may be reversed. On this subject I have made a calculation, so as to enable me to infer, that I have perused upwards of thirteen thousand poetical pieces, of various denominations, for the purpose of collecting words, in the course of about eighteen years that I have been compiling the dictionary of the Welsh language.

Among 167 manuscript volumes in the Hengwrt collection, the leading articles of which are detailed by Llwyd, in the *Archæologia Britannica*, the oldest that I have seen of Welsh poetry, is the *Black Book*, of *Caermarthen* ; the first half of which, appears to have been written as early, at least, as the beginning of the ninth century ; but the latter part of it is of later date, being generally supposed the hand-writing of *Cynzelw*, about the year 1160, one of whose productions, composed in that year, being added at the end of the book\*. The next deserving

\* This curious manuscript contains,

Dialogue between, Merzin (Merlin) of Caledonia, and Taliesin -  
The Graves of the Warriors of Britain, by Taliesin -  
Elegy on Geraint, Prince of Devon. by Llywarc Hen -  
A fragment of the Prospect of Dinbye, by Taliesin -  
To Yscolan, by Merzin (Merlin) -  
Invocation to the Swine, by Merzin -

| M.S. | Arch. |
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serving of notice, for their antiquity, are two volumes of the same collection, written towards the close of the eleventh century; of which, one is filled with the works of Taliesin, and the other with the odes of Aneurin. Transcripts of the more early poetry are also numerous interspersed among the productions of the bards who flourished under the auspices of the latter princes of Wales, of which there are many copies, as well in the Hengwrt collection, as among 106 volumes in the Wynnestay library, and, indeed, in most of the collections already enumerated. The red book, of Jesus College, in Oxford, written about the year 1360, is, for the most part, filled with the earlier poetry, mixed with other pieces, written at various times, down to the date of the book. I do not pretend to state all the manuscripts now extant; of our ancient poets of those which exist, I only mention what I

have seen myself. Some collections, as the earl of Macclesfield's, which, I believe, to be valuable, and others I have had, as yet, no opportunity of examining. I hope, that some persons better qualified than I am, will be induced to give an exact catalogue of all our MSS. now in being.

The bardic institutes were not regularly committed to writing, until they were arranged together under the authority of the congresses convened by the English noblemen in South Wales, as already mentioned.

The original manuscripts then drawn up of such institutes, are in the collection of Mr. Turberville, at Llanaran, in Glamorganshire.

Ancient copies of the Laws of the Britons are common in most collections: there are eighteen of them in that of Hengwrt; four in that of Wynnestay; and several in the British Museum and elsewhere: but I have not met with a late trans-

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script, that is, since the introduction of paper; for they are all on vellum.

Of historical documents, such as the Triads, Chronicles of the Kings of Britain, of the Saxons, and of the Princes of Wales, copies abound in most of the collections, written at various times, in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries.

Theological Tracts, Legends, and Lives of Saints, appear at the commencement of the fourteenth century.

Our proverbs began to be gathered together at an early period:—Cadoc, the first abbot of Llan Carvan, about the close of the sixth century, stands at the head of those who laboured in this branch, from whom we have any remains: in the eleventh century, the aged Cyrys, of Jal, appeared conspicuous in the same track; again in the fifteenth century, Sypin, of Cyveilloc, increased what his predecessors had done. Collectively, from these and others, I have by me upwards of ten thousand adages and aphorisms, the result of the observations of the Britons.

The Mabinogion, or Juvenile Amusements, being a kind of dramatic tales, are, in themselves, some of our most singular productions; and I have little hesitation in asserting them to have been the origin of romance writing in Europe.

It is to be lamented, that, owing

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to the credulity, or want of, penetration in our early chroniclers, the high colouring and the ideal actions of those tales, were incorporated into our national history; so that it is from thence we are to account for the character drawn of Arthur and his knights, with other extravagancies of a similar kind. Detached pieces of this sort are very common, but there is a splendid treasure of them in the Hengwrt library.

There are about thirty different old treatises on Welsh grammar and prosody preserved; of these, one is particularly deserving of notice, as a curious relic: it was composed by Geraint, about A. D. 880; revised by Einion, about A. D. 1200; and again by Edeyrn, about the year 1270; and regularly privileged by the different princes who then exercised sovereignty in Wales.

Such, reverend sir, is the brief account which I presume to send you, with a design of giving to the society some information respecting the existence, and the general contents, of the old manuscripts, intended to be transmitted to posterity, by means of the Archaology under consideration.

I remain,

Reverend sir,

Your most humble, and obliged  
servant,

William Owen.

*Penton-street, Pentonville,*

*Jan. 21, 1802.*

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MISCEL



## MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

*The State of married Women among the Mahommedans. By Abu Taleb Khan, a Native of Lucknow, from "Tennant's Indian Recreations."*

OF this important part of domestic economy, among Asiatics, Europeans are, notwithstanding all that has been written upon the subject, worse informed than of any other. The very name of the apartments destined for the residence of married women, *haram*, (forbidden), implies the exclusion of all strangers, particularly males, from their abodes. Our medical gentlemen, (and even with them the occurrence is very rare), are the only persons ever suffered to approach the dwelling of a married woman of rank : when, in case of any dangerous illness, a physician is applied to, he is only permitted to approach the door of the apartment, which is covered with a screen, and there he must prescribe without seeing her, according to the replies he receives to his enquiries, relating to her complaint. Hence the various relations, regarding the privileges, customs, and employment of Asiatic females, are generally the offspring of the narrator's vanity, and may be regarded as destitute of truth

and accuracy, since the writers enjoyed no opportunity of better information. Of the general fact, only, the seclusion of all females of rank, an European can decide ; and when he urges the advantages of a freer intercourse on the female character, he can speak on no subject on which he is less likely to persuade. To a Mussulman, our notions regarding the treatment of females, always appear absurd and ridiculous ; and he seldom seems more satisfied with his wisdom, than when he expatiates on the bad consequences which are sometimes the result of them.

It was to a conversation on this subject, with a learned Mussulman, who lately visited England, that we are indebted for "A Vindication of the Liberties of Asiatic Women," written in Persian, by Abu Taleb Khan, a native of Lucknow, in the province of Owde. This paper, the production of a learned Asiatic, upon this interesting subject, is a more authentic document, than, perhaps, the public are yet in possession of, relating to the married state of the Orientalists.

"One day," says Abu Taleb, "in a certain company, the conversation turned upon *liberty*, in respect of which the English consider their

their own customs as the most perfect in the world. An English lady, addressing herself to me, observed, that the women of Asia had no liberty at all, but live like slaves, without honour and without authority, in the houses of their husbands; and she censured the men for their unkindness, and the women also, for submitting to be so undervalued. However much I attempted, by various ways, to undeceive her, by observing that the truth is exactly the reverse (for it is the European women who do not possess so much power), yet it did not bring conviction to her mind. She, however, began to waver in her own opinion, and falling into doubt, requested me to write something on the subject, the purport of which she might comprehend at one view, and be enabled to distinguish the truth from falsehood.

“Since the same wrong opinion, is deeply rooted in the minds of all other Europeans, and has been frequently held forth, I considered it necessary to write a few lines concerning the privileges of the female sex, as established both by law and custom, in Asia, and in Europe; omitting whatever was common to both, and noticing what is peculiar to each, in the manner of comparison, that the distinction may be the more easily made, and the real state of the case become evident to those capable of discernment.

“It must first be laid down as a general maxim, that, in social order, respect to the rules of politeness, and forbearance from injury, is a necessary condition; for otherwise, the liberty of one would be destructive of the liberty of another; thus, if a person be at liberty to do in his own house what may endan-

ger the safety of his neighbour's, this must be in direct opposition to the liberty of that neighbour; or if, in order to free himself from the inconvenience of the hot weather, he should visit his friend in his dressing-gown, or night-shirt, although it would be ease and liberty to him, yet it would be sowing the seeds of ill-breeding; therefore, the observance of these rules is essential.

“Those things, which make the liberty of the Asiatic women appear less than that of the Europeans, are, in my opinion, six:

“*First*.—The little intercourse with men, and concealment from view, agreeable to law and their own habits; and this is the chief of the whole: for it has been the cause of those false notions, entertained by European women, that the inclination of the Asiatic females leads them to walk out in the streets, and market-places, and that their husbands keep them shut up, and set guards upon their door. It may be observed, that the advantages of this *little* intercourse, which prevents all the evils from the admittance of strangers, and affords so much time for employment and useful work, are so very manifest, that they need not be enlarged upon: the practice in London of keeping the doors of the houses shut, and the contemptible condition of the Dutch, at the Cape of Good Hope, are sufficient proofs. If, notwithstanding this, the custom of the intercourse of the sexes is allowed in England; it is owing, both to the force of custom, and good morals among the English, and to the apprehension of greater inconveniencies in the contrary practice. The chief of these inconveniencies are four; first, the high price of all things, and the small

small number of servants, and rooms; for were there a separate house and table, and equipage for the wife, the expence would be too great to be borne; and therefore, of necessity, both husband and wife eat their food with their guests in one place, sleep together in the same chamber, and cannot avoid being always in each other's company; whereas, in Asia, where, by the cheapness of the work, the women have separate apartments for themselves, they have not to make their time and convenience suit that of their husbands. When their particular friends are with them, they do not desire their husband's company for several days, but send his victuals to him in the *murdannah* (men's apartment); and, in like manner, when the husband wishes to be undisturbed, he eats and sleeps in the *murdannah*.

“ A *second* reason for this intercourse in England is, the coldness of the climate, which requires exercise and walking, and the husband to sleep in the same bed with his wife: but concealment from view is incompatible with walking; and as for the second case, the want of room is the cause: for it is natural for mankind, when under distress and affliction of mind, to wish frequently for retirement and privacy, by sleeping alone.

“ A *third* cause is, the people here being all of one race; for in this kingdom, placed in a corner of the globe where there is no coming nor going of foreigners, the intercourse of the sexes is not attended with the same consequences of a corruption of manners as in Asia, where people of various nations dwell in the same city; and to allow the women such a liberty there, where there is such danger of corruption,

would be an encroachment upon the liberty of the men, which (as shewn in the beginning) is contrary to justice. That a corruption of manners must ensue, where various kinds of people mix together, is too evident to need demonstration. Before the Mussulmans entered Hindostan, the women did not conceal themselves from view; and even now, in all the Hindoo villages, it is not customary: and it is well known how inviolable the Hindoos preserve their own customs, and how obstinately they are attached to them: but now so rigidly do women in the great towns observe this practice of concealment from view, that the bride does not even shew herself to her father-in-law, and the sister comes but seldom into the presence of her brother.

“ A *fourth* cause of the custom in Europe is, the necessity which the women there have to acquire experience in the affairs of the world, and to learn various arts, on account of the duty laid upon them of taking part in their husband's business. This experience could not be obtained by keeping in concealment; whereas the duties of Asiatic women consisting only in having the custody of the husband's property, and bringing up the children, they have no occasion for such experience, or for laying aside their own custom of concealment. What has been just said, was to shew that the Asiatic women have no necessity to expose their persons; but it must also be observed, that they have many reasons for preferring privacy. One is the love of leisure and repose from the fatigue of motion; a second, a desire of preserving their honour by not mixing with the vulgar, nor suffering the insults of the low



low and rude, who are always passing along the streets. This feeling they have in common with the wives of European noblemen, who, to preserve their dignity, are never seen walking in the streets; and also with ladies in private life, who, when walking out at night, and even in the day, are always attended by a male friend, or servant, who protects them.

“The notion which the European women have, that the women of Asia never see a man’s face but their husbands, and are debarred from all amusement and society, proceeds entirely from misinformation: they can keep company with their husband’s and father’s male relations, and with their old neighbours and domestics; and at meals there are always many men and women of this description present; and they can go in palankeens to the houses of their relations and of ladies of their own rank, even though their husbands are unacquainted; and also to walk in the gardens, after strangers are excluded, and they can send for musicians and dancers, to entertain them at their own houses, and they have many other modes of amusement besides those mentioned.

“The second cause why the liberty of Asiatic women appears less than that of Europeans, is the privilege of the husband, by law, to marry several wives. This, to the European women, seems a grievous oppression; and they hold those very cheap who submit to it. But, in truth, the cause of this law and custom is the nature of the female sex themselves, which separates them from the husband the several last months of pregnancy, and time of suckling;

and, besides these, the Asiatic women have many other times of being separate from their husbands. This privilege, not being allowed by the English law, is, indeed, a great hardship upon the English husbands; whereas the Asiatic law, permitting polygamy, does the husband justice, and wrongs not the wife; for the honour of the first and *equal* wife is not affected by it: those women who submit to marry with a married man, not being admitted into the society of ladies, as they are never of high or wealthy families, no man of honour ever allowing his daughter to make such a marriage.

The mode in which these other wives live is this:—those who are of genteel extraction have a separate house for themselves, like kept mistresses in England; and those who are not, live in the house with the equal wife, like servants, and the husband, at times, conveys himself to them in a clandestine manner.—Besides, these wives cannot invade any of the rights of the equal wife; for although they and their children are, by law, entitled to inheritance, yet, since the equal wife never marries without a very large dowry settled upon her, all that the husband leaves goes to the payment of this dowry, and nothing remains for his heirs. The opinion, that the men of Asia have three or four wives, is very ill founded; for, in common, they have only one; out of a thousand, there will be fifty persons who have from one to two, and ten out of these who have not more than two. The fear of the bad consequences of polygamy makes men submit with patience to the times of separation from the equal wife, as much the better way;

for, from what I know, it is easier to live with two tigresses than two wives.

“ The third cause is the power of divorce being in the hands of the husband. This is ordained by law, but not practised ; for if a great offence be the motive to divorce a wife, and if it be proved against her, she receives punishment by the order of the magistrate, or from the husband, with the concurrence of all her relations ; and if the offence be of a trivial nature, such as a difference of temper, and insociability, the husband punishes her by leaving the female apartment, and living in his own. But the reason for divorce, being at the will of the husband, lies in the very justice of the law, and the distinction of the male sex over the female, on account of the greater share they take in the management of the world ; for all the laborious work falls to their lot, such as carrying heavy burdens, going to war, repulsing enemies, &c. and the women generally spend their lives in repose and quiet. Nevertheless, if a wife establish a criminal offence against her husband, such as an unfair distribution of his time among them, or a diminution of the necessities of life, she can obtain a divorce, in spite of him.

“ The fourth is the little credit the law attaches to the evidence of women in Asia ; for, in a court of justice, every fact is proved by the testimony of two men—but if women be the witnesses, four are required. This does not arise from the superiority of the one over the other, but it is founded on the little experience and knowledge women possess, and the fickleness of their disposition.

“ The fifth is, the Asiatic women having to leave off going to balls and entertainments, and wearing showy dresses and ornaments, after the death of their husbands. This is owing to the great affection for their husband's memory, and their own modes and habits ; for there is nothing to prevent a woman from doing otherwise, or marrying a second husband, but the dread of exposing herself to the ridicule and censure of women of her own rank.

“ The sixth is, the Asiatic daughters not having the liberty of choosing their husbands. On this head nothing need be said ; for in Europe this liberty is merely nominal, since, without the will of the father and mother, the daughter's choice is of no avail ; and, in its effects, it serves only to encourage running away, (as the male and female slaves in India do) and to breed coldness and trouble among the members of a family. But, granting that such a liberty does exist in England, the despair and misery it must always entail are very evident. The choice of a girl just come from the nursery, and desirous, by nature, to get a husband, in an affair upon which the happiness of her whole life depends, can neither deserve that respect nor consideration which is due to the choice of her parents, who have profited by experience, and are not blinded by passion.

“ But what the Asiatic women have more than the European, both by law and custom, may be ranked under eight heads :—First, their power over the property and children of the husband, by custom ; for the men of Asia consider the principal object of marriage, after the procreation of their own species for



for the worship of God, two things—the one, to have their money and effects taken care of, and the other, to have their children brought up, so that they themselves, being entirely disengaged of these concerns, may turn the whole of their endeavours to the attainment of their various pursuits. The chief part, therefore, of whatever wealth they may acquire, they give in charge to their wives, and thus the women have it in their power to annihilate, in one day, the product of a whole life. Although this seldom happens, yet it often occurs, that the husband, who has amassed a large fortune in youth and power, and has delivered it in charge to his wife, when he demands it back, in old age and necessity, she does not allow him more than daily support, and lays the rest up in a place of security, for the sake of her children; and so great is the power they possess, as to the disposal of their children, that frequently they are brought up without any education, or die in childhood; for the women, on account of their little sense, are never pleased to part with their children, by sending them to school, and to acquire experience by travelling; and when they fall sick, they give them improper medicines, by the advice of their own confidants; or, from their softness of heart, indulge them in whatever it is the nature of the sick to take a longing for, and thus they cause their death.

“Second, Their power, by custom, as to the marriage of their children, and choice of their religious faith; for if the husband wishes to give one of them in marriage to a person the mother disapproves of, the match does not take place; but in the other way it generally does.

All the children, both male and female, from being mostly in the company of the mother, and looking upon her as their protector against the father, whom, on account of his wishing to have them educated, they consider as their tormenter, follow the religious tenets of their mother, and remain perfect strangers to those of their father. It often happens, when the wife is a Schia, and the husband a Sounie, the children having been Schias from their own natural disposition, and the instruction of the mother, speak disrespectfully of the chiefs of the Sounie sect, in their father's presence; and he, who never in all his life bore such language from any person, but was ready to put the speaker of it to death, has no redress, but patiently to hear from them, as, on account of their want of understanding, they are excusable; and thus, by frequent repetition, his attachment to his faith is shaken, and, in the course of time, he either forsakes it entirely, or remains in it with lukewarmness.

“Third, Their authority over their servants; for the servants of the murdannah, the keeping and changing of whom is in the hands of the husband, through fear of exposing themselves to the displeasure of the wife, when she finds a proper opportunity, by their committing some fault, which servants are constantly doing, are more obedient to her than their own masters; and the servants of the zenana, whom the wife has the care of retaining or turning off, stand so much in awe of their mistress, that many of them pass their whole lives in the zenana, without ever once coming into the presence of the husband. Some of them never perform any service for him



him at all, and others, who do, enter not into discourse with him; and the women are so obstinate in this respect, that their husbands can never turn off one of the servants, but his very complaint against them is a recommendation; and his recommendation has the effect of a complaint, by subjecting them to their mistress's resentment.

“Contrary to this is the manner of the European ladies, who have not their own will with their children and servants, but live more like free and familiar guests in their husband's houses; and the household establishment and equipage being common to both, if any part, as the carriage, for example, is previously employed by the one, the other has to wait till it is disengaged: of this there is no doubt, that if a quarrel ensues between an English husband and wife, the wife has to leave the house, and seek her dinner, either at her father's, or a friend's; whereas, in Asia, it is the husband who has to go out; for frequently the utensils of cookery are not kept in the *murdannah*.

“Fourth, The freedom, by custom, of the Asiatic women, from assisting in the business of the husband, or service of his guests; whereas this is generally the business of European wives, whether their husbands be of a genteel business, such as jewellery, mercery, or perfumery; or the more servile ones: I have seen many rise from their dinner, to answer the demands of a purchaser; and although these duties are not required of the ladies, yet some, especially the entertaining of the guests, carving, and helping the dishes at table, and making the tea and coffee, are generally performed by them. Now the Asiatic

ladies have no such duties at all, but live in the manner before described.

“Fifth, The greater deference the Asiatic ladies find paid to their humours, and prescriptive right of teasing their husbands, by every pretext, which is considered as an essential quality of beauty; for, if a wife does not put these in practice, but is submissive to her husband's will in every thing, her charms very soon lose their brilliancy in his eyes. Thus, when a wife goes to visit her father, she will not return to her husband till he has come himself several times to fetch her; and being as often vexed by breaking her promise. And every day when dinner is served, by pretending to be engaged at the time, she keeps her husband waiting, and does not come till the meat is cold; and in the same manner at bed-time; for returning quickly from their father's house, is considered as a sign of fondness for the husband, which looks ill, as they think; and coming soon to dinner, in their opinion, betrays the disposition of a hungry beggar. In these and such cases, the husband has nothing for it but patience; nay, it ever pleases him. I have known many beautiful women constant in their affection, and obedient to their husbands night and day; whom, for want of these qualities, their husbands quickly grew tired of, and unjustly deserted for the sake of plain women who possessed them.

“Sixth, The greater reliance placed by the Asiatic husband in their wives' virtue, both from law and custom. Although European ladies can go out of doors, and discourse with strangers, yet this is not allowed, unless they have a trusty person

person along with them, either of the husband's or the father's; and sleeping out all night is absolutely denied them.

The Asiatic ladies, on the contrary, when they go to the house of a lady of their acquaintance, though their husbands be entire strangers, are not attended by any person of the husband's or father's, and they spend not only one or two nights in that house, but even a whole week; and in such a house, though the master is prohibited from entering the apartments where they are, yet the young men of fifteen, belonging to the family or relations, under the name of children, have free access, and eat with, and enter into the amusements of their guests.

"Seventh, Their share in the children by law; for, if a divorce happens, the sons go to the father, and the daughters to the mother, contrary to the custom in England; where, if a divorce happens, the mother, who for twenty years may have toiled and consumed herself in bringing up her children, has to abandon all to the father, and, full of grief and affliction, leave his house.

"Eighth, The case both by law and custom, with which the wife may separate herself from her husband, when there may be a quarrel between them, without producing a divorce. Thus the wife, in an hour's time after the dispute, sets off with the children and her property to the house of her father, or relations, and until her husband makes her satisfaction, she does not return: and this she can always do without a moment's delay.

"Besides these eight, as above noticed, of the superior advantages

the Asiatic women enjoy over the European, there are many others here omitted for brevity's sake.—What has been said is enough for people of discernment."

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*Authentic Narrative of the Fidelity and Sagacity of a Dog, from "Gleanings in England," by Pratt.*

I AM called upon most tenderly to be the historian of one more quadruped hero; not only because I think you will feel, with me, it is more interesting than any of the former, but, as I receive many of the circumstances, of which I had only an imperfect knowledge before, from the gentleman\* who has already enriched my late correspondence with so many anecdotes.

And if I suffer the opportunity of the present tranquil moment to escape, I know not when I may be able to give it to you. I do not, certainly, present it as any particular feature in the mind or character of my nation, or of my countrymen, or of human beings in any country; but I exhibit it as another most important feature in the character—I will not say the mind—but assuredly in the noble instincts and affections of a sincere and steady friend to mankind in all countries: a friend to whose merits and generous qualities I have been assiduous to do justice, and assign the rank that is due, in various parts of our correspondence.

Not, however, solely for those ends, but to excite that sense of gratitude, honour, and justice in our own nature, towards this excellent creature, in return for his attachment and—frown not ye proud—

to



to imitate his perfection. To follow, in fine, the amiable and interesting example which, in this, as in various other instances, the servant instructs the master, and, above all, to rescue the former from that wantonness, that tyranny, which the proud and the strong so often exercise upon the humble and weak. But you are anxious for the circumstances.

They relate to a dog belonging to an English nobleman. The favourite had fallen into disgrace from an incorrigible habit of annoying the flocks of the neighbouring farmers. One of these having, in vain, driven the depredator from his premises, came, at length, to the offender's master, with a dead lamb under his arm—the victim of the last night's plunder. The plaintiff farmer, being admitted an interview with his lordship, the culprit, who happened, at that moment, to be enjoying the smiles and caresses of his patron, no sooner saw the poor dead lamb, than he confessed the crime by an universal tremor; then leaped, in a confused manner, from his master's lap, and slunk from his accuser. The farmer now lodged his indictment, with due formality; entered into the particulars of his grievance, and went away sturdily declaring, that he had suffered so often and so long, from that daily and nightly robber, that he hoped justice would overtake the guilty, that due punishment be inflicted, and adequate atonement made for the damages.

The accuser being departed, a long and awful pause ensued, which the accused put an end to by thrusting part of his head from the table under which he had sought shelter, and casting a conscious yet appeal-

ing look at his offended master, as if to claim his mercy or to temper his justice. Never was confession and contrition for a fault more honestly or more penitently displayed.

His master still keeping silence, the culprit seemed to think he might hazard something more, and accordingly discovered the rest of his head; and this advance producing nothing to terrify, or even to discourage, he ventured to put forth his paws, and raised them, as if in supplication, to his master's knee, which, having gently patted to no purpose, he grew more importunate, and, at length, by a long sighing kind of petitionary whine, drew upon his devoted head the following denunciations.

“Base and ungrateful wretch! thou hast been nursed in luxury and fondled by affection,—thy blood-thirsty wantonness shall, at length, meet its reward.”

Saying this, his indignant master rang the bell, at whose dread summons a servant no sooner appeared, than the accusations were accumulated and the menaces resumed.

“I have too often forgiven this hardened offender to hope any good from farther lenity, continued his lordship. Another heinous complaint has been lodged against him. He is the scourge of the whole neighbourhood; and I will endure it no longer—away with him!”—The judge having thus pronounced sentence of deep displeasure, left the condemned criminal to the executioner.

The trembling culprit still remained under the table, but just as the servant was stooping to drag him forth from his retreat, the master returned, and brought a reprieve,  
by



by observing he had recollected an immediate business, which demanded dispatch—"let my horse be got ready," said his lordship, "and do you attend, and let that incorrigible creature be hanged; or some other way disposed of, so as I may never set eyes on him again, when you return."

They left the apartment, and the fate of the dog was for a few hours suspended. The interval, though short, was not thrown away. The condemned was sufficiently an adept in the tones of his master's voice and in the history of his master's looks, to believe there was any thing left for hope of a reversal of his sentence, or even for a longer respite. He, therefore, adopted the only alternative between life and death, by attempting to escape, which, while the judge and the executioner were performing their other engagements, he was fortunate enough to effect.

In the course of the same evening, while the same servant was waiting at table, his lordship demanded if his orders had been obeyed respecting the dog. "After an hour's search, he is no where to be found, my lord," answered the servant. The rest of the domestics were questioned, but their replies were similar. "not a soul in the house had set eyes on him since his lordship rode out." Indeed, every one of the household supposed he had, as usual, followed his master.

The general conclusion for some days was, that the dog, conscious of being in disgrace, and of deserving it, had hid himself in the house of a tenant, or some other person who knew him, till his master's displeasure should be passed. A month, however, succeeding without any thing being heard respecting him, it

was thought that he had fallen into the hands of his late accuser, the farmer, who perceiving him still at liberty, fancied it would combine public good with private vengeance, to unite, in his own person, the triple office of accuser, judge, and executioner.

In process of time, however, the memory of both the offender and the fault died gradually away, till the fate of the poor dog, like other unhappy favourites, ceased either to be thought of or lamented.

About a year after this suspension of the circumstance, while his lordship was journeying into Scotland, attended only by one servant, it happened that a severe storm drove him to shelter under a hovel belonging to a public house situated some distance from the road, upon a heath. The tempest continuing, threatening rather to increase than abate, the night coming on, and no town or house suitable to the accommodation of such a guest, his lordship was, at length, induced to dismount, and to go into the little inn adjoining the shed. On his entrance, an air of surprise and consternation marked the features and conduct of both the innholder and his wife. Confused and incoherent answers were made to common questions, and soon after a whispering took place between the two forementioned persons. At length, however, the guest was shewn into a small parlour, a faggot was thrown on the fire, and such refreshments as the house afforded were preparing, there being no appearance whatever of more favourable weather allowing them to depart.

As the servant maid of the house was spreading the cloth, a visible tremor shook her frame, so that it

was

was not without difficulty she performed her office. Lord C. noticed a certain strangeness of the whole groupe, but remembering to have heard his servant mention the words "my lord," as he alighted from his horse, he naturally imputed this to their having, unexpectedly, a guest in their house above the rank of those whom they were accustomed to entertain. The awkwardness of intended respect, in such cases, and from such persons, will often produce these embarrassments.

The noble guest having now made up his mind to remain that night, supper was served; when a most unexpected visitor made his appearance. "Good heavens!" exclaimed his lordship, "is it possible I should find my poor dog alive, and in this place. How wonderful! how welcome!"

He stretched out his hand to caress his long lost favourite; but the dog, after looking earnestly at his ancient master, shrunk from him and kept aloof. He even refused food, though offered him with kindness, and took the first opportunity of the door being opened to leave the room. Many efforts were afterwards made on the part of lord C. during the evening, to revive the remembrance and affection of the alienated favourite, who still resisted them all. As often as he was led into the apartment, he appeared to wish himself out of his master's sight, but still took his station on the other side of the door, as if watching some expected event.

Of the dog's history, from the time of his elopement, little more resulted from enquiry, than that he had one day followed some drovers who came to refresh themselves and their cattle; and that, appearing to

be foot sore with travel, and as unwilling as unable to proceed with his companions, he staid in the house, and had remained there ever since. This account was obtained from the ostler, who added, that the dog was as harmless a creature as any betwixt Scotland and Ireland, but that he thought him rather given to melancholy, as if, poor fellow, he had something on his spirits.

Lord C. intending to rise early in the morning to make up the time thus sacrificed to the night, which was still stormy, ordered the servant to shew him to his chamber.

As he passed the common room, which communicated with the parlour, he noticed the innkeeper and his wife in earnest but governed discourse with three men muffled up in horseman's coats, who seemed to have just come from buffeting the tempest; and not a little anxious to counteract its effects; for both the landlord and his wife were filling their glasses with spirits. His lordship, on going up to his chamber, after the maid and his own servant, heard a fierce growl, as from the top of the stairs. "Here is the dog again, my lord," exclaimed the servant. "He is often cross and churlish to strangers," observed the maid, "yet he never bites." As they came nearer the door, his growl increased to a furious bark. But, upon the maid's speaking to him sharply, he suffered her to enter the chamber, and the servant stopped back to hold the light to his lord. On his old master's advancing towards the chamber, the dog drew back, and stood with a determined air of opposition, as if to guard the entrance.

Lord C. addressed him by his name; and, for the first time, since their



their unexpected meeting; he deigned to make a return to his offered kindness: and, on his lordship's repeating some terms of fondness with which, in times past, he had been familiar, he licked the hand from whose endearments he had been so long estranged.

But he still held firm to his purpose. Nor did Cocles more bravely defend the bridge, when he opposed the whole army of Porsenna; nor Leonidas, the straits of Thermopylæ; or even that hero of his country, who, occupying a narrow pass with his two sons, rallied the flying army of Scots, and having, by his bravery, turned the fortune of the day, became founder of the noble family of Hay, than did our canine hero oppose his master's passing to the chamber.

Yet the servant was suffered, without farther disputing the point, to go out, not, however, without another growl, though one rather of anger than of resistance, and which accompanied her with increased fierceness all the way down stairs, which she descended with the same strange kind of hurry and confusion that had marked her behaviour ever since the noble stranger had arrived at the inn. And just as the woman was at the stairs foot, and passing out of sight, the voice of the dog was raised to a volley of barking, which denoted, at once, indignation and contempt.

Lord C. was prevented from dwelling long on this circumstance by attention to the dog, who, without being solicited farther, went a few paces from the threshold of the door, at which he had kept guard; and, after caressing his lordship, and using every gentle art of affection-

ate persuasion, speech alone left out, went down one of the stairs, as if to persuade his master to accompany him. And that this was really his wish and endeavour, is apparent from his impetuously turning round and running to resume his station, the instant he observed his master, as if taking advantage of a favourable position, hurry to his now unobstructed apartment.

His lordship had his foot upon the threshold when the dog caught the skirt of his coat between his teeth, and tugged it with great violence; and although the disputed point was, notwithstanding, thus gained by lord C. who entered the chamber, the dog, with every token of love and of terror, for he now appeared to partake the general confusion of the family, laboured to induce him to leave the room. The poor animal again renewed his fondling, rubbed his face softly along his master's side, sought the patting hand, raised his soliciting feet, and during these endearing ways, he whined and trembled to a degree that could not escape the attention both of the master and servant.

"I should suspect," said his lordship, "were I apt to credit omens, from a connexion betwixt the deportment of the people of this inn, and the unaccountable solicitude of the dog, that there is something wrong about this house."

"I have long been of the same opinion," observed the servant, "and wish, your honour, we had been wet to the skin rather than have stopped here."

"It is too late," rejoined his lordship; "neither can we set off now, were I disposed: for you hear the hurricane is more furious than ever."



ever. Let us, therefore, make the best of it. In what part of the house do you sleep?"

"Close at the head of your lordship's bed," answered the domestic, "in a little closet, slip side of a room by the stairs. There, my lord," added the servant, pointing to a small door on the right.

"Then go to bed. We are not wholly without means of defence, you know, and which ever of us shall be first alarmed may apprize the other. At the same time, all this may be nothing more than the work of our own fancies."

The anxiety of the dog, during this conversation, is not to be expressed. On the servant leaving the room; in obedience to his master's commands, the dog hastily ran to the door, as if in hopes his lordship would follow, and looked as if to entice him so to do.

Upon lord C.'s advancing a few steps, the vigilant creature leaped up with every sign of satisfaction; but when he found those steps were directed to the door only to close it, his dejection was depicted in a manner no less lively than had been his joy.

He returned into the chamber under the most visible distress, then ran to a corner of the room, and there seated himself: but still trembling in every limb. Presently he rose, and going to another part of the room near the door of a closet, seemed somewhat composed, and at length laid down.

It was scarcely possible not to be more or less impressed by these unaccountable circumstances, yet his lordship was almost ashamed of yielding to them, and finding all quiet, both above and below, except the noise of the wind and rain,

and finding that no caresses could draw the dog from the part of the room he had chosen, lord C. made a bed for the poor fellow with one of the mats which were in lieu of foot carpets, and then sought repose himself.

Neither the dog, however, nor the master could rest; the former rose often, and paced about the room; sometimes he came close to the bed curtains, and sometimes whined piteously, although the hand of reconciliation was put forth to soothe him.

In the course of an hour after this, his lordship, wearied with conjecture, fell asleep; but he was aroused by his four-footed friend, whom he heard scratching violently at the closet door: an action which was accompanied by the gnashing of the dog's teeth, intermixed with the most furious growlings.

Lord C. who had long laid himself down in his cloaths, and literally resting on his arms—his brace of pistols being under his pillow—now sprung from his bed. The rain had ceased, and the wind abated, from which circumstances he hoped to hear better what was passing.

But nothing, for an instant, appeased the rage of the dog, who, finding his paws unable to force a passage into the closet, put his teeth to a small aperture at the bottom, and attempted to gnaw away the obstruction. There could be no longer a doubt that the cause of the mischief or danger, whatsoever it might be, lay in that closet. Yet there appeared some risque in opening it; more particularly when, on trying to force the lock, it was found to be secured by some fastening on the inside.

A knocking was now heard at the

the chamber door, through the key-hole of which a voice exclaimed—"For God's sake! my lord, let me in." His lordship, knowing this to proceed from his servant, advanced armed, and admitted him.

"All seems quiet, my lord, below stairs and above," said the man; "for I have not heard so much as a mouse stirring till this dismal barking: for heaven's sake! what can be the matter with the dog?"

"That I am now resolved to know," answered his lordship, furiously pushing the closet door.

No sooner was it burst open, than the dog, with inconceivable rapidity, rushed in, and was followed both by the master and the man.

The candle had gone out, and the extreme darkness of the night prevented them from seeing any object whatever. But a hustling sort of noise was heard at the farther end of the closet.

Lord C. fired one of his pistols at random by way of alarm. A piercing cry, ending in a loud groan, immediately came from the dog.

"Great God!" exclaimed his lordship, "I have surely destroyed my defender!" He ran out for a light, and snatched a candle from the innholder, who came in apparent consternation, as to enquire into the alarm of the family. Others of the house now entered the room. But, without paying any attention to their questions, his lordship ran back towards the closet, to look after his dog. "The door is open, the door is open," ejaculated the publican; "then all's over."

As lord C. was re-entering the closet, he was met by his servant, who, with every mark of almost speechless consternation in his voice

and countenance exclaimed—"O, my lord, my lord—I have seen such shocking sights;" and, without being able to finish his sentence, he sank on the floor.

Before his master could explore the cause of this, or succeed in raising up the fallen domestic, the poor dog came limping from the closet, while a blood-track marked his path. He gained, with great difficulty, the place where his lordship stood aghast, and fell at his master's feet.

Every demonstration of grief ensued, but the dog, unmindful of his wounds, kept his eyes still intent upon the closet door; and denoted that the whole of the misery was not yet developed.

Seizing the other pistol from the servant who had fallen into a swoon, his lordship now re-entered the closet.

The wounded dog crawled after him. Lord C. examining every part, perceived in one corner an opening into the inn-yard, by a kind of trap-door, to which some broken stone steps descended.

The dog seated himself on the steps; but there was nothing to be seen but a common sack.

Nor was any thing visible on the floor, except some drops of blood, part of which were evidently those which had issued from the wound of the dog himself, and part must have been of long standing, as they were dried into the boards.

His lordship went back into the bed-chamber, but the dog remained in the closet. Going again in search, lord C. met him breathing hard, as if from violent exercise, and he followed his master into the chamber.

The state of the man-servant, upon whom fear had operated so as to continue him in a succession of swoons,



swoons, now claimed his lordship's affections, and while those were administered, the dog again left the chamber. A short time after this he was heard to bark aloud, then cry, accompanied by a noise as if something heavy was drawn along the floor.

On going once more into the closet, his lordship found the dog trying to bring forward the sack which had been seen lying on the steps near the trap door. The animal renewed his exertions at the sight of his master, but, being again exhausted, both by the labour and the loss of blood, he rested his head and his feet on the mouth of the sack.

Excited by this new mystery, lord C. now assisted the poor dog in his labour, and though that labour was not light, curiosity and apprehension of discovering something extraordinary on the part of his lordship, and an unabating perseverance on that of the dog, to accomplish his purpose, gave them strength to bring, at length, the sack from the closet to the chamber.

The servant was somewhat restored to himself as the sack was dragged into the room, but every other person who, in the beginning of the alarm, had rushed into the apartment, had now disappeared.

The opening of the sack surpassed all that human language can convey of human horror.

As his lordship loosened the cord which fastened the sack's mouth, the dog fixed his eyes on it, stood over it with wild and trembling eagerness, as if ready to seize and devour the contents.

The contents appeared, and the extreme of horror was displayed.

An human body, 'as if murdered in bed, being covered only with a bloody shirt, and that clotted and still damp, as if recently shed; the head severed from the shoulders, and the other members mangled and separated, so as to make the trunk and extremities lie in the sack, was now exposed to view.

The dog smelt the blood, and after surveying the corpse, looked piteously at his master, and licked his hands!

If, my friend, this faithful creature had been endowed with the privileges allowed to man—if speech had been bestowed for a few minutes only, this poor—this lately proscribed—this condemned animal—this offender, and outcast, flying from death, would have related his history of the murdered man; and all that produced the mysterious behaviour which led to the discovery.

He would have explained, also, the narrative of his own love, fears, and terrors, all of which he would have brought home to the business and bosom of his master. He would have stated, what afterwards proved, that a traveller had really been murdered two nights before his lord's arrival at that haunt of infamy; and that the offence was committed in the very chamber, and, probably, in the very bed wherein his lordship had lodged; and to prevent his remaining in which, so many vain attempts and warnings had been made and given.

He would have accounted for the generous rage with which he assailed the maid servant, who was an accomplice in the guilt; and he would have related the cause of placing himself as a volunteer centry at the door of the common sitting



ting room, while those ruffian travellers were confederating with the innholder and his wife. Those wretches, he would have said, my honoured master, are the murderers of the bloody remains that have just been emptied from that sack, and the business of the past night, he would have added, was to have hid their dead in a pit, which their guilty hands had dug in an adjacent field belonging to the innholder.

To this awful piece of intelligence, would have succeeded other communications; the appearance of a fresh traveller, the faithful dog would have continued, suggested the perpetration of another crime, even that of thy death, my devoted lord; and but for my unwearied cares, thou hadst, ere this, been added to the sanguinary mass before thee!

Yes, my dear Baron, thus might one single hour's possession of that sacred distinction of man—the human voice, have enabled the preserver to have explained himself to the preserved.

But how far, my friend, would you have felt this proud characteristic of our kind, necessary in the case before you? It would have been superfluous: for could all the powers of speech more eloquently have explained the force of love, gratitude, courage, honour, or fidelity. Did not his every look, his every movement, his caresses—his cries—his very silence—did not the honest disdain of a bribe—his marked indignation of the guilty servant—his forgiveness of the master who had devoted him—did not all these speak, trumpet-tongued, the eulogy of honest instinct, rendering useless man's proudest prerogative? Did not all these display whatever is most honoured and most

loved? Did they not set at nought the best arranged and best delivered form of words?

It will not be a question in your mind, whether the humble but happy instrument, under providence, of this escape, was taken again into service; whether his wounds were bound up, and the balm of love and of penitence were infused? The master's hour of contrition was now come, but the dog had no memory of past alienation, or of present pains. He had found whom he had lost; he had rescued whom he loved.

You see the faithful companion depart from the house of blood with his lord. You behold the transport of both on their way. You observe the now restored favourite making his triumphal entry into that mansion, which he left in disgrace.

And, as you follow the reflection, to which a train of events, thus produced, naturally lead, you will adopt the sentiment of our great Shakespeare, and might exclaim, by his language, "There is more in this, my friend, than our philosophy can find out."

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*On the Originality of Doctor Franklin's Writings. From "Davis's Travels in North America."*

I OBTAINED accommodations at the *Washington* tavern, which stands opposite the Treasury. At this tavern I took my meals at the public table, where there was every day to be found a number of clerks, employed at the different offices under government; together with about half-a-dozen *Virginians*, and a few *New England Men*. There

was a perpetual conflict of opinions between these southern and northern men; and one night, after supper, I was present at a vehement dispute, which terminated in the loss of a horse, a saddle, and a bridle.

The dispute was about doctor *Franklin*; the man from *New England*, enthusiastic in what related to doctor *Franklin*, asserted that the doctor, being self-taught, was original in every thing that he had ever published.

"Sir," replied the *Virginian*, "the writings of *Franklin*, so far from being original, exhibit nothing but a transposition of the thoughts of others. Nay, *Franklin* is a downright plagiarist. Let him retain only his own feathers, let those he has stolen be restored to their lawful possessors, and *Franklin*, who now struts about, expanding the gayest plumage, will be without a single feather to cover his rump." (A loud laugh from the whole company.)

*New England Man*. "If accusation, without proof, can condemn a man, who, sir, shall be innocent? Sir, you are a *Virginian*. I intend no personal reflection, but it is notorious that the southern people do not hold the memory of *Franklin* in much estimation; but hear what a *Latin* writer says of him: *Eripuit celo*—something—Gentlemen, I have forgot the most of my *Latin*; I cannot quote so correctly as I did once; but this I can assure you, and you may rely on my word for it, that the compliment is a very fine one."

*Virginian*. "I know the line you advert to; it is an eruption of mad enthusiasm, from the disordered intellect of *Turgot*. But this is digressing from our subject. I main-

tain, and can prove, that *Franklin* is a plagiarist; a downright, barefaced, shameless plagiarist."

*New England Man*. "*Franklin*, perhaps, sir, had not that stoical calmness, which a great man in your state is remarkable for; he did not endeavour to catch applause, by baiting his hook with affected diffidence. *Franklin* was above it. His penetration discovered, and his candour acknowledged, that sheer impudence was at any time less injurious than mock modesty."

*Virginian*. "Sir, an oracular darkness accompanies your discourse.—But why retreat? Why not stand your ground? Why not evince yourself the champion of *Franklin*? Again I throw down the gauntlet! *Franklin*, I maintain, was a shameless plagiarist."

*New England Man*. "Have you a horse here, my friend?"

*Virginian*. "Sir, I hope you do not suppose I came hither on foot from *Virginia*. I have, sir, in Mr. *White's* stable, the prettiest *Chickasaw* that ever trod on four pasterns. I swopped for her a roan horse.—Mr. *Gibbs*, you remember my roan (turning to a man in company.) I say, I swopped for her a roan, with *Mad-Dog*, the *Chickasaw* chief, who lives on the *Mississippi*."

*New England Man*. "And I have a bay mare here, that I bought of *Nezer Mattocks*, at *Salem*. I gave ninety dollars in hard cash for her. Now, I, my friend, will lay my bay mare against your *Chickasaw*, that doctor *Franklin* is not a plagiarist."

*Virginian*. "Done! Go it!—waiter!—you waiter!"

The waiter obeyed the summons, and, making the *Virginian* a bow, replied, "You call, massa *Ryland*?"

*Virginian*. "Yes, *Atticus*. Bring down







"grew so zealously angry, that he thrust the old man out of his tent, and exposed him to all the evils of the night, and an unguarded condition. When the old man was gone, God called to *Abraham*, and asked him where the stranger was? He replied, I thrust him away, because he did not worship thee. God answered him, I have suffered him these hundred years, although he dishonoured me; and couldst not thou endure him one night, and when he gave thee no trouble?"

The *New England* man having done reading, the *Virginian* leaped from his seat, and, calling the waiter, exclaimed, "*Atticus!* Tell the ostler to put the bay mare into the next stall to the *Chickasaw*, and, do you hear, give her half a gallon of oats more, on the strength of her having a new master."

Here followed a hearty laugh from the audience; but the *New England Man* exhibited strong symptoms of chagrin. "Devil take *Franklin*," said he: "an impostor; a humbug. If he ever obtains the wish he expresses in his epitaph, of undergoing a new edition in the next world, may his plagiarisms be omitted, that no more wagers may be lost by them."

"His epitaph, did you say, sir?" cried the *Virginian*. "I hardly think he came by that honestly."

*New England Man*. "Sir, I will lay you my saddle of it; a bran new saddle. *Jonathan Gregory*, of *Boston*, imported it from *London*."

*Virginian*. "My saddle, sir, is imported, too.—I swopped a double barrelled gun for it, with *Mr. Racer*, of *Fairfax County*. And I will not only lay my saddle against your's, sir, that *Franklin* did not come honestly by his epitaph; but I will lay my snaffle bridle, and my curb, my plated stirrups and stirrup leathers; aye, and my martin-gale into the bargain."

*New England Man*. "Done! Go it! Now for your proof."

*Virginian*. "Is there any gentleman in company, besides myself, who understands *Latin*. If there is, let him have the goodness to speak."

*New England Man*. "This gentleman, who came with me from *Salem*, is not only a *Latin*, but a *Greek* scholar. He was reared at *Cambridge*.\* He will talk *Latin* with professor *Willerd*, an hour, by the clock."

*Virginian*. "Then, sir, I believe; he will adjudge to me your imported saddle. Will you do me the favour to introduce me to your companion?"

*New England Man*. "This, sir, is *Mr. Meadows*. He is the author of an Ode on the Clam Feast.†"

*Virginian*. "Mr. *Meadows*, give me leave; within the cover of this book, you will find the epitaph which passes as *Franklin*'s; I entreat you to read it aloud."

*Mr. Meadows*, (reading).

"The Body  
Of

*Benjamin Franklin*, Printer,  
(Like the cover of an old book,  
Its contents torn out,

And

\* An university near Boston.

† The first emigrants to New England appeased their hunger upon landing on the shore of *America*, with some shell-fish they found on the beach; known, in popular language, by the name of *clams*. The anniversary of this day is every year celebrated on the spot, by their descendants, who feast upon clams.

And stript of its lettering and  
gilding),  
Lies here, food for worms.  
Yet the work itself shall not be  
lost:  
For it will (as he believes) appear  
once more  
In  
A new and more beautiful Edition,  
Corrected and Amended  
By  
The Author."

*New England Man.* "Well, sir!  
and what objection can you make to  
this? Does it not breathe humility?  
Is it not a lecture on morality?"

*Virginian.* "Sir, it was not ho-  
nestly come by. *Franklin* robbed a  
little boy of it. The very words,  
sir, are taken from a *Latin* epitaph,  
written on a bookseller, by an *Eton*  
scholar. Mr. *Meadows*, do, sir,  
read the epitaph which I have pasted  
on the other cover.\*"

Mr. *Meadows* (reads).

"Vitæ volumine peractō  
Hic finis Jacobi Tonson,  
Perpoliti Sosiorum principis  
Qui, velut obstetrix musarum  
In lucem edidit  
Felices ingenii partus.  
Lugete, scriptorum chorus,  
Et frangite calamos;  
Ille vester, *marginæ erasus, deleter!*  
Sed hæc postrema inscriptio.  
Huic *primæ* mortis *paginæ*  
*Imprimatur,*  
Ne *prelo sepulchri* commissus,  
Ipse editor careat titulo:  
Hic jacet bibliopola,  
*Fotio* vitæ delapso,  
Expectans *Novam Editionem*  
*Auctiorem et Emendatiorem.*

*Virginian.* "Well, Mr. *Meadows*,  
what say you?"

Is this accidental or studied simi-  
litude? What say you, Mr. *Mea-*  
*dows*?"

Mr. *Meadows.* "The saddle, sir,  
is yours!"

On hearing this laconic, but deci-  
sive sentence pronounced by his  
friend, the *New England Man* grew  
outrageous—which served only to  
augment the triumph of the *Virgi-*  
*nian.* "Be pacified," cried he, "I will  
give you another chance. I will lay  
you my boots against yours, that  
*Franklin's* pretended discovery of  
calming troubled waters, by pour-  
ing upon them oil, may be found in  
the third book of *Bede's* History of  
the Church; or that his facetious  
essay on the air bath, is poached  
word for word from *Aubrey's* Mis-  
cellanies. What say you?"

"Why, I say," returned the *New*  
*England Man*, "that I should be  
sorry to go bootless home, and, there-  
fore, I will lay no more wagers about  
doctor *Franklin's* originality."

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*Letter of the late Mr. Cowper, on  
the Subject of Face Painting, from  
Hayley's "Life of Cowper."*

May 3, 1784.

My dear Friend,

THE subject of face-painting  
may be considered (I think) in  
two points of view. First, there is  
room for dispute with respect to the  
consistency of the practice with  
good morals; and, secondly, whether  
it be on the whole convenient or not,  
may be a matter worthy of agita-  
tion. I set out with all the forma-  
lity,

3 M 3

\* If it should be objected that *Franklin* was ignorant of Latin, let it be told that  
an *English* translation of this epitaph may be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine*  
for Feb. 1736. The source, probably, from which *Franklin* got his thought.



lity of logical disquisition, but do not promise to observe the same regularity any farther than it may comport with my purpose of writing as fast as I can.

As to the immorality of the custom, were I in France, I should see none. On the contrary, it seems, in that country, to be a symptom of modest consciousness, and a tacit confession of what all know to be true, that French faces have, in fact, neither red nor white of their own. This humble acknowledgment of a defect, looks the more like a virtue, being found among a people not remarkable for humility. Again, before we can prove the practice to be immoral, we must prove immorality in the design of those who use it; either, that they intend a deception, or to kindle unlawful desires in the beholders. But the French ladies, so far as their purpose comes in question, must be acquitted of both these charges. Nobody supposes their colour to be natural for a moment any more than he would, if it were blue or green: and this unambiguous judgment of the matter, is owing to two causes: first, to the universal knowledge we have that French women are naturally brown or yellow, with a very few exceptions; and secondly, to the inartificial manner in which they paint: for they do not, as I am most satisfactorily informed, even attempt an imitation of nature, but besmear themselves hastily, and, at a venture, anxious only to lay on enough. When, therefore, there is no wanton intention, nor a wish to deceive, I can discover no immorality. But, in England, (I am afraid) our painted ladies are not clearly entitled to the same apology. They even imitate nature with such ex-

actness, that the whole public is sometimes divided into parties, who litigate, with great warmth, the question, whether painted or not. This was remarkably the case with a Miss B——, whom I well remember. Her roses and lilies were never discovered to be spurious, till she attained an age, that made the supposition of their being natural impossible. This anxiety to be not merely red and white, which is all they aim at in France, but to be thought very beautiful, and much more beautiful than nature has made them, is a symptom not very favourable to the idea we would wish to entertain of the chastity, purity, and modesty of our countrywomen. That they are guilty of a design to deceive, is certain. Otherwise, why so much art; and if to deceive, wherefore, and with what purpose; certainly, either to gratify vanity of the silliest kind, or, which is still more criminal, to decoy and inveigle, and carry on, more successfully, the business of temptation. Here, therefore, my opinion splits itself into two opposite sides upon the same question. I can suppose a French woman, though painted an inch deep, to be a virtuous, discreet, excellent character, and, in no instance, should I think the worse of one, because she was painted. But an English belle must pardon me, if I have not the same charity for her. She is, at least, an imposter, whether she cheats me or not, because she means to do so; and, it is well, if that be all the censure she deserves.

This brings me to my second class of ideas upon this topic, and here I feel, that I should be fearfully puzzled, were I called upon to recommend the practice on the



score of convenience. If a husband chose that his wife should paint, perhaps it might be her duty, as well as her interest, to comply. But, I think, he would not much consult his own, for reasons that will follow. In the first place, she would admire herself the more; and, in the next, if she managed the matter well, she might be more admired by others; an acquisition, that might bring her virtue under trials, to which, otherwise, it might never have been exposed. In no other case, however, can I imagine the practice, in this country, to be either expedient or convenient. As a general one, it certainly is not expedient, because, in general, English women have no occasion for it. A swarthy complexion is a rarity here; and the sex, especially since inoculation has been so much in use, have very little cause to complain, that nature has not been kind to them in the article of complexion. They may hide and spoil a good one. But they cannot (at least, they hardly can) give themselves a better. But, even if they could, there is yet a tragedy in the sequel, which should make them tremble. I understand, that, in France, though the use of rouge be general, the use of white paint is far from being so. In England, she that uses one, commonly uses both. Now all white paints, or lotions, or whatever they be called, are mercurial, consequently poisonous, consequently ruinous, in time, to the constitution. The Miss B—— above mentioned, was a miserable witness of this truth, it being certain, that her flesh fell from her bones before she died. Lady C—— was hardly a less melancholy proof of it; and a London physi-

cian, perhaps, were he at liberty to blab, could publish a bill of female mortality, from this cause, of a length that would astonish us.

For these reasons, I utterly condemn the practice, as it obtains in England: and, for a reason superior to all these, I must disapprove it. I cannot, indeed discover, that scripture forbids it in so many words. But that anxious solicitude about the persons, which such an artifice evidently betrays, is (I am sure) contrary to the tenor and spirit of it throughout. Show me a woman with a painted face, and I will shew you a woman, whose heart is set on things of the earth, and not on things above. But this observation of mine applies to it only, when it is an imitative art. For, in the use of French women, I think it is as innocent as in the use of the wild Indian, who draws a circle round her face; and makes two spots, perhaps blue, perhaps white, in the middle of it. Such are my thoughts upon the matter.

*Vive zaleque,*

Your's, ever,  
W. C.

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*Description of a Village in Benares District, from "Tennant's Indian Recreations."*

THE mode of living, and the climate of India, preclude Europeans, in a great measure, from acquiring any intimate or minute knowledge of the manners of the natives. Unless I had made particular enquiry for the express purpose of laying before you the following account of a village; I might have remained in this country for

half my life without any knowledge of the partial detail which I now intend to present to you.

The inhabitants of this small zemindary, of which you lately had a description, live together in one village, which contains about one thousand souls; a population of nearly one person to each Scotch acre; and twelve individuals to each plough. The number of working cattle on this property is four hundred; that of ploughs ninety.

After the zemindar, the person next in rank and importance is the *Putwari*, the factor or keeper of accounts between the proprietor and tenants: he collects the rents, whether in grain or in money, measures the ground, and, in the absence of the zemindar, succeeds to any petty jurisdiction which the small society may require. In him you may recognize the Baron Bailie of Scotland: the salary of this officer is paid by the farmer, at the rate of one seer and a half each for every hundred paid to the proprietor. Sugar, cotton, and other articles, not consumed on the estate, pay a certain portion for their valued price to the landholder, and for each rupee paid to the landlord, the *Putwari* receives half an ana, or 1-30th part nearly.

The *Byah*, or weigher of grain, is the next to the *Putwari*; this man divides the grain between the zemindar and the tenant by weight, in their respective proportions. The *Byah* is paid by both parties, at the rate of twelve seer for every hundred mauns.

From the mean habitations of the farmers, and their scanty and wretched implements of every kind, I had conceived that there were but little

division of labour, and few professed tradesmen. Iron-smiths and carpenters make two separate professions in the smallest village. A *Sochar*, or master tradesman, receives from each plough a maun of grain, consisting of a part of each sort. This is in the nature of a retaining fee, and must be paid annually, over and above his allowance, when actually employed in your house. As often as you have occasion for his services there, whether in constructing the building, or making furniture, he is entitled to a daily allowance of one *pukka*, or great seer of grain. During each of the three harvests he receives one sheaf of wheat, barley, or rice, according to the nature of the crop then reaped. This sheaf is not undefined in quantity, but consists of about three seer.

Whether it arises from indolence, or superstition, I am unable to determine, that the poorest Hindoo families do not wash their own clothes; it is certain, however, that each village retains a number of washermen as a distinct profession. The washerman receives from each plough twenty seer of grain annually; and three sheaves during the three harvests, as in the case of the other tradesmen already mentioned. The families of tradesmen, who have no plough, pay the washerman in specie, at the rate of two anas yearly. A sum not exceeding four pence, of British money, annually, is certainly a small allowance; but you will recollect, that the quantity of clothing used by a family of Hindoo peasantry, is not the fortieth part of what is necessary for one of your tenants. The children, till they are ten or twelve, seldom



seldom put on any clothing at all; and after that season, a small piece of cloth covering the middle, is the whole attire of the lords of the creation in this country. Washing, to Europeans in this country, is performed by a servant, hired by each individual, at the rate of from eight to ten pounds annually; a very small sum if you advert to the quantity of work. Here our whole dress is white cotton, and must, on account of the heat of the climate, be changed twice or thrice every day.

The superstition of the country occasions another profession, not common in your villages, that of a shaver. Part of the beard, the arm-pits, &c. are regularly shaved, even among the lowest classes. As one person in this capacity can accommodate a considerable number of individuals, his wages are settled at one ana, or two pence sterling per annum; a plough giving twenty seer.

The greater part of cooking utensils, and vessels for holding water, are of earthenware; several of these are in daily use in each family, and from their frangible nature, the consumption of them is considerable. This occasions the trade of a potter to be universal in every village of the country. The potter receives of each plough his three sheaves in the three successive harvests; he is paid besides for each pot, according to its size; only the zemindar has his at half price: and custom also obliges the potter to provide utensils for the soldiers, or such travellers as may pass the night in the village. Earthen pots are very common through all Asia; and by what we read concerning the "potter's field," they seem to have been in

use in Judea, and have had an allotment of ground for their manufacture. In India the ground is furnished by the proprietor, and for this reason he is supplied at an inferior price.

The lowest and most despised order of tradesmen in India are the *Chumars*, or leather cutters. The *Chumar* receives, in the harvest, three sheaves from each plough; but, besides this annual fee, he is paid for every set of ropes or harness he furnishes for a plough, two seer and an half of grain. For each pair of shoes the customary price is ten seer of grain: tradesmen pay two anas, which is deemed, in ordinary times, a high price; but they pay no part of his annual fee of three sheaves; when cattle die the hide goes to the *Chumiar*.

The bad police of the East imposes the necessity of employing watchmen, during the night, to protect the property of individuals, and to preserve the peace. This business is committed to the *Dussauds* or *Chockidars*, several of which are required even in the sequestered villages. The nature of their employment invests these people with some power, resembling that of a constable. They apprehend delinquents, or report disturbances to the magistrate, like all other servants of the public in this country, the *chockidars* have an annual fee of three sheaves from each plough during the harvest; ten *biggah's* of ground are allowed to each for his support; and as several are necessary, the police of the country, imperfect as it is, constitutes a heavy burden on the community. In the vicinity of Europeans there is a greater circulation of property, and, of consequence, greater temptation



to the violation of it. Even in our military cantonments, an officer can by no means trust the charge of his house to centinels; he is obliged to hire two or three Chockidars, the only terms upon which he can hope for security; without this precaution, the thieves have attained to such dexterity in their trade, that they can easily steal the pillow from under his head during night.

The most numerous class of labourers in a country village is that of the ploughmen. In this village they amount to about an hundred; and the wages of each is five seer of grain daily, and one rupee each *kulzary*, or ploughing season: two stated ploughing seasons occur each year, one at the setting-in of the rains in June; the other after they break up in November. The wages of other country-labourers is five seer of grain per day; and, during harvest, the twenty-fifth sheaf.

The *Aheer* or *Burdiah* (cow-herd) is another necessary profession in every Hindoo farm. The ploughed land is neither fenced nor lying contiguous, but in scattered detached spots, perfectly exposed to every invader. The cow-herd receives two mauns of grain each month; and for every ten cows under his charge, he receives the milk of one; if buffaloes are under his management, he is entitled to the milk of every fifth beast. The cause of this difference I have not learned; but conceive it to be the greater trouble occasioned by keeping these bulky and obstinate animals. The pasture is common to the whole village, and the tradesmen graze cows on paying their proportion of the cow-herd's fee, which is two anas per month for each buffalo, or the milk of the cow every fifth day. Sometimes the

pasture fields lie far from the village; to it, however, they are driven; and should it be necessary to cross a river, the cow-herd lays hold of the tail of a buffalo, and transports himself to the farther side with great ease. In the community of the pasture grounds the joint possession of several tenants, and the payment of rent in kind, you will perceive a strong similarity to the practice of certain districts in the Highlands of Scotland.

The two trades I am next to describe, are so different from every profession to which European manners give rise, that I beg leave to refer you to the authority upon which this narrative is grounded; for I here wish to disclaim all responsibility, as well as merit, in giving the information they may afford.

The trade of a *Barhi*, is to prepare dishes of leaves from which the Hindoos eat their food. In Bengal the plantain leaf is so common, and, from its size, so commodious for this purpose, that the object is attained, at once, without the intervention of professional skill; but, in the upper provinces, there is no single leaf which can supply the place of the plantain; an artificial combination is made up, by patching different leaves together, which forms a substitute for a plate at the Hindoo meals. Five or six different kinds of leaves are employed for this purpose, according to the produce of each district. In all, however, the manufacture is carried on; and, for every hundred plates furnished by the *Barhi*, he receives two anas; the zemindar paying half that sum, either because he affords a house to the *Barhi*, or because he takes the leaves from his trees.

During

During festivals and religious solemnities, the Barhi carries a torch, and performs the office of a Mussalgee.

The other profession alluded to, is that of a Bhaut, or poet, a person who celebrates the family, and the achievements of his patron; and, indeed, of every one who employs him. He is recognized as a member of the community, and has an annual fee of three sheaves from each plough of the village. Should a man's vanity lay him under no contribution, he has nothing more to pay to this officer. A share of this, however, falls to the lot of many; and to gratify it, they call upon the bhaut, to compose a poem in their praise; for every such composition, he receives a gratuity proportioned to his merit, or the gratification afforded to his employer. Before marriages, which are contracted by the parents, it is not uncommon to employ, on each side, a Bhaut, who celebrates the wealth, influence, and respectability of the party who employs him. And, after the marriage, or the birth of their first child, the married persons give him a present of a bullock, or a piece of cloth, according to their circumstances.

These particulars are offered on the authority of a native officer of the Bengal army, who, at my request, made the necessary enquiries upon his own estate. The result he has obligingly communicated in a manuscript in the Hindivi, taken upon the spot. A translation of this manuscript forms the substance of this account; and, as this gentleman bears a very respectable character, I have, on my part, perfect confidence in the accuracy and truth of every part of his narrative. It ought, in fact, to be re-

garded as neither absurd nor incredible, that in a country where every great man retains, in his service, a domestic merely for the purpose of proclaiming his titles to the mob as he passes, there should exist a race of men who subsist by flattery. Our own manners, a few centuries ago, are said to have countenanced a race of bards, who frequented the houses of chieftains, and celebrated their praises in as rude poetry, and by flattery as gross as the Bhauts of the Hindoos. There are a thousand particulars in which the European custom and manners in the twelfth century, seem to have resembled those of Hindostan. The practice of entertaining buffoons and jesters at court, was common to both countries, and seems to announce a state of manners equally indelicate with that above described.

In this community, we have to notice five families of shepherds who possess fifteen hundred sheep; they constitute a particular class who shear their sheep, and manufacture the wool. The finer blankets are sold for one rupee each; the coarse, eight anas; but the zemindar is entitled to what he uses, at an inferior price. Mutton is ate, on certain occasions, by almost every cast, at least, the rams; and the case is the same with goat's flesh. In this part of the country, there is a price fixed by Europeans for every sheep; three for a rupee, or about ten pence each. This is lower than the real value, and must operate as a grievance: it explains the reason why the natives are so averse to sell their productions to Europeans.

From the shepherd we pass to the village Brahmin. As often as the Ryut has collected a particular harvest,

vest, the Brahmin is sent for, who burns ghee, and says prayers over the collected heap ; all present join in the ceremony ; and the Brahmin receives, as his part, one measure of grain in that implement which is employed in winnowing it. He is employed by all the farmers, and at each harvest he collects no contemptible tithing for a village curate ;

besides this, the Brahmin receives many different fees and annuities. At each marriage he claims five per cent. of the bride's whole portion ; in cases where the parents can afford no marriage dower, the bridegroom pays the Brahmin his fee, which rises with the circumstances of the party : but even to a poor man it costs five rupees.

POETRY.



# POETRY.

ODE for the NEW YEAR, 1803.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, *Esq. Poet-Laureat.*

THOUGH the tempestuous winds no more  
 The main with angry pinion sweep,  
 Though raging 'gainst the sounding shore,  
 No longer howl th' impetuous seas;  
 But sooth'd to rest, the billows sleep,  
 Save where soft zephyr's tepid breeze  
 Fans with its silken wing the rippling deep;  
 Yet still with unremitting eye  
 The pilot marks th' uncertain sky,  
 The seaman watches still the gale,  
 Prompt or to spread or furl the sail,  
 Mindful of many a danger past,  
 Tost by the turbid wave, check'd by the adverse blast.

Not keen Suspicion's jealous glance,  
 Not fierce Contention's feverish rage,  
 Shall bid Britannia point the lance  
 New realms to grasp, new wars to wage.  
 In conscious rectitude elate,  
 In conscious power securely great,  
 While she beholds the dangerous tide  
 Of Battle's crimson wave subside,  
 Though firm she stands in act to dare  
 The storms of renovated war,  
 Her ready sword, her lifted shield,  
 Provoke not the ensanguin'd field,  
 More than the wary pilot's cautions urge  
 The wind's tempestuous strife, or swell the foaming surge.

O from our shores be exil'd far  
 Ambition's wild and restless crew,  
 Who through the bleeding paths of war,  
 False Glory's dæmon form pursue;

Whose

Whose burning thirst, still unsubdu'd  
 By deluges of guiltless blood,  
 Glares on the regions round with fiend-like eyes,  
 While scarce a vanquish'd world its wish supplies;  
 Yet ne'er may Sloth's inglorious charm  
 Unnerve the manly Briton's arm,  
 Nor Sophistry's insidious art  
 E'er lull the manly Briton's heart.  
 May Peace, with Plenty by her side,  
 Long, long o'er Albion's fields preside!  
 Long may her breath, with placid gale,  
 Of Commerce swell the happy sail;  
 But, rous'd in Justice' sacred cause,  
 Insulted rights, or violated laws,  
 Still may her sons with fierce delight  
 Flame in the gleamy van of fight,  
 Spread o'er the tented plain, or brave  
 With warlike prow the hostile wave;  
 And on each firm ingenuous breast  
 Be this eternal truth impress'd,  
 Peace only sheds perennial joys on those  
 Who guard with dauntless arm the blessings Peace bestows.

ODE for *His Majesty's* BIRTH-DAY, 1803. *By the Same.*

**B** RITAIN, alas! has woo'd in vain,  
 Reluctant Peace, thy placid charms;  
 Compell'd, she treads once more th' ensanguin'd plain,  
 Where Fame, where Freedom call aloud for arms.  
 Yet be awhile the battle's sound  
 In notes of festive triumph drown'd;  
 Whether the fiends of Discord fly  
 Portentous through the fiery sky,  
 Or, bound in Fate's coercive chain,  
 Howl 'mid th' infernal seats in vain;  
 On this auspicious day the Muse,  
 Jocund, with graceful voice, her wonted theme pursues.  
 Amid the boast of tyrant pride,  
 The pomp of state, the arm'd array,  
 Can all the shouts of slav'ry hide  
 That slaves unwilling homage pay?  
 No force can shield Ambition's head  
 From noontide care, from midnight dread,  
 When the still monitor within  
 Searches th' abode of blood and sin:

While he who rules with virtuous sway,  
 Whom freemen glory to obey,  
 Sees ev'ry breast the bulwark of a throne,  
 His people's surest guard, its sacred rights their own:  
 Then let the Muse, with duteous hand,  
 Strike the bold lyre's responsive strings,  
 While ev'ry tongue through Albion's land  
 Joins in the hymn of praise she sings;  
 And Labour, from the furrow'd plain,  
 And Commerce, from the billowy main,  
 With voice symphonious bid arise  
 That purest incense to the skies,  
 Above the proudest wreath of fame,  
 Which ever grac'd the victor's name,  
 A nation's votive breath by truth consign'd  
 To bless a patriot King—the friend of human kind.

NATIONAL ADDRESS,

*Written by Sir JAMES BLAND BURGESS,*

*And spoken by Mr. RAYMOND, previous to the Performance of the Tragedy of "Edward, the Black Prince," at Drury Lane Theatre, on Thursday, October 27, 1803.*

**T**O charm, instruct, and dignify the age,  
 Was long th' acknowledg'd province of the stage,  
 When the free Muse, by fashion undebas'd,  
 Through Nature's range her great examples trac'd,  
 Rescu'd Desert from all-subduing Time,  
 Stamp'd Worth with glory, with dishonour Crime;  
 And, uneduc'd from Virtue's sacred laws,  
 Disdain'd by ribaldry to seek applause.

Such were the themes which once true Genius fir'd,  
 Which Britain's sons with patriot zeal inspir'd;  
 When, as their fathers' valour was rehears'd,  
 O'er every soul congenial ardour burst;  
 And, while they crown'd the band with just applause,  
 They grew enthusiasts in their country's cause.

Such are the themes which now attention claim,  
 The field of Poictiers, and young EDWARD's fame!  
 When England's harass'd, but determin'd host,  
 Uncheck'd by toils, unaw'd by Gallia's boast,  
 The shock of countless multitudes withstood,  
 When, as each sword was dy'd in hostile blood,

England's



England's triumphant Genius soar'd on high,  
 And led her daring bands to victory.  
 Since, ere the recent wounds of War are heal'd,  
 Gallia's stern tyrant dares us to the field,  
 Let this proud record ev'ry feeling nerve,  
 And teach us new distinctions to deserve.  
 While *Cressy, Poitiers, Agincourt*, proclaim  
 Our ancient prowess, and our Foeman's shame;  
*Acre, Lincelles*, and *Egypt's* blood-stain'd plain,  
 Prove, in their sons, their virtues bloom again.  
 When, fairly pitted in the tented field,  
 To Gallic force did British valour yield?  
 When, if your gallant tars they dare to face,  
 Did Conquest's meed their puny efforts grace?  
 And shall we now, though on their adverse coast  
 Drawn out, in arms appears their savage host,  
 Enflam'd by vengeance, avarice, hate, and lust,  
 Shall we our own resources dread to trust?  
 No! while our hands the patriot-sword can rear,  
 While every Briton is a Volunteer,  
 We'll circle round our altars and our throne,  
 And prove our fathers' virtues are our own.  
 Like them our hearts with honest zeal expand,  
 We love, and can defend our native land;  
 Like their's, our Monarch is his people's friend;  
 He too has Sons our Island to defend;  
 And, whether on the coasts of faithless France,  
 To check a despot's rage, our hosts advance;  
 Or, our own laws and liberties to save,  
 On England's shores his mad attack we brave.  
 Let us our great forefathers' worth recall,  
 Resolv'd to triumph, or like men to fall.

#### OCCASIONAL ADDRESS TO THE VOLUNTEERS,

*Written by WILLIAM BOSCAWEN, Esq.*

*Spoken by Mr. C. KEMBLE, at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, on Friday, 25th November, 1803, after the Performance of the Play of "King Henry the Fifth," for the Benefit of the Patriotic Fund.*

**I**N Spartan bands to wake heroic fire,  
 Renown'd TYRREUS strung his martial lyre;  
 TYRREUS, lame and weak, unskill'd to wield  
 The flying spear, or grasp the ponderous shield;  
 Nor by experience taught in just array  
 To form the files, and guide the doubtful fray;

Yet,

Yet, heaven-inspired, he knew, beyond control  
 With strains sublime, to rouse the torpid soul,  
 Swell with proud hopes the heart, and, by his breath,  
 Kindle the love of fame, the scorn of death.  
 And shall the British Muse, 'midst war's alarms,  
 In silence rest, nor rouse her sons to arms?  
 Shall Britons yield an unresisting prey,  
 And own a base Usurper's foreign sway?  
 No—when ye march to guard your sea-girt shore,  
 “Return victorious, or return no more.”

Greece, in her freedom's most propitious hour,  
 Wag'd impious wars, in quest of spoil, or power;  
 And Rome, through many an age, unjustly brave,  
 Fought to oppress, and conquer'd to enslave.  
 E'en the bright wreaths, our Edwards, Henries, claim,  
 Crown'd not the cause of Freedom, but of Fame;  
 While fond Ambition, with misguided zeal,  
 Sought England's glory more than England's weal,  
 But when, of old, to chase a foreign host,  
 The painted guardians of our Albion's coast,  
 O'er her white cliffs descending, from afar,  
 On Cæsar's legions pour'd the tide of war,  
 When scythed chariots swept th' ensanguin'd plain,  
 Then bards, enraptur'd, sung this patriot strain:  
 “Ye generous youths, who guard the British shore!  
 Return victorious! or return no more!”

Again Britannia sounds her just alarms;  
 Nor lures by Int'rest or Ambition's charms,  
 But prompts to deeds, which fairer trophies yield  
 Than grac'd e'en Agincourt's immortal field,  
 And bids you guard, in free and gallant strife,  
 All that adorns, improves, or sweetens life.  
 Your homes, by faithful love and friendship blest,  
 Each pledge of love, now smiling at the breast.  
 Your daughter's, fresh in bloom, mature in charms,  
 Doom'd (should he conquer) to the spoiler's arms;  
 Your sons, who hear the Tyrant's threats with scorn,  
 The joys, the hopes, of ages yet unborn;  
 All, all, endear this just, this sacred cause,  
 Your *Sov'reign's* throne, your *Freedom, Faith, and Laws*,  
 Champions of Britain's cherish'd rights ye stand:  
*Protect, preserve, avenge* your native land!  
 For lo! she cries, amidst the battle's roar,  
 “Return victorious, or—return no more!”

## FROM THE CRISIS, A POEM.

*By the Rev. Mr. MAURICE.*

**B**RITONS! the crisis of your fate draws near,  
 Exalt your standards, grasp th' avenging spear;  
 In radiant arms indissolubly join'd,  
 Be firm, and brave the pow'rs of earth combin'd.

But oh! Britannia, what immortal strain  
 Shall paint thy triumphs on the boundless main;  
 Who sing the heroes that, from age to age,  
 Thro' ev'ry clime have bid thy thunder rage;  
 "From burning realms, where southern deeps resound,"  
 To where eternal frosts the pole surround!  
 Who shall thy Howard's deathless feats recite,  
 Thy fearless Drake's, invincible in fight?  
 Whose valour, with the storms of heav'n combin'd,  
 The proud armada to the depths consign'd!  
 To ardent glory's noblest fires awake,  
 What terrors could appal the soul of Blake?  
 When on the Belgic chief, that dared to *sweep*  
 With high-suspended broom, th' insulted deep;  
 Furious he rush'd, and tore, indignant, down  
 The barb'rous emblem of usurp'd renown:  
 Then, driving o'er the surge the routed foe,  
*Swept* the proud vaunter to the gulphs below!

Far distant on the vast Atlantic main,  
 To check the ravages of hostile Spain,  
 Skilful as brave, along a dread-fraught coast,  
 Pocock to vict'ry leads a gallant host:  
 Condemn'd to perish on a barb'rous strand,  
 Pale round his vessels glides a spectred band;  
 And oft before his midnight couch they rise,  
 Flames in their hands, and lightning in their eyes;  
 Revenge, they shout, and tow'rsd Havannah's spires  
 Wave their red arms, and point their hostile fires.

'Mid threat'ning rocks, and waves in mountains roll'd,  
 Great Hawke, contending with the storm, behold!  
 Nor rocks, nor roaring surge, nor madd'ning wind,  
 From its firm centre, shake his stedfast mind;  
 On Fate's tremendous verge, the line he forms,  
 To France, more dreadful than a thousand storms;

Bids,



Bids, through a night of clouds, the fleet advance,  
 And hostile fires illumine the gay expanse.  
 In vain their broken line their Gauls oppose,  
 While, as the furious conflict fiercer glows,  
 The British cannon raising, tier o'er tier,  
 Flame on their van, and thunder on their rear.  
 Wild as the whirlwinds, that impetuous sweep  
 The raging surface of the troubled deep ;  
 The Gallic vessels o'er the surge are toss'd,  
 Or swell the pomp of Britain's victor host !  
 'Twas then, from heav'n, the brilliant deed to crown,  
 Britannia's angel rush'd in lightning down ;  
 From France her naval wreath for ever tore,  
 And stamp'd to dust, on Biscay's stormy shore !

If, urg'd by rage, and furious from despair,  
 Again her baffled fleets the ocean dare,  
 Terrific Neptune, on thy billowy field,  
 The lion Howe shall British vengeance wield ;  
 Or Rodney, dreadful in her kindled ire,  
 Rain on those fleets a storm of liquid fire.  
 While far remote, in India's sultry sky,  
 Cornwallis bids her flag triumphant fly ;  
 And, by her Barrington resistless hurl'd,  
 Albion's deep thunder shakes the western world.

Sublimely thron'd on Vincent's rocky height,  
 Hark ! Glory, from her shrine of circling light,  
 Loud hails her Jervis, on th' Iberian main,  
 Resistless bursting thro' the line of Spain !  
 Ardent to gain the wreath that Russel crown'd,  
 And brave Boscawen's vet'ran temples bound,  
 Reckless of storms, behold intrepid Hood,  
 Plough, with unwearied toil, the briny flood ;  
 In all her ports the skulking foe he braves,  
 And burns to plunge him in the whelming waves.  
 Last, but not humblest, on the roll of fame,  
 With nerve of adamant, with soul of flame,  
 See fearless Duncan, ranging undismay'd,  
 Belgium's dire shore, with death and peril spread,  
 And rush, regardless of impending doom,  
 Where ev'ry billow yawns—a wat'ry tomb !  
 Tho' ruin hover in a thousand forms,  
 Resolv'd Batavia's marshal'd fleet he storms ;  
 Tremendous on the foe his vengeance falls,  
 And thick around descend the rattling balls.  
 Retreat is vain ; behind the breakers roar,  
 While Britain's wasteful thunders urge before ;

The doubling game the dauntless Scott pursues,  
 And, in the jaws of death, the fight renews;  
 Aloft in air, her tattered standards fly,  
 Low bends the stately mast, that pierc'd the sky;  
 Devouring flames consume the glowing deck,  
 And a third navy floats—a boundless wreck!  
 Gaul views, enrag'd, her strongest prop o'erthrown,  
 And into air her daring projects blown.  
 Rage, baffled Gaul, for thus, ere yonder sun,  
 Thrice his bright journey round the zodiac run,  
 In black disgrace shall all thy triumphs end,  
 And all thy tow'ring pride in *smoke* ascend.  
 The injur'd object of thy jealous hate,  
 Hurls at thy impious head the bolt of fate;  
 On outrag'd heaven's and man's determin'd foe,  
 Slow, but resistless, rolls the fatal blow!

Ye myriads, whom her direful thirst of blood  
 Plung'd in the rapid Rhone's empurpled flood,  
 Or from the cannon's rending mouth consign'd,  
 In mangled fragments to the blasting wind;  
 All whom dire Robespierre's unsparing rage  
 Crush'd in the blooming vigour of your age;  
 Or by succeeding Molocks dragg'd to death,  
 Who, in deep dungeons, drank infection's breath;  
 All, who by Hunger's pangs to madness fir'd,  
 On your own sabre's guiltless edge expir'd;  
 Or, to avoid unnumber'd horrors, quaff'd,  
 With pale and quiv'ring lips, th' empoison'd draught;  
 Shout from the grave!—in your, in Nature's cause,  
 Th' avenging sword insulted Britain draws!  
 See her bright ensigns blaze from shore to shore,  
 See her bold offspring round those ensigns pour;  
 Her ancient nobles, warm with all the fires  
 That burn'd at Cressy in their daring sires;  
 Her valiant knights, whose streaming banners show  
 Their blazon'd triumphs o'er the haughty foe;  
 Her gen'rous merchants, fam'd thro' every clime,  
 Of spotless faith, and dauntless soul sublime;  
 Whose flags, thro' many a distant sea unfurl'd,  
 Uphold the commerce of the ravag'd world;—  
 In social bands remotest nations join,  
 Chill'd at the Pole, or scorch'd beneath the Line;  
 Patriots, to virtue dear, for freedom bold,  
 Who *honor* still, their proudest treasure, hold;  
 Her peasants glowing with a Briton's zeal,  
 Whose loyal hearts are *oak*, whose sinews *steel*;

All ranks, all ages, feel the high alarms,  
At Glory's call, impatient rush to arms ;  
Ardent to meet a foe their souls disdain,  
Conqu'rors on shore, and sovereigns on the main !

To victory rush on, ye dauntless bands,  
The fate of Europe trembles in your hands !  
Oh ! still for glory pant, for Britain burn,  
Nor to the sheath the avenging blade return,  
Till Liberty her trampled rights regain,  
Till justice re-assume her ancient reign,  
Till vanquished Gaul in blood her crimes bemoan,  
And heaven's avenging arm repentant own ;  
Or, in the chains she forg'd for Europe, bound,  
Spend her vain rage, and prostrate bite the ground !

Britons ! the *crisis* of her fate draws near ;  
Advance your standards, launch th' avenging spear,  
In radiant arms indissolubly join'd,  
Your firmness hath subdu'd the world combin'd !

## LINES

On JAMES IV. of Scotland, who fell at the Battle of Flodden, by T. CAMP-  
BELL, Esq. (*unpublished.*)

'T WAS he that rul'd his country's heart,  
With more than royal sway ;  
But Scotland saw her James depart,  
And sadden'd at his stay.  
She heard his fate—she wept her grief—  
That James her lov'd, her gallant chief,  
Was gone for ever more :  
But this she learnt, that, ere he fell,  
(Oh Men ! oh Patriots ! mark it well)  
His fellow soldiers round his fall,  
Enclos'd him like a living wall,  
Mixing their kindred gore !  
Nor was the day of Flodden done,  
Till they were slaughter'd one by one ;  
And this may serve to shew :  
When Kings are Patriots none will fly—  
When such a King was doom'd to die,  
Oh who would death forego\* ?

3 N 3

EPITAPH,

\* The gallant promise, made by our beloved monarch, that, in case of invasion, he would be found, in the hour of danger, at the head of his troops, gave birth to the above effusion.



## EPITAPH,

*On a Lady in Ickworth Church, Suffolk, by the Brother of the Deceased.  
(unpublished.)*

**B**ENEATH the covering of this little stone;  
Lie the poor shrunk, yet dear remains of one,  
With merit humble, and with virtue fair,  
With knowledge modest, and with wit sincere;  
Upright in all the social paths of life,  
The friend, the daughter, sister, and the wife—  
So just the disposition of her soul,  
Nature left reason nothing to control!  
Firm, pious, patient; affable of mind;  
Happy in life, and yet in death resign'd;  
Just in the zenith of those golden days,  
When the mind ripens, 'ere the form decays,  
The hand of Fate unkindly cut her thread,  
And left the world, to weep that virtue fled,  
Its pride when living, and its grief when dead. }

## LINES,

*Addressed to Earl Nugent, by the late Dean of Cork, Ersckine, then Curate of Gosfield, his Lordship's Seat, in Essex. (unpublished.)*

**I** ENVY not thy spacious seat,  
Beyond my hopes and wishes, great;  
Nor do thy woods, and lawns, and lake,  
My unambitious quiet shake:  
But cheerfulness, which never fails,  
A wit humane which never rails;  
Bounty which bids the wretched live,  
Nor needs a call to feel and give.  
All these my envious bosom sting,  
These suit a curate or a king.

## YARDLEY-OAK,

A FRAGMENT, by COWPER.

*Not published in his Works, from "Hayley's Life of Cowper," 3d Vol.*

**S**URVIVOR sole, and hardly such, of all  
That once liv'd here thy brethren, at my birth,  
(Since which I number three scores winters past)  
A shatter'd veteran, hollow trunk'd, perhaps,

As now, and with excoriate forks, deform,  
 Relicts of ages! Could a mind, imbued  
 With truth from Heaven, created thing adore,  
 I might with rev'rence kneel, and worship thee!

It seems idolatry with some excuse,  
 When our forefather Druids in their oaks  
 Imagin'd sanctity. The conscience, yet  
 Unpurified by an authentic act  
 Of amnesty, the meed of blood divine,  
 Lov'd not the light, but, gloomy, into gloom  
 Of thickest shades, like Adam after taste  
 Of fruit proscrib'd, as to a refuge, fled!

Thou wast a bauble once; a cup and ball,  
 Which babes might play with; and the thievish jay,  
 Seeking her food, with ease might have purloin'd  
 The auburn nut that held thee, swallowing down  
 Thy yet close-folded latitude of boughs,  
 And all thy embryo vastness, at a gulp.  
 But fate thy growth decreed: autumnal rains,  
 Beneath thy parent tree, mellow'd the soil,  
 Design'd thy cradle, and a skipping deer,  
 With pointed hoof dibbling the glebe, prepar'd  
 The soft receptacle, in which secure  
 Thy rudiments should sleep the winter through.

So fancy dreams—disprove it if ye can  
 Ye reas'ners broad awake, whose busy search  
 Of argument, employ'd too oft amiss,  
 Sifts half the pleasures of short life away!

Thou fell'st mature, and in the loamy clod  
 Swelling with vegetable force, instinct  
 Did'st burst thine egg, as their's the fabled twins,  
 Now stars; two lobes protruding pair exact:  
 A leaf succeeded, and another leaf,  
 And, all the elements thy puny growth  
 Fostering propitious, thou becam'st a twig.

Who liv'd when thou wast such? Oh! could'st thou speak,  
 As in Dodona once thy kindred trees  
 Oracular, I would not curious ask  
 The future, best unknown, but at thy mouth  
 Inquisitive, the less ambiguous past!

By thee I might correct, erroneous oft,  
 The clock of history, facts and events

Timing more punctual, unrecorded facts.  
 Recov'ring, and mis-stated setting right—  
 Desp'rate attempt till trees shall speak again !

Time made thee what thou wast—king of the woods !  
 And time hath made thee what thou art—a cave  
 For owls to roost in ! Once thy spreading boughs  
 O'erhung the champaign, and the numerous flock  
 That grazed it, stood beneath that ample cope  
 Uncrowded, yet safe sheltered from the storm.  
 No flocks frequent thee now ; thou hast outliv'd  
 Thy popularity, and art become  
 (Unless verse rescue thee awhile) a thing  
 Forgotten, as the foliage of thy youth !

While thus through all the stages thou hast push'd  
 Of treeship—first a seedling hid in grass ;  
 Then twig ; then sapling ; and, as century roll'd  
 Slow after century, a giant-bulk  
 Of girth enormous, with moss-cushion'd root  
 Upheav'd above the soil, and sides imboss'd  
 With prominent wens globose—till at the last  
 The rottenness, which time is charg'd to inflict  
 On other mighty ones, found also thee.

What exhibitions various hath the world  
 Witnessed, of mutability in all  
 That we account most durable below !  
 Change is the diet on which all subsist,  
 Created changeable, and change at last  
 Destroys them—skies uncertain, now the heat  
 Transmitting cloudless, and the solar beam  
 Now quenching, in a boundless sea of clouds—  
 Calm and alternate storm, moisture and drought,  
 Invigorate by turns the springs of life  
 In all that live, plant, animal, and man,  
 And in conclusion mar them. Nature's threads,  
 Fine passing thought, e'en in her coarsest works,  
 Delight in agitation—yet sustain  
 The force that agitates not unimpair'd,  
 But worn by frequent impulse, to the cause  
 Of their best tone their dissolution owe.

Thought cannot spend itself comparing still  
 The great and little of thy lot, thy growth  
 From almost nullity into a state  
 Of matchless grandeur, and declension thence  
 Slow into such magnificent decay.



Time was, when settling on thy leaf, a fly  
 Could shake thee to the root—and time has been  
 When tempests could not. At thy firmest age  
 Thou hadst within thy bole solid contents  
 That might have ribb'd the sides, and plank'd the deck  
 Of some flagg'd admiral, and tortuous arms,  
 The shipwright's darling treasure, didst present  
 To the four quarter'd winds, robust and bold,  
 Warp'd into tough knee timber,\* many a load!  
 But the axe spared thee; in those thriftier days  
 Oaks fell not, hewn by thousands, to supply  
 The bottomless demands of contest, waged  
 For senatorial honours. Thus to time  
 The task was left to whittle thee away,  
 With his sly scythe, whose ever-nibbling edge,  
 Noiseless, an atom, and an atom more,  
 Disjoining from the rest, has unobserv'd  
 Achiev'd a labour, which had far and wide,  
 (By man perform'd) made all the forest ring.

Embowell'd now, and of thy ancient self  
 Possessing nought, but the scop'd rind, that seems  
 An huge throat calling to the clouds for drink,  
 Which it would give in rivulets to thy root;  
 Thou temptest none, but rather much forbid'st  
 The feller's toil, which thou could'st ill requite:  
 Yet is thy root sincere, sound as the rock,  
 A quarry of stout spurs, and knotted fangs,  
 Which, crook'd into a thousand whimsies, clasp  
 The stubborn soil, and hold thee still erect.

So stands a kingdom, whose foundation yet  
 Fails not, in virtue and in wisdom lay'd,  
 Though all the superstructure, by the tooth  
 Pulveriz'd of venality, a shell  
 Stands now—and semblance only of itself!

Thine arms have left thee; winds have rent them off  
 Long since, and rovers of the forest wild,  
 With bow and shaft, have burnt them. Some have left  
 A splinter'd stump, bleach'd to a snowy white;  
 And some, memorial none where once they grew.  
 Yet life still lingers in thee, and puts forth  
 Proof not contemptible of what she can,  
 Even when death predominates. The spring  
 Finds thee not less alive to her sweet force,

Than

\* Knee timber is found in the crooked arms of oak, which, by reason of their distortion, are easily adjusted to the angle formed where the deck and ship sides meet.

Than yonder upstarts of the neighbouring wood,  
So much thy juniors, who their birth receiv'd  
Half a millennium since the date of thine.

But since, although well qualified by age  
To teach, no spirit dwells in thee, nor voice  
May be expected from thee, seated here,  
On thy distorted root, with hearers none,  
Or prompter, save the scene—I will perform  
Myself the oracle; and will discourse  
In my own ear, such matter as I may.

One man alone, the father of us all,  
Drew not his life from woman; never gaz'd,  
With mute unconsciousness of what he saw,  
On all around him; learn'd not by degrees,  
Nor ow'd articulation to his ear;  
But moulded by his Maker into man  
At once, upstood intelligent, survey'd  
All creatures, with precision understood  
Their purport, uses, properties, assign'd  
To teach his name significant, and, fill'd  
With love and wisdom, render'd back to Heaven,  
In praise harmonious, the first air he drew.  
He was excus'd the penalties of dull  
Minority; no tutor charg'd his hand  
With the thought-tracing quill, or task'd his mind  
With problems; history, not wanted yet,  
Lean'd on her elbow, watching time, whose course,  
Eventful, should supply her with a theme.

## TO MARY.

BY COWPER.

*(Unpublished in his Works.) From the Same.*

THE twentieth year is well-nigh past,  
Since first our sky was overcast,  
Ah! would that this might be the last!  
My Mary!

Thy spirits have a fainter flow,  
I see thee daily weaker grow—  
'Twas my distress that brought thee low,  
My Mary!

Thy

Thy needles, once a shining store,  
 For my sake restless heretofore,  
 Now rust disused, and shine no more,  
My Mary !

For tho' thou gladly would'st fulfil  
 The same kind office for me still,  
 Thy sight now seconds not thy will,  
My Mary !

But well thou play'dst the housewife's part,  
 And all thy threads, with magic art,  
 Have wound themselves about this heart,  
My Mary !

Thy indistinct expressions seem  
 Like language utter'd in a dream ;  
 Yet me they charm, whate'er the theme,  
My Mary !

Thy silver locks, once auburn bright !  
 Are still more lovely in my sight  
 Than golden beams of orient light,  
My Mary !

For could I view nor them, nor thee,  
 What sight worth seeing could I see ?  
 The sun would rise in vain for me,  
My Mary !

Partakers of thy sad decline,  
 Thy hands their little force resign ;  
 Yet gently prest, press gently mine,  
My Mary !

Such feebleness of limbs thou prov'st,  
 That now at ev'ry step thou mov'st,  
 Upheld by two, yet still thou lov'st,  
My Mary !

And still to love, tho' press'd with ill ;  
 In wintry age to feel no chill,  
 With me is to be lovely still,  
My Mary !

But, ah ! by constant heed I know,  
 How oft the sadness that I shew  
 Transforms thy smiles to looks of woe,  
My Mary !

And should my future lot be cast,  
 With much resemblance of the past,  
 Thy worn-out heart will break at last,  
My Mary !



## THE MARKET NIGHT,

*From "Rural Tales," by BLOOMFIELD.*

‘ **O** WINDS, howl not so long and loud ;  
 ‘ Nor with your vengeance arm the snow :  
 ‘ Bear hence each heavy-loaded cloud :  
 ‘ And let the twinkling star-beams glow—

2.

‘ Now sweeping floods rush down the slope,  
 ‘ Wide scattering ruin. . . Stars shine soon !  
 ‘ No other light my love can hope ;  
 ‘ Midnight will want the joyous Moon—

3.

‘ O guardian spirits ! . . . Ye that dwell  
 ‘ Where woods, and pits, and hollow ways,  
 ‘ The lone night trav’ller’s fancy swell  
 ‘ With fearful tales of older days, . . .

4.

‘ Press round him . . . guide his willing steed  
 ‘ Through darkness, dangers, currents, snows ;  
 ‘ Wait where, from shelt’ring thickets freed,  
 ‘ The dreary heath’s rude whirlwind blows—

5.

‘ From darkness rushing o’er his way,  
 ‘ The thorn’s white load it bears on high !  
 ‘ Where the short furze all shrouded lay,  
 ‘ Mounts the dried grass ; . . . Earth’s bosom dry—

6.

‘ Then o’er the hill with furious sweep  
 ‘ It rends the elevated tree . . .  
 ‘ Sure-footed beast, thy road thou’lt keep :  
 ‘ Nor storm nor darkness startles thee !

7.

‘ O blest assurance, (trusty steed)  
 ‘ To thee the buried road is known ;  
 ‘ Home, all the spur thy footsteps need,  
 ‘ When loose the frozen rein is thrown—

8.

‘ Between the roaring blasts that shake  
 ‘ The naked elder at the door,  
 ‘ Though not one prattler to me speak,  
 ‘ Their sleeping sighs delight me more.

9.

‘ Sound is their rest. . . They little know  
 ‘ What pain, what cold, their father feels ;  
 ‘ But dream, perhaps, they see him now,  
 ‘ While each the promis’d orange peels—

1

10. ‘ Would

10.

- ‘ Would it were so ! . . the fire burns bright,
- ‘ And on the warming trencher gleams ;
- ‘ In expectation’s raptur’d sight
- ‘ How precious his arrival seems !—

11.

- ‘ I’ll look abroad ! . . . ’tis piercing cold ! . . .
- ‘ How the bleak wind assails his breast !
- ‘ Yet some faint light mine eyes behold :
- ‘ The storm is verging o’er the west—

12.

- ‘ There shines a star . . . O welcome sight !
- ‘ Through the thin vapours bright’ning still,
- ‘ Yet ’twas beneath the fairest night
- ‘ The murd’rer stain’d yon lonely hill—

13.

- ‘ Mercy, kind heav’n ! such thoughts dispel !
  - ‘ No voice, no footstep can I hear !’
- (Where night and silence brooding dwell  
Spreads thy cold reign, heart-chilling fear.)

14.

- ‘ Distressing hour ! uncertain fate !
- ‘ O mercy, mercy, guide him home ! . . .
- ‘ Hark ! . . . then I heard the distant gate
- ‘ Repeat it, echo ; quickly, come !

15.

- ‘ One minute now will ease my fears . . .
- ‘ Or still more wretched must I be ?
- ‘ No : surely heav’n has spar’d our tears :
- ‘ I see him, cloath’d in snow : . . . ’tis he . . .

16.

- ‘ Where have you stay’d ? put down your load.
- ‘ How have you borne the storm, the cold ?
- ‘ What horrors did I not forebode . . .
- ‘ That beast is worth his weight in gold !’

17.

- Thus spoke the joyful wife . . . then ran
- And hid in grateful steams her head :
- Dapple was hous’d, the hungry man
- With joy glanc’d o’er the children’s bed—

18.

- ‘ What all asleep ! . . . so best ;’ he cried ;
- ‘ O what a night I’ve travell’d through ;
- ‘ Unseen, unheard, I might have died ;
- ‘ But heav’n has brought me safe to you—

19.

- ‘ Dear partner of my nights and days,
- ‘ That smile becomes thee ! . . . Let us then
- ‘ Learn though mishap may cross our ways,
- ‘ It is not ours, to reckon when !—

## CADYOW CASTLE,

*Addressed to the Right Hon. Lady Anne Hamilton.**By* WALTER SCOTT.

WHEN princely Hamilton's abode  
Ennobled Cadyow's gothic towers,  
The song went round, the goblet flow'd,  
And revel sped the laughing hours.

Then, thrilling to the harp's gay sound,  
So sweetly rung each vaulted wall,  
And echoed light the dancer's bound,  
As mirth and music cheer'd the hall.

But Cadyow's towers, in ruins laid,  
And vaults by ivy mantled o'er,  
Thrill to the music of the shade,  
Or echo Evan's hoarser roar.

Yet still of Cadyow's faded fame,  
You bid me tell a minstrel tale,  
And tune my harp of Border frame,  
On the wile banks of Evandale.

For thou from scenes of courtly pride,  
From Pleasure's lighter scenes canst turn,  
To draw Oblivion's pall aside,  
And mark the long-forgotten urn.

Then, noble maid ! at thy command,  
Again the crumbled walls shall rise ;  
Lo ! as on Evan's banks we stand,  
The past returns—the present flies.

Where with the rock's wood-cover'd side,  
Where blended late the ruins green,  
Rise turrets in fantastic pride,  
And feudal banners flaunt between :

Where the rude torrents' brawling course  
Was shagg'd with thorn and tangling sloe,  
The ashler buttress braves its force,  
And ramparts frown in battled row.



'Tis night—the shade of keep and spire  
Obscurely dance in Evan's stream,  
And on the wave the warder's fire  
Is chequering the moon-light beam.

Fades slow their light; the east is grey;  
The weary warder leaves his tower;  
Steeds snort; uncoupled stag-hounds bay,  
And merry hunters quit the bower.

The drawbridge falls—they hurry out—  
Clatters each plank and swinging chain,  
As dashing o'er, the jovial route  
Urge the shy steed, and slack the rein.

First of his troop, the chief rode on;  
His shouting merry-men throng behind;  
The steed of princely Hamilton  
Was fleetier than the mountain wind.

From the thick copse the roe-bucks bound,  
The startling red-deer sends the plain,  
For the hoarse bugle's warrior sound  
Has rous'd the mountain haunts again.

Through the huge oaks of Evandale,  
Whose limbs a thousand years have worn,  
What sullen roar comes down the gale,  
And drowns the hunter's pealing horn?

Mightiest of all the beasts of chace,  
That roam in woody Caledon,  
Crashing the forest in his race,  
The mountain-bull comes thundering on.

Fierce on the hunter's quiver'd band,  
He rolls his eyes of swarthy glow,  
Spurns with black hoof and horn the sand,  
And tosses high his mane of snow.

Aim'd well the chieftain's lance has flown,  
Struggling in blood the savage lies;  
His roar is sunk in hollow groan—  
Sound merry huntsmen! sound the *pryse*.\*

'Tis

\* Pryse—the note blown at the death of the game.

'Tis noon ; against the knotted oak  
 The hunters rest the idle spear ;  
 Curls through the tress the slender smoke,  
 Where yeoman dight the woodland cheer.

Proudly the chieftain mark'd his clan  
 On greenwood lap all careless thrown,  
 Yet miss'd his eyes the boldest man,  
 That bore the name of Hamilton.

" Why fills not Bothwellhaugh his place,  
 Still wont our weal and woe to share?  
 Why comes he not our sport to grace?  
 Why shares he not our hunter's fare?"

Stern Claud replied, with darkening face,  
 (Grey Pasley's haughty lord was he)  
 " At merry feast, or buxom chace,  
 No more the warrior shalt thou see.

" Few suns have set, since Woohouselee  
 Saw Bothwellhaugh's bright goblets foam,  
 When to his hearths in social glee,  
 The war-worn soldier turn'd him home.

" There, won from her maternal throes,  
 His Margaret, beautiful and mild,  
 Sate in her bower a pallid rose,  
 And peaceful nurs'd her new-born child.

" O change accurs'd ! past are those days ;  
 False Murray's ruthless spoilers came,  
 And, for the hearth's domestic blaze,  
 Ascends destruction's volum'd flame.

" What sheeted phantom wanders wild,  
 Where mountain Eske through woodland flows,  
 Her arms enfold a shadowy child —  
 Oh, is it she, the pallid rose?

" The wildered traveller sees her glide,  
 And hears her feeble voice with awe—  
 ' Revenge,' she cries, on Murray's pride!  
 And woe for injur'd Bothwellhaugh !"

He ceased—and cries of rage and grief  
Burst mingling from the kindred band,  
And half arose the kindling chief,  
And half unsheath'd his Arran brand.

But who o'er bush, o'er stream and rock  
Rides headlong, with resistless speed,  
Whose bloody poniard's frantic stroke  
Drive to the leap his jaded steed?

Whose cheek is pale, whose eye-balls glare,  
As one some vision'd sight that saw,  
Whose hands are bloody, loose his hair?—  
'Tis he! 'tis he! 'tis Bothwellhaugh.

From gory selle,\* and reeling steed,  
Sprung the fierce horseman with a bound,  
And, reeking from the recent deed,  
He dash'd his carbine on the ground.

Sternly he spoke—" 'Tis sweet to hear  
In good Greenwood the bugle blown,  
But sweeter to Revenge's ear,  
To drink a tyrant's dying groan.

" Your slaughter'd quarry proudly trod,  
At dawning morn, o'er dale and down,  
But prouder base-born Murray rode  
Thro' old Linlithgow's crowded town.

" From the wide border's humbled side,  
In haughty triumph, marched he,  
While Knox relax'd his bigot pride,  
And smil'd, the traitorous pomp to see.

" But, can stern Power, with all his vaunt,  
Or Pomp, with all her courtly glare,  
The settled heart of Vengeance daunt,  
Or 'change the purpose of Despair?

" With hackbut bent,† my secret stand,  
Dark as the purpos'd deed I chose,  
And mark'd, where, mingling in his band,  
Troop'd Scottish pikes and English bows.

"Dark,

\* Selle, saddle. A word used by Spenser and other ancient authors.

† Hackbut bent—gun cocked.



“ Dark Morton, girt with many a spear,  
 Murder’s foul minion, led the van;  
 And clash’d their broad-swords in the rear,  
 The wild Macfarlane’s plaided clan.

“ Glencairn and stout Parkhead were nigh,  
 Obsequious at their regent’s rein,  
 And hagger’d Lindsay’s iron eye,  
 That saw fair Mary weep in vain.

“ ‘Mid Pennon’d spears, a steely grove,  
 Proud Murray’s plumage floated high,  
 Scarce could his trampling charger move,  
 So close the minions crowded nigh.

“ From the rais’d visor’s shade, his eye,  
 Dark-rolling, glanc’d the ranks along;  
 And his steel truncheon, wav’d on high,  
 Seem’d marshalling the iron throng.

“ But yet his sadden’d brow confess’d  
 A passing shade of doubt and awe;  
 Some fiend was whispering in his breast,  
 ‘ Beware of injur’d Bothwellhaugh!’

“ The death-shot parts, the charger springs,  
 Wild rises tumult’s startling roar!  
 And Murray’s plummy helmet rings—  
 Rings on the ground to rise no more.

“ What joy the raptur’d youth can feel,  
 To hear her love the lov’d one tell;  
 Or he, who broaches on his steel  
 The wolf, by whom his infant fell!

“ But dearer to my injur’d eye,  
 To see in dust-proud Murray roll;  
 And mine was ten times trebl’d joy,  
 To hear him groan his felon soul.

“ My Margaret’s spectre glided near;  
 With pride her bleeding victim saw,  
 And shriek’d in his death-deafen’d ear,  
 ‘ Remember injur’d Bothwellhaugh!’

“ Then

"Then speed thee, noble Chatlerault!  
 Spread to the wind thy banner'd tree!  
 Each warrior bend his Clydesdale bow!  
 Murray is fall'n and Scotland free."

Vaults every warrior to his steed,  
 Loud bugles join their wild acclaim,  
 "Murray is fall'n, and Scotland free'd!  
 Couch, Arran! couch thy spear of flame!"

But, see! the minstrel vision fails,  
 The glimmering spears are seen no more;  
 The shouts of war die on the gales,  
 Or sink in Evan's lonely roar.

For the loud bugle, pealing high,  
 The blackbird whistles down the vale,  
 And sunk in ivy'd ruins lie  
 The banner'd towers of Evandale.

For chiefs, intent on bloody deed,  
 And vengeance shouting o'er the slain;  
 Lo! high-born beauty rules the steed,  
 Or graceful guides the silken rein.

And long may peace and pleasure own,  
 The maids, who list the minstrel's tale;  
 Nor e'er a ruder guest be known,  
 On the fair banks of Evandale!

## LINES

*Written a few Miles above Tintern Abbey, on revisiting the Banks of  
 the Wye.*

*By Mr. WORDSWORTH.*

FIVE years have pass'd; five summers, with the length  
 Of five long winters! and again I hear  
 These waters, rolling from their mountain springs  
 With a sweet inland murmur.\* Once again  
 Do I behold these steep and lofty cliffs,  
 Which, on a wild, secluded scene impress  
 Thoughts of more deep seclusion; and connect  
 The landscape with the quiet of the sky.  
 The day is come when I again repose,  
 Here, under this dark sycamore, and view

3 O 2

These

\* The river is not affected with the tide a few miles above Tintern.

These plots of cottage ground, these orchard tufts,  
Which, at this season, with their unripe fruits,  
Among the woods and copses lose themselves ;  
Nor, with their green and simple hue, disturb  
The wild green landscape. Once again I see  
These hedge rows, hardly hedge rows, little lines,  
Of sportive wood run wild ; these pastoral farms  
Green to the very door ; and wreaths of smoke  
Sent up, in silence, from among the trees,  
And the low copses—coming from the trees  
With some uncertain notice, as might seem,  
Of vagrant dwellers in the houseless woods,  
Or of some hermit's cave, where by his fire  
The hermit sits alone.

Though absent long,  
These forms of beauty have not been to me,  
As is a landscape to a blind man's eye :  
But oft, in lonely rooms, and 'mid the din  
Of towns and cities, I have ow'd to them,  
In hours of weariness, sensations sweet,  
Felt in the blood, and felt along the heart,  
And passing even into my purer mind  
With tranquil restoration :—feelings, too,  
Of unremember'd pleasure ; such, perhaps,  
As may have had no trivial influence  
On that best portion of a good man's life ;  
His little, nameless, unremembered acts  
Of kindness and of love. Nor less, I trust,  
To them I may have ow'd another gift,  
Of aspect more sublime ; that blessed mood,  
In which the burthen of the mystery,  
In which the heavy and the weary weight  
Of all this unintelligible world  
Is lightened :—that serene and blessed mood,  
In which th' affections gently lead us on,  
Until the breath of this corporeal frame,  
And even the motion of our human blood  
Almost suspended, we are laid asleep  
In body, and become a living soul ;  
While with an eye made quiet by the power  
Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,  
We see into the life of things.

If this  
Be but a vain belief ; yet, oh ! how oft,  
In darkness, and amid the many shapes  
Of joyless day-light, when the fretful stir,

Unprofitable,



Unprofitable, and the fever of the world,  
 Have hung upon the beatings of my heart,  
 How oft, in spirit, have I turn'd to thee,  
 O Sylvan Wye! Thou wanderer through the woods,  
 How often has my spirit turn'd to thee!

And now, with gleams of half-extinguish'd thought,  
 With many recognitions dim and faint,  
 And somewhat of a sad perplexity,  
 The picture of the mind revives again:  
 While here I stand, not only with the sense  
 Of present pleasure, but with pleasing thoughts,  
 That in this moment there is life and food  
 For future years. And so I dare to hope,  
 Tho' changed, no doubt, from what I was, when first  
 I came among these hills; when, like a roe,  
 I bounded o'er the mountains, by the sides  
 Of the deep rivers, and the lonely streams,  
 Wherever nature led; more like a man  
 Flying from something that he dreads, than one  
 Who sought the thing he lov'd. For nature then  
 (The coarser pleasure of my boyish days,  
 And their glad animal movements all gone by,)  
 To me was all in all.—I cannot paint  
 What then I was. The sounding cataract  
 Haunted me like a passion; the tall rock,  
 The mountain, and the deep and gloomy wood,  
 Their colours and their forms, were then to me  
 An appetite; a feeling and a love,  
 That had no need of a remoter charm,  
 By thought supplied, or any interest  
 Unborrow'd from the eye.—That time is past,  
 And all its aching joys are now no more,  
 And all its dizzy raptures. Not for this  
 Faint I, nor mourn nor murmur: other gifts  
 Have follow'd, for such loss, I would believe,  
 Abundant recompence. For I have learn'd  
 To look on nature, not as in the hour  
 Of thoughtless youth, but hearing oftentimes  
 The still, sad music of humanity,  
 Not harsh, nor grating, though of ample power  
 To chasten and subdue. And I have felt  
 A presence that disturbs me with the joy  
 Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime  
 Of something far more deeply interfus'd,  
 Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,  
 And the round ocean, and the living air,

And the blue sky, and, in the mind of man,  
 A motion and a spirit, that impels  
 All thinking things, all objects of all thought,  
 And rolls through things. Therefore am I still  
 A lover of the meadows and the woods,  
 And mountains, and of all that we behold  
 From this green earth ; of all the mighty world  
 Of eye and ear, both what they half-create\*,  
 And what perceive ; well pleas'd to recognize,  
 In nature and the language of the sense,  
 The anchor of my purest thoughts, the nurse,  
 The guide, the guardian of my heart, and soul  
 Of all my moral being.

Nor, perchance,  
 If I were not thus taught, should I the more  
 Suffer my genial spirits to decay ;  
 For thou art with me, here upon the banks  
 Of this fair river ; thou, my dearest friend,  
 My dear, dear, friend, and in thy voice I catch  
 The language of my former heart, and read  
 My former pleasures in the shooting lights  
 Of thy wild eyes. Oh ! yet a little while  
 May I behold thee what I was once,  
 My dear, dear sister ! and this pray'r I make,  
 Knowing that nature never did betray  
 The heart that lov'd her ; 'tis her privilege,  
 Thro' all the years of this our life, to lead  
 From joy to joy : for she can so inform  
 The mind that is within us, so impress  
 With quietness and beauty, and so feed  
 With lofty thoughts, that neither evil tongues,  
 Rash judgments, or the sneers of selfish men,  
 Nor greetings where no kindness is, nor all  
 The dreary intercourse of daily life,  
 Shall e'er prevail against us, or disturb  
 Our cheerful faith that all which we behold  
 Is full of blessings. Therefore let the moon  
 Shine on thee in thy solitary walk ;  
 And let the misty mountain winds be free  
 To blow against thee : and, in after years,  
 When these wild ecstasies shall be matur'd  
 Into a sober pleasure, when thy mind  
 Shall be a mansion for all lovely forms,  
 Thy memory be as a dwelling place  
 For all sweet sounds and harmonies ; oh ! then,

If

\* This line has a close resemblance to an admirable line of Young, the exact expression of which I do not recollect.

If solitude, or fear, or pain, or grief,  
 Should be thy portion, with what healing thoughts  
 Of tender joy wilt thou remember me,  
 And these my exhortations ! Nor, perchance,  
 If I should be where I no more can hear  
 Thy voice, nor catch from thy wild eyes these gleams  
 Of past existence, wilt thou then forget  
 That on the banks of this delightful stream  
 We stood together, and that I, so long  
 A worshipper of nature, hither came  
 Unwearied in that service ; rather say,  
 With warmer love, oh ! with far deeper zeal  
 Of holier love. Nor wilt thou then forget,  
 That, after many wand'rings, many years  
 Of absence, these steep woods and lofty cliffs,  
 And this green pastoral landscape, were to me  
 More dear, both for themselves, and for thy sake.

## LINES

*Written on a Visit to Stowe, the Seat of the MARQUIS of BUCKINGHAM, in  
 1801. By E. N. Esq. (Never published.)*

**T**HOU' Stowe, long known as classic ground, contains  
 A splendid palace, 'midst its vast domains ;  
 Its owner's grateful friends can only find  
 A seat just suited to his lib'ral mind ;  
 Where bounteous nature trac'd the great outline,  
 And choicest culture fill'd up the design,



## Account of Books for the Year 1803.

RERUM HIBERNICARUM SCRIPTORES ANTIQUI, ex vetustis MSS. Codicibus descripti, recogniti, nunc primum in lucem editi, Adjectis Variis lectionibus, Glossario, Dissertationibus. Indiceque copioso. A Carolo O'Connor, D. D.\*

VARIOUS historical writers of the most respectable authority, amongst whom are numbered that father of British history, the venerable Bede, Nennius, William of Malmesbury, Giraldus Cambrensis, and others of our early chroniclers, and, latterly, those invaluable wri-

ters, Camden, Usher, and Ware, had turned the attention of the learned to the ancient annals of Ireland, as to a fund of interesting knowledge respecting the religion, laws, government, manners, language, and general history of a people, who were supposed to have retained distinctions in all these matters, long after their neighbours had, in most of those points, been amalgamated to a certain extent. The references made by these writers to Irish documents, had induced the literati of Europe, and more particularly those of the British isles, who were

\* Although it vary from our usual mode to review an article yet unpublished, we are confident, that, in the present deviation from an established rule, our readers will acknowledge, that it has been "more honoured in the breach than in the observance." By a reference to page 820 of our last vol. it will be found, in an original letter of the illustrious Burke's (there preserved) to col. Valancey, that he earnestly expresses himself on the subject of what yet remains of the antient literature of Ireland, in the following terms:—"Will you pardon me for reminding you of what I once before took the liberty to mention; my earnest wish that some of the antient Irish historical monuments should be published as they stand, with a translation in Latin or English. Until something of this kind be done, criticism can have no secure anchorage. How should we be enabled to judge of histories, or historical discussion on English affairs, where references are had to Bede, to the Saxon Chronicle, to Ingulphus, and the rest, whilst those authors lurked in libraries, or what is worse, lay in the hands of individuals?" A little farther he adds, "There is no doubt of a subscription sufficient to pay the expence . . . . . the ability to undertake it has been found: But if any accident should happen to you and to Mr. O'Connor, what security have we that any other like you should start up?"

We

were attached to the study of local history, and antiquities, to look with peculiar attention to every publication that appeared to promise sources of interesting Irish knowledge hitherto withheld.

It is not necessary here to dwell on the political reasons which, for many centuries, appear to have influenced the government of Ireland to discourage all discussions tending to keep alive distinctions, which, from the days of Henry II. it had endeavoured, by various plans of very different rate in the scale of political wisdom, to abolish. This system, however, as well as the disastrous events which, at different times, disturbed the internal peace and security of Ireland, all combined with other causes, to put down enquiry; and when, at length, more quiet times permitted the partial publication of extracts from Irish annals, enlightened readers felt their understandings insulted by the grossest fables, tending to fix upon Irish history imputations the most disgraceful and disgusting.

Authors of a more modern date,

unacquainted with the Irish language, and unprovided with original documents, have, under all these difficulties, rather chosen to reject nearly the whole of the materials of this description, already before the public, than subject themselves to the questionable task of undertaking to winnow the few pure grains from the mass of chaff with which they were mixed.

Under these impressions, an English nobleman, to whom, for many years of his life, the investigation of every subject relative to the history of that part of the United Kingdom was a matter of duty, and to whom it was always matter of anxious interest and gratification to devote his time and study to every point connected with the true honour and national pride of Ireland, has given much attention and expence to collect, from every quarter in both islands, the originals, or faithful transcripts, of all the known, most ancient documents tending to illustrate its history prior to its connexion with England, and having formed an Irish library, perhaps the  
most

We have made these extracts, less to shelter our subject under the sanction and authority of this great man, the ornament and boast of the age in which he lived, than, in order to shew their happy coincidence with the present article; the inherent value of which will be too justly appreciated by the learned, to need any incitement, or cause of interest in it, to be derived from extrinsic sources.

Any eulogium on Col. (now Lieut. Gen.) Valancey, whose merit in this species of research is already well established, would be foreign to our present purpose; our praise of the ever venerable and truly learned Mr. O'Connor (now, alas! no more) would be equally superfluous; sufficient for us to observe, that, in the grandson of the latter has been found, the worthy inheritor and able representative of the peculiar attainments of his progenitor.

But however delightful and satisfactory the pursuit of recondite knowledge may be to the secluded scholar; sterile and useless to the world would prove the labours of the most erudite, when uninigorated and uncheered by the warm beams of munificent patronage: happily, in the present instance, they have not been withheld, but have been employed with a generous profusion, in calling forth the abilities of doctor O'Connor into light and activity; thereby conferring on Ireland in particular, and the antiquarian and scholar of every clime, the most weighty obligation.



most complete that exists, he was fortunate enough to find, in the rev. Doctor O'Connor, the grandson of the late Charles O'Connor esq. of Belanagare, in the county of Roscommon, a gentleman qualified, by his superior knowledge of the Irish language, and indefatigable industry, to remove from a great and high-spirited people the imputation of being unacquainted with their own annals, at a time when even the Icelanders have published theirs.

In publishing the original Irish annals with translations into Latin, Doctor O'Connor may be depended upon as contracting a solemn engagement with the public for the fidelity of his work. In the various notes and dissertations which he has thought necessary for illustrating his originals, his first principle is that ancient history rests on the sole foundation of ancient authority. Rejecting theories which he feels he has no right to impose upon his readers, he endeavours to elucidate his originals by a patient and laborious investigation of ancient facts, the only guides to truth in historical research, and in questionable points of chronology, he is studious to remove all future occasion of controversy, by establishing leading events on the immutable basis of astronomical calculation. Proceeding on these principles, he hopes that he may have been able to lay the foundation of future inquiries into many points of general and local knowledge, and of a dignified, and genuine erudition, and to save to future historians the labour of constant reference to documents, foreign and domestic, for the accuracy of dates; and if, in some instances, it should be found that dynasties and genea-

logies, hitherto received, are altered by his labours, let it be remembered that nothing but dishonour can be derived from falshood; that where chronology is erroneous, and generations unfounded are multiplied to fill up fabulous antiquity, any system connected with such a chronology is radically defective; and that, though Doctor O'Connor feels anxious to remove the imputation of imposing on the world an imaginary race of Irish kings, he has been equally careful not to fritter away the authority of any one ancient, genuine written record of antiquity. The documents which he is about to offer will, on the contrary, contribute to render more interesting several traditions and monuments hitherto of dubious date, which will hereby be placed beyond the reach of controversy.

The principal annals which will compose this work are

1. The Annals of *Cluan*, to the year 1088, better known by the name of their writer, *Tigernach*, who died in the course of that year. These annals Doctor O'Connor has decyphered, and transcribed from the ancient Bodleian MS. *Rawlinson*, No. 488, deposited in that magnificent collection from the library of sir J. Ware.

2. The Annals of *Ulster*, to the year 1131, decyphered and transcribed from the MS. deposited likewise from sir J. Ware's library in the Bodleian, and carefully collated, with two others, brought from Ireland, by the earl of Clarendon, and now extant in the library of the British Museum.

3. The Annals of *Innisfallen*, decyphered and transcribed from the original autograph, written in 1318, and



and deposited from sir James Ware's library in the Bodleian.

4. The *Annals of Boyle*, deciphered and transcribed from the MS. in the Cotton library, Titus A. xxv.

5. The *Annals of Donnegal*, commonly called of the *IV. Masters*;—the first volume of which, in the original autograph, is in the marquis of Buckingham's library, at Stowe, and the second in that of Trinity college, Dublin, but of which a faithful copy, transcribed by the late Charles O'Connor esq. is likewise in the Stowe library.

6. Certain metrical and other ancient compositions, written on vellum, in Irish language and characters, some of which precede the age of Tigernach, being quoted by him, and belong to the 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th ages, forming a chain of traditional history, to the days of Tigernach. Of these, some very ancient copies, of various dates, are extant in the Bodleian, and others in the Stowe library.

Of all these several annals, it has been found necessary to offer to the public a critical examination of their chronology, and of various matters connected with them; but, far from obtruding his own opinions as a standard to others, Doctor O'Connor considers himself only as a labourer, who employs himself in clearing away heaps of rubbish, and in offering materials for the employment of the learned of Europe, and particularly of Ireland, of whom there are many whose talents would do honour to any country, and whose attainments would do ample justice to works even more difficult than those which are here offered to their consideration. He professes that he does not undertake, in any instance, to justify or to defend any national pre-

judice, nor would it become him to attempt to amuse where he could not convince. The subject he has undertaken is so severe, that the reader is relieved from any apprehension of being seduced by ingenuity of conjecture, or plausibility of declamation. Doctor O'Connor gives the originals as he finds them, with all their imperfections, whatever they may be, on their heads;—but those imperfections will be found not to affect the historical part, and he trusts that, as faithful chronicles of events anterior to the 12th century, the Irish annals will be esteemed, if not more, certainly not less, interesting than those of the northern nations of Europe, which are unquestionably of a later period. It has been deemed expedient to print them in their original dialect, and to add *fac similes* of each, for the sake of preserving a language which, in its various idioms throughout these islands, viz. *Irish, Erse, Welch, Cornish*, necessarily loses ground every hour.

In the arrangement of this work, Doctor O'Connor has endeavoured to pursue the system adopted by bishop Gibson, in the compilation of the *Saxon Chronicle*. On the same plan he offers a Topographical chart and dictionary, which, he trusts, will materially assist local researches of every sort that may arise out of the study of his originals.

It is impossible to close this subject without dwelling with a national pride of the purest and most justifiable description, on the distinguished superiority and pre-eminence which the British islands claim over all other nations of Europe, since the decline of the Roman empire, in the mass, and in the quality of their early chronicles, as well as in the learning, diligence, and application with

with which our ablest writers, of every succeeding age, have studied, and preserved these, and every other branch of antiquity, illustrative of the history, laws, and customs of our ancestors. From these sources, our ablest statesmen, our wisest lawyers, our writers the most distinguished in every branch of constitutional or literary pursuit, have drawn their purest and amplest supplies; and though the language of the ancient chronicles was obscure, the style confused, and harsh, and many of the facts uninteresting, from change of time and manners,—yet the public has long since acknowledged its debt of gratitude to those invaluable characters who edited and illustrated them for general use.

Yet the greater part of our early chronicles, and all those which have been given to the public as the foundation of the northern foreign histories, by *Saxo Grammaticus*, *Snorro*, *Torffæus*, *Adam of Bremen*, and *Nestor*, their first writers, are long subsequent, in point of time, to *Cennfaelad*, *Flann mac Lonan*, *Malmura of Othna*, *Flann of Bute*, *Cocman*, and other Irish writers who preceded Tigernach, and whose metrical fragments and lists of kings, exist in the Irish language and characters, and in ancient vellum MSS. now preserved in the library at Stowe.

Some time must necessarily elapse before this great national work can be completed. Of the transcripts and Latin translations of the five first articles, part is already in the press, and much progress has been made in decyphering, translating, and collating several of the documents that are classed under the 6th.

It is therefore to be hoped that the period is not very distant, when Doctor O'Connor will be able to look for the reward of his labours, in the gratification of having contributed to that general mass of national information, which, for succeeding centuries has been one of the most interesting and proudest ornaments of the British empire.

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*History of the British Expedition to Egypt, &c. By Sir Robert Wilson.*

HAVING, in our preceding Vol.\* already given an elaborate review of this justly celebrated work, it is not here our object to make any farther remark thereon, or even draw from it an additional extract. Our motive for offering any additional matter, on a subject sufficiently discussed, originates in our desire of preserving, with some degree of propriety, in a repository not unworthy of the high reputation of this gallant officer, a letter of his upon a most important subject, arising out of the publication in question, and which we have already contributed our feeble efforts to commemorate.

Sir R. Wilson's publication produced a very striking effect both on the political and moral world: he was the first writer "who entered the stupendous crimes of Bonaparte in Egypt, upon the records of his country, and thus rendered an essential benefit to mankind, by shewing, in its proper light, the Gallic idol, that all nations were called upon to bow down to and worship." To the uncontroverted, because uncontrovertible, statement made



made by our author of the atrocities of the massacre of the Turks at Jaffa, and the poisoning of the wounded soldiery in the hospitals, had the French minister at the court of London the hardihood to attribute the mission of Sebastiani, notwithstanding the glaring fact of the report of the latter having been actually published before Sir Robert Wilson's book had appeared! Although farther confutation of this impudent falsehood was unnecessary; yet, as the veracity of our author was likewise attacked in the "official correspondence," he thought it proper to make the following remarks on the French statement, to secure the publicity of which, and its perusal on the continent of Europe, he addressed to the editor of the *Courier de Londres*; and which, without farther preface or comment, we shall lay before our readers.

SIR,

In the official correspondence lately published, there appears some remarks which the French ambassador was instructed to make on my History of the Expedition to Egypt, and of which I feel called upon to take notice, not in personal controversy with general Andreossy, for, conscious of the superior virtue of my cause, I find myself neither aggrieved nor irritated by the language he has used; but that the public may not attribute my silence to a desire of evading further discussion, and thus the shallow mode of contradiction, adopted by the chief consul, acquire an unmerited consideration.

The ambassador observes, "That a colonel in the English army has published a work in England filled with the most atrocious and disgusting calumnies against the French

army and its general. The lies it contains have been contradicted by the reception which colonel Sebastiani experienced. The publicity of his report was at once a refutation and reparation which the French army had a right to expect."

But surely a new signification must have been attached in France to the word calumny, when such a term is applied to my account of the conduct of the French troops in Egypt, and the consequent disposition of the inhabitants towards him!

Independent, however, of the proofs to be adduced in corroboration of my statement, Europe may justly appreciate the probable truth of what I have written when she recollects the unparalleled sufferings endured by the unoffending countries into which, during the last war, a French army penetrated, and she will at least hesitate to believe that the same armies should voluntarily ameliorate their conduct in a country more remote; where the atrocities they might commit would be less liable to publicity, and that this extraordinary change should be in favour of a people whose principles and resistance might have excited the resentment of more generous invaders.

I will not enter into an unnecessary detail of numerous facts which I could urge; but I appeal to the honour of every British officer employed in Egypt, whether those observations are not sacredly true, which describe the French as being hateful to the inhabitants of that country, which represent them as having merited that hatred from the ruin and devastation with which their progress through it has been marked; and I am ready, if there be one who refuses to sanction this relation, to resign for ever every pretension



pretension to honourable reputation, and submit, without a further struggle, to that odium which should attach to calumny, and a wilful perversion of truth.

But, Sir, I feel confident there is no individual who will not amply confirm all that I have written on this subject; and perhaps Europe has a right to condemn me for not having made the accusations still stronger, when I can produce frequent general orders of the French army for the destruction of villages, and their inhabitants; when I can prove, that above 20,000 of the natives perished by the swords of the French soldiery; and that every act of violence was committed, and particularly in Upper Egypt, which could outrage humanity, and disgrace the character of civilized nations.—When writing an history of the campaign, was it possible not to express indignation against the authors of such calamities? Would it have been natural not to have felt the animation of that virtuous pride, which a reflection on the different conduct of the British soldiery must inspire in the breast of every Briton? I have asserted that a British soldier could traverse alone through any part of Egypt, or even penetrate into the Desert, secure from injury or insult. I have described the natives as considering the British their benefactors and protectors, soliciting opportunities to manifest their gratitude, and esteeming their uniform as sacred as the turban of mahometanism; and I may venture to predict, that, hereafter, the French traveller will be compelled to conceal the name of his nation, and owe his security to the assumption of the British character.

But, sir, does the effect of colonel

Sebastiani's report justify the chief consul's conclusion, "that it is a complete refutation of what I have advanced, even if we attach to that report implicit belief in its candour and veracity?" Is it possible that the chief consul can suppose the world will trace respect for the French name in the circumstance which occurred to colonel Sebastiani at Cairo, and which rendered it necessary for him to demand protection from the vizier? or, would he imagine, that the apologue of d'Gezzar pacha was not intelligible even previous to the instructions being published, which M. Talleyrand sent to the French commercial agents?

That illustrious senator, to whose virtues and stupendous talents England owes so much of her prosperity, has declared that this report of colonel Sebastiani, in no case contradicts my statement; and I should consider that high opinion as amply sufficient to remove any impression which the French ambassador's note might otherwise have made, did I not think it a duty to press some observations on that part of the paragraph which alludes to the direct accusation against general Bonaparte; that the public may know I was fully aware of the important responsibility which I had voluntarily undertaken, and in which much national honour was involved. I would wish the world seriously to examine, whether the accuser or accused have shrunk from the investigation, and then hold him as guilty who has withdrawn from the tribunal of inquiry.

I avowed that I was his public accuser; I stood prepared to support the charges. The courts of my country were open to that mode of trial;

trial; which, as an innocent man, he could alone have required, but of which he did not dare to avail himself. It was no anonymous libeller against whom he was to have filed his answer, but against one, (and without any indecent vanity I may say it,) whose rank and character would have justified his most serious attention.

The charges were too awful to be treated with neglect, and we know that they have not been read with indifference. Nor is it possible that the first consul can imagine the fame of general Bonaparte is less sullied because a few snuff boxes, bearing his portrait, were received by some abject or avaricious individuals with expressions of esteem. Or can he hope that the contemptible, but not less unworthy, insinuation directed against the gallant and estimable British general, will divert mankind from a reflection on the crimes with which he stands arraigned?

Fortunately for Europe, she is daily becoming more intimately acquainted with the character of this hitherto misconceived man; and I confess that I feel considerable gratification when I indulge the thought that I have contributed to its development.

Success may, for inscrutable purposes, continue to attend him. Abject senates may decree him a throne or the pantheon, but his history shall render injured humanity justice, and an indignant posterity inscribe on his cenotaph.

“ Ille venena Colchica

“ Et quicquid usquam concipitur nefas  
“ Tractavit.

I am, sir,

Yours,

Robert Wilson, K. M. T.  
Lieutenant-colonel.

*Journal of the late Campaign in Egypt, &c. by Capt. Thomas Walsh, Aide de Camp to Major General Sir Eyre Coote.*

HAVING, in our account of sir R. Wilson's valuable work\*, taken an extensive view of the objects of the French government in the invasion of Egypt, we shall not here recapitulate our observations thereon, but content ourselves on the appearance of another record of British valour, with congratulating the public, on the very respectable manner in which the work before us has preserved it; and which bears every internal mark of correctness and authenticity.

Captain Walsh commences his entertaining and highly interesting narrative from the date of the 24th of October, 1800, the day on which orders arrived at Gibraltar for the future operations of the two armies under sir Ralph Abercromby, and sir James Pulteney, to the period of the final conquest of the French force in Egypt. cursory accounts of that celebrated fortress, Minorca, and Sardinia, are given by our author, who, however, very properly becomes more diffuse in his description of Malta, a theme always interesting to the general reader; but now become infinitely more so to Britons, as forming the object of the renewed contention between France and England; and, as being to be considered, hereafter, in all probability, as one of the bulwarks of our empire, and a valuable appendage to its dominion.

This little island, a fief of the crown of Sicily, was granted by the emperor Charles V. to the knights of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, in 1523, who had, at that epoch,

\* Vide “Review of Books,” Annual Register for 1802.



epoch, been driven out of Rhodes by the Turk, and in whose possession it remained till the month of June, 1798, when Bonaparte, partly through the incautious negligence of the grand master, and partly by the treachery of the knights companions, seized upon the forts, the magazines, treasures, &c. and of which the French remained in possession, until compelled to submit to the united forces of the native Maltese, Neapolitans, and British, on the 5th of September, 1800. Under the government of the latter state has it remained to this hour: and the detention of which, has proved eventually the ostensible cause of the renewal of the war, for the ample discussion of which we beg to refer our readers to the historical part of this volume.

Captain Walsh supposes that the value of Malta was not justly appreciated by Great Britain, before the period of her having acquired its possession; and that previously to that event, its safe and commodious harbour, its advantageous situation, its immense population and impregnable fortifications, were by no means estimated according to the pre-eminence they hold, if not in the world, at least in the Mediterranean. Before the calamitous invasion of the French, this spot of rock, was supposed to contain the almost incredible number of 100,000 inhabitants.

But it is time to give the reader a specimen of the style and manner of this lively and instructive writer; he thus describes the seat of government, and also the principal town of the island.

“La Valette, is a very regularly built town. Its principal streets are wide and straight, well paved,

and furnished with good foot paths. The buildings are all of free-stone, with which the island abounds; and the numerous superb edifices and hotels, formerly belonging to the knights of the order, give to la Valette, a superiority over any town of equal size in the world. The two palaces of the grand master, adjoining each other, are fine structures. Their interior seems to have been very magnificent, and still retain several marks of splendour, though they are much injured by delapidation, and the greater part of the costly furniture has been taken away or destroyed. The council chamber is lined with the most beautiful gobelin tapestry, and the other apartments are adorned with paintings of the different actions and valiant exploits which occurred during the memorable siege of the island by the Turks. Adjoining to the palace, and communicating with it, is the armoury, which was found in the best possible state on our taking possession of the place.

It contains eighteen thousand stand of fire arms, independently of a variety of swords, spears, and other ancient weapons, all of which are very tastefully and neatly arranged.

The churches are extremely numerous, and all very fine buildings. That of St. John, the patron of the order, is, however, far superior to the rest. The roof is most beautifully sculptured, and adorned with some good paintings. “The grand altar,” says Brydone, “is a piece of very curious and elegant marble; the pavement, in particular, is the richest in the world. It is composed entirely of sepulchral monuments (of persons belonging to the order) of the finest marbles, porphyry, and  
a variety



a variety of other valuable stones, admirably joined together at an incredible expence, and representing, in a kind of mosaic, the arms, insignia, &c. of the persons whose names they are intended to commemorate. In the magnificence of these, and other monuments, the heirs of the grand-masters, commanders, &c. have long vied with each other." Vol. ii. p. 226.

Water, which in a climate like this is so great a luxury, is found every where in abundance, and scarcely a street is without one fountain at least.

The works round this town, and the adjoining places, as Floriana, Cottoniera, and Vittoriosa, are, perhaps, the most extensive of any in the world, and, as I before observed, extremely strong. They were, however, in many parts, and especially at Floriana, in a very ruinous state; owing to the little attention paid to them by the French, and to the very remiss administration of the late grand master Hompesch, who is exceedingly disliked by the Maltese, and generally accused of having occasioned the overthrow of the order. These works are also nearly deprived of their guns; upwards of one hundred of the finest, and of the heaviest calibre, having been carried by the French to Egypt. A great number, however, still remain in the arsenals, and might be mounted on the ramparts with very little difficulty. The following particulars relative to the foundation and present state of the town of La Valette may, perhaps, be acceptable to the reader.

"On the 18th of May, 1565, the Turkish fleet, having on board forty

thousand men, appeared off Malta; and, on the 24th of the same month, this formidable armament opened its batteries against Fort St. Elmo, which was taken on the 25th of June following, notwithstanding the almost incredible efforts of the knights composing the garrison, every man of which was either killed or wounded.

This did not, however, discourage the gallant La Valette, then grand master of the order. With a valour and constancy, that have rendered his name for ever celebrated, he continued to resist and repel the reiterated attacks of his numerous enemies, and at length forced them to raise the siege on the 8th of September in the same year, after having left thirty thousand men under the walls.

This almost unexampled bravery and perseverance of a handful of knights, when compared with the multitude of the assailants, almost surpassed credibility; and so damped the ardour of their inveterate enemies, as to secure the order for ever after from Turkish invasion.

Previous to the siege, the principal residence of the order was at Borgo, on the eastern side of the great harbour; but La Valette, having experienced its inconvenience, formed the resolution of building the town that now bears his name, the first stone of which he laid in 1566, immediately after the fatigues of the glorious siege he had sustained. He died in 1568, before it was completed, and his successor De Mont finished it in May 1571; on the 18th of which month, the order left the Borgo, and took up their residence in the new city. The king's of France, Spain, and Portugal, and likewise

likewise the pope, contributed very considerable sums towards the expence.

La Valette is situate in 35 deg. 54 min. north. It has three gates: the Porta Reale, towards Citta Vecchia, and the interior; that of Marsa Muscet, leading from the harbour of this name; and that called La Marina, being the entrance to the town from the eastern and principal harbour. The chief street is the Strada Reale, extending from the Porta Reale, to the castle of St. Elmo. The rest intersect each other at right angles, and are generally narrow, for the purpose of keeping out the sun. They are all paved, and the town being principally built upon a hill, very low and easy steps are placed on either side of the streets, for the convenience of foot-passengers.

The tops of the houses are all flat terraces, from which the rain-water is conducted by pipes into a cistern below provided for the purpose.

Every family is thus furnished with abundance of good water at home, and there are, besides, public reservoirs and fountains, placed in different parts of the town, which are supplied by an aqueduct commencing at Dier Chandal, in the southern part of the island, and upwards of nine English miles in length. This aqueduct was erected, at a very considerable expence, by the grand-master de Wignacourt.

The houses and edifices of every kind are built with a white stone, obtained from the quarries in the island. It is of a very soft nature, which renders it easily adapted to any purpose; and to this facility we are to ascribe the numerous ornaments, with which all the architecture of the island abounds, as also

the beautiful symmetry of the fortifications.

There is a public library, which is well provided with books, both as to choice and number. It belonged to the order, and was increased by the private libraries of the knights, which, at their deaths, augmented the general collection. The duplicate copies were sold, and the produce thence arising served to purchase such eligible books as it did not possess. The library contains, likewise, many objects of curiosity, as some fine statues, prints, and several valuable articles of natural history. No book is suffered to be taken out of the library, but seats and tables are provided for the use of those who frequent it.

An immense and very beautiful building had lately been erected, to which the library was to have been transferred. This, however, has never been carried into execution, and the house is now converted into a vast assembly and coffee-room.

La Valette possesses an opera-house, small indeed, but neat, though now much out of repair. Italy and Sicily supply it with very tolerable vocal performers, and it is a very agreeable entertainment for the garrison. It was excessively crowded every night by the officers of the expedition, to whom it was a great source of amusement. The price of admission is one shilling.

Provision of every kind is here in the greatest abundance. Though we overran the island with troops, every thing was pretty reasonable, and no want was perceived. Sicily furnishes a sufficiency of cattle; and Malta and Gozo produce quantities of excellent fruit and vegetables. They possess a very great luxury here, which I never knew in any island



island equally hot; this is ice, which they import in very large quantities, and of the finest quality, from Mount *Ætna*. It is sometimes so abundant, that water is generally cooled with it. In any coffee-house you can call for an ice-cream, with as much certainty as in a confectioner's shop in Bond-street. The trade carried on at this time was extremely brisk. The English factories from Naples, Leghorn, and Palermo, had taken refuge in this town, which was the emporium of the British trade in the Mediterranean, and whence English goods were smuggled into Italy, and thus found their way to the continent.

Convents and religious houses are nowhere more numerous than in Malta. Priests and friars are met at every step, and still retain over the minds of a superstitious people, an unbounded and despotic sway.

Although *La Valette* is built with great care and regularity, yet it is sufficiently obvious, that the chief attention has been directed to the construction of the fortifications. This, in part, accounts for their being, perhaps, the finest and best finished of any in Europe. Besides, the successors of *La Valette*, desirous of emulating his example, have constantly added to them; and, in fact, rendered the works so considerable and extensive, that several of them have become nearly useless, and would require, in case of siege, much too great a number of troops to defend them.

The modes of conveyance used here are carriages without springs, made to contain two or four persons, and drawn by a single mule, driven by a man on foot, whose station is close to the vehicle, and who, sometimes at a trot, but most

generally at a gallop, keeps pace with the animal. They are very clumsy, awkward carriages, and, as they pass over the rough pavement, shake the unfortunate passenger almost to pieces. A long string of these vehicles, numbered, always stands in the *Strada Reale* for hire. Drays also, drawn by one mule, are found in every part of the town, and are very useful. The mules in this island are very tall and strong; it is surprising how they go up and down the steep slippery streets, some of which are literally flights of steps, without ever stumbling.

*Civita*, or *Citta Vecchia*, the residence of the bishop, is about six miles distant from *La Valette*. It stands upon an eminence, and is surrounded with fortifications. It is impossible sufficiently to admire the cathedral of *St. Paul*, the tutelar saint of this island, on which he was wrecked. Its wonderful symmetry, its dome, and the fresh and highly coloured paintings, with which it is adorned, must strike the most incurious beholder.

In this church is the greatest variety of marble I ever beheld: the lapis lazuli, the green and yellow antique, with several others, meet the eye in every direction. The most admirable effect is produced from the ingenious manner in which this different assortment of marbles is disposed and combined.

Without the town, in what is called the *Rabatto*, is the grotto of *St. Paul*. To this highly venerated spot you descend through numerous chapels, and at length come to a small space, scooped out of a soft and chalky kind of white earth, in the centre of which stands a marble statue of the saint; far inferior, however, to another very beautiful



one of the same saint, placed in an adjoining chapel, and executed at Rome by Melchior Cassa, a native of Malta. People never leave this grotto without filling their pockets with pieces of St. Paul's stone, to which the superstitious inhabitants ascribe all possible powers; they also affirm, that the mass never decreases whatever quantities are taken from it. At the extremity of the Rabatto are the catacombs. These are excavations divided into numerous passages, most of which are stopped up, as, otherwise, it would be very easy to lose yourself in this subterranean labyrinth, and, most probably, perish there.

During the frequent wars and revolutions which this island has experienced, the catacombs have been used as a place of safe retreat. In them are still shewn the remains of a chapel, and of two mills for grinding corn; a small statue, said to be St. Peter; and a recess, near the entrance, where a centinel was placed on the look out, to give alarm on the approach of an enemy."

We hurry over our author's description of the delightful Bay of Marmorice, which is, however, extremely worthy the reader's perusal, and hasten to his animated description of the ever-memorable landing of the English force, on the 8th of March, at Aboukir; a detail which must strike on every Briton's heart, and which, if he have a spark of genuine patriotism, must cause the flush of honest pride to glow upon his cheek, at this recital of the valour of his countrymen.

"At two o'clock in the morning a rocket was fired from the admiral, which was the signal for all boats to repair to the appointed

ships. About half after three, the boats, being filled with troops, began to move off towards the rendezvous. Three armed vessels were stationed in a line opposite the shore, and out of gunshot, round which the boats were to form, and wait the order for pushing to the land. Each flat-bottomed boat contained about fifty men, exclusive of the sailors employed in rowing. The soldiers were ordered to sit down on the bottom, holding their firelocks between their knees. All the boats of the fleet were engaged either in towing the flats or carrying troops. They might have contained, in all, near five thousand men. Six thousand had been intended for landing, but above a thousand remained in the ships, from the want of means to convey them.

The moment was awful; and the most solemn silence prevailed, as the boats pulled to the rendezvous, a distance of about five miles. Nothing was heard but the hollow and dismal sound of the oars, as they dipped into the water.

The boats continued coming up till a little after eight, when every arrangement being made, and as correct a line as possible formed, the centre boat, in which was the honourable captain Cochrane of the navy, who superintended the whole, threw out the signal to advance.—Every oar was instantly in motion, pulling eagerly towards the shore.

In order to protect our approach, the Tartarus and Fury bomb vessels commenced throwing shells as we passed them. Two gun-boats, and three armed launches, kept up a constant firing for the same purpose, though with little effect. We continued to advance unmolested, and

and not a Frenchman was to be seen, either on the sand-hills, or on the strand; when, suddenly, as we got within reach, they opened a tremendous and well-supported fire from fifteen pieces of artillery, which had been disposed on the hills that lined the beach, and from the guns of Aboukir castle. Shot and shells now fell in profusion, striking the water all around the boats, and dashing it upon us.— This, however, was comparatively but a feeble opposition. On our nearer approach, we were assailed with such a terrible shower of grape shot and langrage, as was never before probably directed against so small a point, and could be compared only to the effects of a violent hail storm upon the water.

Never was there a more trying moment. Our troops penned up so close, as to be unable to move, and exposed to a galling and destructive fire, without the power of returning it, or taking any measures of defence. Two boats were sunk. Close to that in which I was embarked, a flat, conveying part of the Coldstream guards, was struck in the middle by a shell, which, bursting at the same instant, killed and dreadfully wounded numbers; the rest went to the bottom. Many were picked up, but in such a state, as to be insensible of the obligation. The sinking of a boat could, indeed, scarcely be otherwise than fatal. Embarrassed with belts, loaded with three days provision, and his cartridge box filled with sixty rounds of ball cartridge, a soldier could find in swimming only an ineffectual struggle for life.

Nothing, however, could dismay troops so brave. Surrounded by death, in its most frightful shapes,

their courage was not to be damped. Through a fire rendered doubly tremendous by the impossibility of resistance, we continued steadily to advance, cheering and huzzain as if victory had already been in our hands, though yet without the power of returning a single shot. It was near nine when the first boat took the ground. Numbers of our men were at this moment lost, being shot in the boats, or bayoneted in the act of stepping out, by the enemy, who had come down to the water's edge to receive us as we landed. The regiments formed immediately as they got out of the boats, and lost not a moment in advancing.

The four flank companies of the fortieth, on the right of the whole, and the twenty-third next to them, in the most spirited manner, charged up a hill rising almost perpendicularly from the sea-side, the sand of which yielded under their feet as they climbed up. A body of the French, the brave sixty-first demi-brigade, who were drawn up on the top, panic struck by such intrepidity, precipitately retreated, leaving two pieces of cannon behind them. On the left, where majors-general Coote and Ludlow commanded, a body of upwards of two hundred of the enemy's cavalry, charged part of the guards and of the royals, as they came out of the boats; but more of the troops landing, and coming to their assistance, the French were speedily repulsed, suffering a very considerable loss.

The contest on shore lasted about twenty minutes, when the enemy gave way in every quarter, and we got possession of the hills, whither the body of seamen under Sir Sydney



Smith, with their accustomed alacrity, dragged up several field-pieces.

The French retreated along Lake Abouker, called by them Lake Maadie, having first detached a part of the fifty-first demi-brigade to Aboukir castle. They took a position in the plain, a mile from the beach, with their right to the Lake, and their left towards the sea, which point was protected by two guns, and all their remaining cavalry.

The force that opposed our landing, was commanded by general Friant, and consisted of two battalions of the grenadiers of the sixty-first demi-brigades, two battalions of the seventy-fifth, one of the fifty-first, one of the twenty-fifth, the eighteenth and twentieth dragoons, about one hundred and twenty artillery; in all, about two thousand five hundred men, and fifteen pieces of cannon. Their loss, at a very moderate computation, was four hundred men killed, wounded, and taken; six pieces of cannon and one howitzer. General Martinet, who was a captain in the French army at the battle of the Nile, and at the time of this action commanded the nautical legion, was left dead on the spot.

Scarcely was our debarkation effected, and our efforts crowned with victory, when our anxious commander in chief came on shore. Until that period, major-general Coote was the senior general officer with the troops.

We now drew up opposite the enemy, and in this position both armies remained cannonading each other till about eleven o'clock, when the French were perceived retreating silently along the Lake, and ap-

parently in good order. They halted, however, for a short time, at the post of Mandara, a small redoubt, built on a height in the narrowest part of the Peninsula, about four miles from the place of landing.

Immediately upon the retreat of the enemy, our armed launches entered into Lake Maadie, or Aboukir, and measures were adopted for supplying the army by means of the boats of the fleet, a depôt of provision and ammunition being established on its banks for that purpose.

The second division, having landed, came up at this juncture, which made us change our position, advancing in columns of regiments, by brigades, and halting about dark. The army was then formed in four lines, extending from the sea on the right, to Lake Aboukir on the left, the reserve and the guards forming the first line; major-general Coote's brigade the second; major-general Cradock's the third; and major-general the earl of Cavan's the fourth. Such part of brigadier-gen. Stuart's and Doyle's corps, as had landed in the course of the day, took their ground in front of Aboukir castle, which had refused to surrender on being summoned. About seventy mounted, and two hundred dismounted cavalry, also came on shore in the evening. They that were mounted, immediately took the duty of vedettes, and of the advance; the rest remained near Aboukir."

The last extract (but one) we shall lay before our readers, is the account of the decisive and brilliant victory achieved by the British arms over the French force in the battle of the 21st of March; and which, thenceforward, completely established its superiority in Egypt.

"At half-past three this morning,



ing, the troops were getting under arms, when they were alarmed by a pretty smart fire of musquetry, proceeding from the farthest flèche, on the canal towards our left. This was conceived to be nothing more than a feint, to harass our troops, or try their alertness; for we were yet ignorant of the junction of all the French forces at Alexandria. However, on its continuing for some time, with now and then a cannon shot, brigadier-general Stuart was actually on his march with his brigade, to support the point attacked, when he was stopped by a very heavy fire both of cannon and musquetry, which commenced on our right.

In this false attack on the left, the enemy, rapidly advancing, entered a small flèche at the same time with the out-centinels. They immediately turned the twelve pounder, which was mounted in it, upon our men, and had actually fired one shot from it, when a redoubt in the rear of this flèche opening its fire upon them, they quickly retreated, carrying off with them three officers, one serjeant, and ten rank and file, of the fifth brigade. They had one officer and four privates killed in the flèche, but took away their wounded. The French, thinking to have drawn all our attention to the left hand, had hastily advanced with their whole body, having easily driven in our picquets. Their object, as it afterwards appeared, was first, by a sudden and spirited attack, to turn and overthrow the reserve, which, by its advanced position, was separated a little from the rest of the army. This accomplished, their next aim was to force our centre with their united troops;

and, while the attention of our left was fully occupied by the false attack, the whole force of their cavalry, in which they were very strong, was to avail itself of a favourable opportunity, and, by an impetuous charge, drive us into lake Aboukir; thus, at one blow, deciding the contest. For this purpose, general Lanusse's division, forming their left wing, advanced boldly against our right; general Syllý's brigade marched straight upon the redoubt; while another, under general Valentin, proceeded along the sea side, to penetrate between it and the old ruins.

General Syllý's brigade took possession of a small redan, in which there was a gun; but, staggered by the heavy fire from the redoubt, was obliged to fall back. The brigade moving along the sea, was stopped in its progress by the fire from the old ruins, which were defended by the twenty-third and fifty-eighth regiments, and the flank companies of the fortieth. Still attempting to force its way between them and the redoubt, the sixty-ninth demi-brigade was taken in flank by one of the twenty-four pounders, loaded with grape-shot, and nearly exterminated. On this the remainder of the corps refused to advance; when general Lanusse, using his utmost efforts to rally them, and bring them to the charge, had his thigh carried off by a cannon-shot. Complete confusion then ensued, and a general dispersion of this column took place.

General Syllý's troops, not being able to clear the ditch of the redoubt, attempted to turn it, but were repulsed, with great loss, by the spirited opposition of the twenty-

eighth regiment posted in it. While this was passing on the right of our line, general Rampon's division made an attack on the centre, extending as far towards the left as the ninety-second\*. It attempted to turn the left of the brigade of guards, which was a little advanced; but was received with so warm and well kept up a fire from the third regiment of guards, whose left was thrown back, and from the royals, as to be forced, after a sharp contest, to retreat with great loss.

General Destin, with his division, penetrated through the hollow, leaving the redoubt on his left, and endeavoured to reach the old ruins. He was there warmly received by the forty-second, and attempted to withdraw his troops; but a battalion of the twenty-first demi-brigade having advanced too far, was surrounded, and obliged to lay down its arms, and surrender to the forty-second and fifty-eighth regiments.

Repulsed in every quarter with the same obstinate resolution, and finding it impossible to penetrate through any part of our line, the French infantry, at length, gave way, and dispersed, in all directions, behind the sand hills.

At this juncture, the French general in chief, Menou, foiled in all his attempts, determined to make one last desperate effort at carrying our position. For this purpose, he

ordered the main body of the cavalry, under brigadier-general Roize, to charge; and general Regnier, at the head of the divisions Lanusse, Rampon, Friant, and the eighty-fifth demi-brigade, to support it. General Roize, convinced, at once, of the inutility and hazard of the attempt, twice remonstrated; and it was only at the third peremptory order that he obeyed.

Accordingly, the third and fourteenth dragoons, under general Bousart, came up with all the impetuous fury of men certain of being sacrificed, and charged through the forty-second regiment, reaching as far as the tents. Here, however, they were effectually stopped; the horses, entangled in the cords, were, for the most part, killed†, and many of the men were obliged to seek their safety on foot. At this juncture, the Minorca regiment came to support the forty-second, and drew up in the vacant space between the redoubt and the guards. The second line of French cavalry, composed of the fifteenth, eighteenth, and twentieth dragoons, with general Roize at their head, made another desperate charge upon these regiments. As it would have been impossible to withstand the shock, they opened with the most deliberate composure to let them pass; then, facing about, they poured upon them such volleys, as brought numbers, both of men and horses, to the ground. The cavalry

\* When the firing commenced in the morning, the ninety-second was on its march to Aboukir, and already two miles from the camp. As soon as the firing was heard, it returned, under the command of major Napier, rejoined major-general Coote's brigade, and behaved with its usual gallantry.

† A circumstance, as fortunate as it was unexpected, contributed also very materially to the overthrow of the French cavalry. The ground, in the rear of the forty-second, was full of holes, between three and four feet deep. These excavations had been made by the twenty-eighth regiment, as conveniences to sleep in, previous to the landing of the camp equipage. The enemy's cavalry, charging over these, was completely broken and routed.



cavalry then endeavoured to force its way back, but this they were unable to effect, and the greater part were killed or wounded in the attempt, general Roize, himself, falling on the spot. A standard, covered with the military exploits of the corps to which it belonged, according to general Regnier, a battalion of the twenty-first demi-brigade, fell into the hands of the Minorca or Queen's German regiment. It was taken by a private, named Anthony Lutz, for which he received a certificate from the adjutant-general, and the sum of twenty dollars. This man never having learned to write or read, was incapable of being made a serjeant, to which post he would otherwise have been advanced. In the early part of the action, a standard had been wrested from the French by the 42d regiment, which was, however, unfortunately retaken from them, at the moment of the impetuous charge of the enemy's cavalry. The French infantry, unable to give any assistance, and exposed to the fire of our guns, lost a great number of men. General Beaudot was mortally wounded; and, when the broken remains of the cavalry formed again in the rear of their infantry, not one fourth of those who had charged could be collected.

It must have been at this period, that the gallant veteran, sir Ralph Abercromby, received the unfortunate wound, which deprived the army of a distinguished and beloved commander. It is impossible to ascertain the exact moment, as he never complained, or revealed the circumstance of his being wounded to any one, till it was perceived by those about him. No entreaty could even then prevail on him to

leave the field, till convinced, by his own eyes, of the enemy's retreat.

During this, the right of the French army continued motionless opposite to our left; but a warm cannonade was maintained on either side, and the riflemen and sharpshooters, scattered along the fronts, kept up an incessant fire.

After the last effort of the cavalry, the French army remained drawn up in order of battle, contenting itself with keeping up a heavy cannonade, which we warmly returned. By this cannonade our second line suffered very considerably, because, great part of the first line being disposed along a height, the French were obliged to give great elevation to their guns, so that the balls, clearing the height, fell in among the ranks of the second line posted behind it. The enemy seemed wavering and uncertain, whether to attempt another attack; and, in this debate between prudence and courage, their troops lay completely under the fire of our guns, which caused a dreadful havock among them. Presently, however, two of their ammunition waggons blew up, with a dreadful explosion, and their fire began considerably to slacken, most probably from a want of ammunition.

Things remained in this state till about half after nine, when the enemy, losing numbers to no purpose, and not daring to renew the attack, began their retreat under the fire of all our artillery. At ten o'clock the firing totally ceased on both sides; and thus ended the glorious and ever memorable action of the 21st of March.

Our loss being one thousand four hundred and sixty-four, in killed, wounded, and missing, was certainly;



very considerable; though slight, when compared with that of the enemy, which, at a very moderate calculation, must have amounted to four thousand men; for no less than one thousand one hundred and sixty were counted by the provost marshal, left dead upon the field of battle, exclusive of those within the French vedettes, which, of course, he could not reckon, and of which there were certainly many. Generals Lanusse, Roize, and Beaudot were killed, and generals Desten, Syilly, Eppler, and several other officers of rank, wounded. In the pocket-book of general Roize were found some interesting papers.

We took in this engagement two hundred and fifty prisoners, two pieces of cannon, and one standard.

On our side, the commander in chief was mortally wounded; major general Moore, brigadier-general Hope, adjutant-general to the army, and brigadiers-general Oakes and Lawson were likewise wounded\*.

The gun-boats on the right, under the command of captain Maitland, of the royal navy, were of the most essential service, and did very great execution among the French troops posted behind the sand hills.

At one time, during the engagement, we were in the greatest dis-

tress imaginable, for want of ammunition; several guns were left with scarcely one round, and many regiments were in a similar situation.—This circumstance was owing to the want of means of conveyance. Had it not been for this temporary deficiency, the loss of the enemy would have been much more considerable.

As general Menou built his chief hopes of success upon the sudden overthrow of our right wing, and the consequent consternation of the army, he had preferred making his approach while favoured by the night, that he might arrive close to our position unperceived, and thus avoid the destructive fire of our entrenchments, and of the gun-boats. In fact, the attack was as sudden as it was unexpected; and had general Lanusse waited a little longer for the effect produced by the false alarm on our left, the consequence might have been very serious, as the Minorca regiment, and the rest of general Stuart's brigade, afterward of such very essential service on the right, were actually on their march to the threatened quarter.

The five hundred Turks remained in the rear during the whole action. When the danger was over, they paraded on a small hill in our front, with their numerous flags flying.—

About

\* The effective force of the British army, in the field on this memorable day, was under twelve thousand men; that of the French, from the most exact computations that could be made, cannot have been less than twelve or thirteen thousand able and experienced soldiers, exclusive of artillery.

Our effective strength on the 7th of March, as appears by the official returns at the end of the Appendix, was 14697 rank and file.

Subtracting from the number .. 666 our loss on the 8th of March.

1129 ditto 13th ditto.

13 on the 18th ditto.

520 strength of the marines left before Aboukir castle.

About 600 sick or convalescents.

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2938

Reduces our force actually in the field, on the 21st of March, to 11759.

About two hundred Bedoween Arabs, mounted on horseback, came in to us, across the ancient bed of Lake Mareotis, before the firing had entirely ceased, and expressed their joy at the defeat of the French.

The ground in our front, and even between our lines, was strewed with the bodies of the enemy's slain, which the Turks and Arabs were very desirous to strip and plunder, had they been allowed by us. Before night, almost all the dead within our vedettes had been buried; but within the French lines it was very different,—for numbers of men, horses, and camels, were there left to rot, and infect the air with their noisome exhalations.

When sir Ralph Abercrombie had seen the enemy retreat, he attempted to get on horseback; but his wound, which was probed and dressed in the field by an assistant surgeon of the guards, having become extremely stiff and painful, he could not mount, and reluctantly suffered himself to be placed upon a litter, from which he was removed into a boat, and carried on board the *Foudroyant*. Here lord Keith received him with all possible affection, and every care and attention which his state required were early paid him.

This misfortune befalling our illustrious commander, of whom it threatened to deprive us, combined, with the reflection on the many valuable lives that had been lost, to damp the joy and triumph we should otherwise have felt on obtaining such a brilliant victory.

There being some reason to apprehend that the enemy intended to repeat their attack during the night, our troops remained under arms, and at their alarm posts, till morning. Had the French again tried

our strength, however, they would have met even a warmer reception than they had received this morning. Two additional twenty-four-pounders had been brought up, and placed on a commanding ground in the rear of the third regiment of guards; great abundance of ammunition of all kinds had been also conveyed from the *dépôt* to the lines, which had been strengthened by *trous de loup*, trenches, &c."

The following passage does so much credit to the feelings and character of the author, that we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of its insertion.

"On the morning of the 29th of March, arrived the melancholy tidings of sir Ralph Abercrombie's decease. At eleven, the preceding night, death snatched from us this beloved commander. The wound which he received on the 21st, bringing on fever and mortification, occasioned this lamented event, and our valiant general was lost to us at the moment when we stood most in need of his assistance. The ball had entered the thigh very high up, and, taking a direction towards the groin, had lodged in the bone, whence it could not be extracted.

In the action of the 13th of March, he had suffered a contusion in the thigh, from a musket-ball, and had a horse killed under him. On the 21st, at the time when he received his death wound, he was in the very midst of the enemy, and personally engaged with an officer of dragoons, who was at that moment shot by a corporal of the forty-second. Sir Ralph retained the officer's sword, which had passed between his arm and his side the instant before the officer fell.

During the seven days which elapsed

elapsed from the period of his being wounded till his death, the anguish and torture he endured must have been extreme. Yet not a groan, not a complaint escaped his lips, and he continued to the last a bright example of patience and fortitude.—He thought and talked of nothing else, to all around him, but of the bravery and heroic conduct of the army, which he said he could not sufficiently admire.

A man who had served his country in every quarter of the globe; who, as a commander, devotes to his troops an attention almost parental; as a soldier, shares in all their hardships and all their dangers; who, at an age when he might retire from the field crowned with glory, comes forth, at the call

of his country, a veteran in experience, youthful in ardour; whose life is a public blessing, his death an universal misfortune, is beyond the hackneyed phrase of panegyric.—Such a man was Sir Ralph Abercrombie. Dead to his country, his name will ever live in her recollection. Through his exertions, seconded by the co-operation of those he commanded, a nation, long oppressed by a sanguinary war, caught the first glimpse of an honourable peace; and while a grateful people bent over the grave of their departed hero, they beheld the yet timid olive, sheltering itself in the laurels which encircled his tomb.—The command of the army now devolved upon major-general Hutchinson.”

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